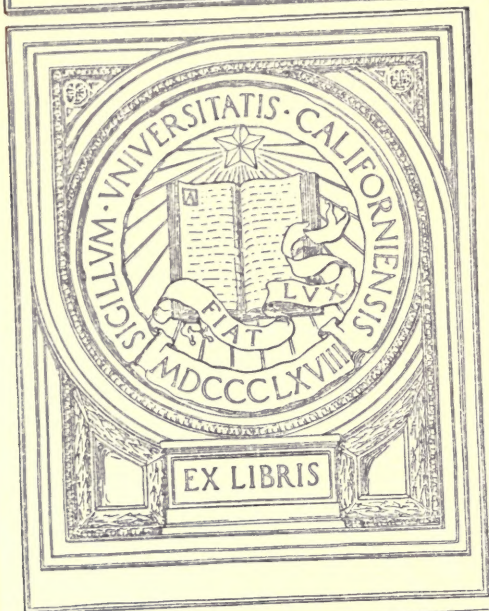
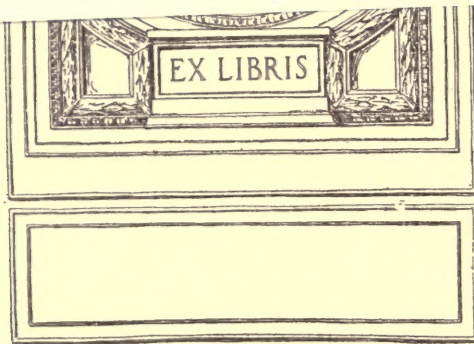


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THE GIFT OF
MAY TREAT MORRISON
IN MEMORY OF
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SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES



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SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

*WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED
ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS*

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THE MURDER OF LA SALLE.



Site of the Great Pequot Fort.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEQUOT WAR.

HOSTILITIES BEFORE THE WAR.—ENDICOTT'S EXPEDITION TO BLOCK ISLAND.—ITS SUCCESS.—INDIANS OF THE MAIN LAND ATTACKED.—RETALIATION ON THE ENGLISH PLANTATIONS.—A GENERAL WAR RESOLVED ON.—MASON'S EXPEDITION.—REDUCTION OF THE PEQUOT FORT.—RESULTS OF THE SUMMER'S WORK.—EXTINCTION OF THE PEQUOT TRIBE.—CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.—RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES.—INFLUENCE OF THE PEQUOT WAR UPON THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

THE murder of Captain Oldham by the Indians of Block Island aroused the most serious alarm throughout the feeble colonies of New England. It seemed to be, in the light of other acts of similar atrocity, the final and conclusive evidence of the impossibility of any peace with these savages. They meant, it seemed, utterly to destroy the English. There was in the minds of most of them hardly the glimmer of a reason for this deadly enmity against the white men ; but instead of reason was the love of blood ; the love of revenging some real or fancied wrong ; the love of plunder ; the love of the clash of war with the maddening music of the groans of tortured men, the shrieks of women, and the cries of children. The war-whoop, as it rang through the woods, found this quick responsive chord in every savage bosom. But the more thoughtful

Origin of
the Pe-
quot War.

among them believed their race stood in the presence of a terrible dilemma; either the intruders must be destroyed or driven to the ships that brought them, or they must themselves turn their backs upon the beloved land where the bones of their ancestors were buried, where to every hill and rock and river clung the most cherished memories, tender with romantic legend, reverent with superstition, or fierce with inherited hate. Their deepest religious sense was in the love of the land where from generation to generation the tribes had lived and died, where the children never forgot to add day by day a stone to the simple monuments that marked the graves or the deeds of the fathers. Who were these pale-faced strangers that they should give up their country to them? should look their last upon that glorious sea out of which the sun came to light up and warm their hunting-grounds? should hide themselves in the deep shadows of those western forests that had no end?

Colonial statesmen were compelled to meet face to face, with such wisdom and such strength as they could, this plain and well defined Indian question — not yet settled after the lapse of more than two centuries — could these people be subjugated, and the tribal distinctions, which made them distinct nationalities, be obliterated? Affairs wore too stern an aspect for that lamentation to be remembered which the good Robinson, twelve years before, had addressed to his Plymouth flock: "Oh! how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any." The problem was simplified, for a time at least, to how these heathen could be most easily and most effectually killed.

But milder measures were first exhausted. The murderers of Stone and of Oldham were demanded of the Pequots with remuneration for property destroyed. The demands were met with evasions, or with promises made only to be broken. Savage cunning was more than a match for the diplomatic arts of the civilized and wiser white men. There was no solution left but force.

In August, 1636, five small vessels, carrying about a hundred men, sailed from Boston to Block Island; for it was the Indians of that island who had murdered Oldham and taken his vessel. John Endicott of Salem was in command of the expedition, and his orders from the magistrates of Boston were that he should kill all the men, but should spare the women and children. The hundred men had four captains beside the commander-in-chief. "I would not," writes one of them — John Underhill, — "have the world wonder at the great number of commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians' fight far differs from the Christian practice." And he explains that as the savages divided themselves into small

Endicott's
expedition
to Block
Island.

bodies, so it was necessary to meet them with like detachments, the honor of command remaining the same whether given to captains of tens or captains of thousands. This Underhill, who showed himself at other times a braggart, a bigot, a libertine, little given to shame or scruple of any other sort, was sensitive on a point of rank and soldierly reputation.

The wind blew hard, and the surf rolled in heavily on the rocky shores of Block Island as the expedition approached it. A landing was made in spite of a shower of arrows with which ^{The attack} the Indians attempted to repel the invaders — a futile defence, for



Gov. Endicott landing on Block Island.

only one Englishman was wounded. Another arrow recoiled harmless from the helmet of Underhill, and would, he writes, have slain him, "if God in his Providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, which I was unwilling to do." Whereupon he improves the occasion, after the fashion of the time, by these pious and timely reflections: "First, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman." Not that there was anything remarkable in this evidence of how precious the life of John Underhill was in the sight of God, and how important to the success of the expedition; but it was marvellous that God should condescend to

an instrument to do his will so humble and usually so useless as a woman. Another inference the captain drew even more distinctly. It was the "clamor," he asserts, that New England men "usurped over their wives;" but John Underhill had been saved from death because a woman's voice had not been unheeded; and that should make an end of this public calumny.¹ The calumny, perhaps, was of Underhill's own invention to minister to his own vanity, for there is no evidence of the existence of any peculiar hardship in the condition of the wives of the Puritans.

The Indians fled into the interior of the island and were followed by the English. Two villages were found containing about sixty wigwams, some of which seem to have been of the best class of Indian habitations. Two hundred acres of land were under cultivation, and the maize, already partly harvested, was piled in heaps to be stored away for winter use. For two days the invaders sought for the natives without success; but the still standing corn, the stacks, the wigwams with their simple furniture of mats and baskets, the canoes, they burned to the last fragment.² The desolation was complete; the Indians whom they could not find to kill they left to starve.

The Block Islanders were severely if not wisely punished for the murder of Oldham. The Pequots of the mainland were next to be dealt with for the earlier murder of Stone. A band of three hundred of this tribe Endicott found at the mouth of the Pequot River — now the Thames. He asked that Sassacus, the Pequot chief, should be brought to him. Either the chief would not, or could not come, and Endicott, believing that the Indians were trying to put him off with excuses, landed his men. From behind rocks and trees the savages shot harmless arrows to hinder their advance; bullets on the other side did better service, for a few of the Indians were killed and wounded as they slowly retired before the English. The villages of wigwams, which stood probably about where New London now stands, were soon reached and burned, but the maize was here too green to take fire.

The expedition was finished by coasting along the Narragansett shores, burning wigwams and destroying crops wherever they could be found. In less than a month the vessels were at anchor again in Boston harbor. "They came all safe," writes Winthrop, "which was

¹ *Newes From America: or A New And Experimental Discoverie of New England*, &c. &c. By Captaine John Underhill, a Commander in the Warres there. Reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi., Third Series.

² Winthrop's *History of New England*, Savage's edition, vol. i., p. 231. Underhill's *Newes from America*, p. 7.

a marvellous providence of God, that not a hair fell from the head of any of them, nor any sick or feeble persons among them." What the providence of God did for the two or three hundred Indians left on Block Island without shelter, or food, or canoes in which to escape a lingering death from cold and hunger, he does not tell us; but these were not members of Mr. Cotton's church. That God, however, did not permit them all to perish miserably we are assured by later references in contemporaneous narratives to the Indians of Block Island.

At the mouth of the Connecticut a fort had recently been built, — at that point since known as Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Brook, — and the younger Winthrop had put in it a garrison of twenty men, under the command of Captain Lion Gardiner. Gardiner was too good a soldier to rush rashly

Perils of the
fort at Say-
brook.



New London.

into fighting, and when Endicott made the fort his rendezvous, on his return from Block Island, he was no welcome guest. The coming of the force was, writes Gardiner,¹ "to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." He had all along counselled a conciliatory policy; he and his little garrison of probably less than a hundred persons, including the women and children, had all they could do, he said, to fight "Captain Hunger," and the loss of their corn-field, two miles from the fort, might be fatal. "You will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay," he wrote, "but myself with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved."

He was right. Winthrop hailed Endicott's return as "a marvellous Providence of God," but it was, said Gardiner, the beginning of war

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii.

to the isolated garrison at his fort, and the feeble colonies on the Connecticut. The Block Islanders, perhaps, were incapable of further mischief for a time, but on the mainland the natives were aroused to exasperation and revenge, not reduced to submission. They watched for opportunities to waylay the English, to come upon them at unexpected times and places, resorting to all the stratagems and cunning so well understood at a later period as the peculiar characteristic of the North American Indian. A portion of Gardiner's corn only was saved, and that at the expense of the lives of some of his men; to cut and bring in the hay from the neighboring meadows cost him still more. The fort was beleaguered by a foe always present, and always unseen, till he made himself known and felt by some sudden attack; to go beyond the defences for work or for sport, to bring in timber or to seek for game, could be done only at peril of life or limb. Hostilities extended to all the settlements. "We are Pequits," said the Indians, in their usual boastful spirit, "and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away the horses, cows and hogs."¹ They were as good as their word.

Agawam (Springfield), where William Pynchon had planted his colony, was threatened, and thought, at one time, to be destroyed. Hartford and Windsor were in constant fear of attack. Cattle were killed or stolen; each settlement was a camp; to wander far from home was at the risk of immediate death, or captivity and death by torture; labor on week-days was, for the most part, suspended, and on Sundays the men sat with arms in their hands, their attention divided between the expounding of the Word by the preacher and listening for the war-whoop of an approaching enemy.

At Wethersfield a band suddenly fell upon a party of workmen in the fields, killed nine of them, men, women, and children, and carried away two girls as captives. On their way down the river, as they passed the fort at Saybrook, the Indians raised a mast upon the canoe which carried the prisoners, hoisting in derision as sails the shirts and petticoats of the men and women they had murdered. A chance shot from the fort struck the canoe, where the captives lay weeping in the bottom of the boat, but fortunately with little damage. The girls themselves seem not to have been badly treated by the savages; and they were afterwards redeemed by the Dutch, who enticed some Pequots on board their vessel and holding them as hostages threatened to drop them into the open sea unless their demand for the surrender of the prisoners was instantly complied with. But it was a case of special mercy; other prisoners were tortured and mutilated in the most cruel manner.

The distress
of the plant-
ers.

Wethersfield
attacked.

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*.

The very existence of the Colonies was, no doubt, seriously threatened. The different Indian tribes which surrounded them could, if they would act in harmony, bring into the field many more warriors than there were English in the country, and it was by no means impossible that they might, by a concerted movement, exterminate the strangers. Roger Williams was quick to discern this danger, and did more than any other one man to avert it. He was so well known to, and in such friendly relations with the Indians, that he exercised much influence over them. They may

Roger
Williams's
services.



The Captive Maidens.

even have understood that one cause of his banishment from the Bay of Massachusetts was that he had maintained their rightful title to the country as against all comers, to keep or to sell it as they pleased, and this would specially secure for him their love and reverence. Writing many years afterwards of this time, he said, "I had my share of service to the whole land in that Pequod business, . . . the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors

whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also.”¹

Of the progress of these negotiations Governor Winthrop and his associates were kept carefully advised; nor did they disdain to accept aid from the man they had not long before driven out from among them because of some possibly extravagant, but certainly harmless, abstract opinions. But amid the din of arms, or even the fear of it, bigotry as well as law is silent. The early Puritans were never



Roger Williams going to the Sachem's House.

lacking in the soundest common sense when common sense best served their purpose. They could accept in time of danger welcome and invaluable aid from one whose sentence of banishment from Massachusetts they never, through his long and useful life, had the magnanimity to revoke.

It was these efforts of Mr. Williams that, more than anything else, secured those friendly relations with the Narragansetts which at this period were of the utmost importance to the colonies. This tribe and the Pequots were already enemies, but there was good reason for apprehending that a common peril might unite them against a common enemy. The true policy of the English was to widen the breach

¹ Letter to Major Mason, 1670. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, First Series, vol. i. *Publications of The Narragansett Club*, vol. ii.

between them if peace could not be secured with both. The Pequots were implacable after Endicott's expedition to Block Island and along the Narragansett coast, but Williams per- English policy.
suaded the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus, an old man equally morose and savage, he says — *morosus æque ac barbarus senex*, — and Miantonomo, who "kept his barbarous court lately at my house," to join their forces with the English in a war upon their rivals. Of a preliminary expedition, proposed by Miantonomo to destroy the crops of the Pequots, Williams wrote to Winthrop: "If they speed it will weaken the enemy and distress them, being put by their hopes: as also much enrage the Pequots forever against them, a thing much desirable."¹

The Massachusetts General Court, at their meeting in May, decided to come to the aid of the sorely distressed and harassed plantations of Connecticut, as well as to avert a danger that threatened all alike. It was a common peril, and the Bay called upon Plymouth for aid. But Plymouth held back. She had her grievances against the Massachusetts government, who had refused to help her against the French when, two years before, they had captured the Plymouth trading-house on the Penobscot; who had encouraged these marauding Frenchmen, on the Kennebec, by selling them guns and provisions; and who had upheld the Dorchester people in taking possession of the lands at Windsor which Plymouth claimed as hers by right of first settlement.²

Massachusetts and Plymouth could take time for debate; no enemy lay concealed in the long grass about their doorways, or watched in the edges of the forest for the scalps of fathers and sons who should venture out to labor in the fields. But the plantations on the Connecticut stood face to face with the constant terror of sudden death. In May a force of ninety men, forty-two from Capt. John Mason's expedition.
Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Wethersfield, commanded by Captain John Mason, an experienced and able soldier, sailed from Hartford for Saybrook Fort.³

A body of Indians, under the Mohegan chief, Uncas, joined them at this point, but the English were not quite sure that they would not prove treacherous. The Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford was chaplain of the expedition, and he spent the night of their arrival at Gardiner's fort in prayer for their success, and especially that God would vouch-

¹ Letter to Vane or Winthrop, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. vi. *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. vi.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 260. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 352 *et seq.*

³ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*. Mason's *Brief History of the Pequot War*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. viii.

safe to give them some token of the fidelity of these Indian allies. But their fidelity was already proved in a fight with a band of Pequots which Gardiner had ordered them to attack. Underhill had overheard the pious supplication of the chaplain, and "immediately," he says, "myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news, that those Indians had brought in five Pequots' heads, one prisoner, and wounded one mortally; which did much encourage the hearts of all and replenished them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God." And, indeed, if that kind of answer was looked



Site of the Narragansett Fort at Fort Neck.

for, five such bloody tokens were significant enough. Nor is it much to be wondered at that the prisoner, whose head unfortunately was left upon his shoulders, was lashed to a post and torn limb from limb with ropes, by the mere brute force of twenty Englishmen.¹ It was a deed as unwise as it was cruel, if only meant as a retaliation of the torture of English prisoners, but defensible as the punishment of those whom God had declared his enemies. Some of the wisest and best among the New England Puritans held that as certainly as they were the special care of Heaven, so, as unquestionably, the Indians were the children of the devil. And this particular Indian, God had

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 266. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, says that this Indian suffered torture and death from Uncas and his men. Vincent, *History of the Pequot War*, agrees with Winthrop.

delivered alive into their hands in answer to prayer. Was it not that he might be tortured?

The General Court at Hartford had ordered Mason to land at the mouth of Pequot (the Thames) River, and invade the Pequot country at the nearest point from the sea. But Mason was too good a soldier to attack in front, where he knew he was expected and watched for, an enemy much superior in numbers to his own command. Other officers hesitated to disobey positive orders, and this question also was left to be decided by an answer to Mr. Stone's

Mason's
strategy.

prayers. The Lord, Mr. Stone believed, approved of the plan proposed by Mason, as decidedly as He had pronounced on the point of the faithfulness of the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Embarking his force again, taking twenty Massachusetts men led by Underhill in place of a like number of the least efficient he had brought from Hartford, Mason left the river and bore away for Narragansett Bay. It looked like a retreat. The anxious Pequots along the coast watched the receding vessels, and, when they were no longer in sight, re-



Porter's Rocks.

tired, relieved from a sense of danger, to their villages, to exult at the cowardice of the enemy and their own bravery and good fortune.

But Mason came to anchor toward evening of the next day somewhere at the entrance, probably, of Narragansett Bay.¹ For two days

¹ Precisely where he came to anchor is mere conjecture. Mason and Underhill both say in their narratives that they sailed for and landed in Narragansett Bay. A heavy sea, con-

a heavy surf prevented a landing, but on the second evening the whole force went ashore and, the next day, marched to a fort of the Narragansetts, about eighteen or twenty miles distant on the Pequot frontier.¹

He lands at the entrance of Narragansett Bay.

Here an interview was had with Canonicus and Miantonomo, who, while they renewed their promises to be faithful allies to the English, were cold and distrustful, doubting if so small a body seriously intended, or were able, to cope successfully with the formidable Pequots. Mason, on the other hand, had so little faith in the word of the savages that he surrounded their fort with a guard during the night, lest they should betray his approach to the enemy.

The next day the little army, followed by several hundred of the Indians, who still held back in fear and doubt, made a painful march through the woods, exhausted by fatigue and thirst and heat, — it was the 25th of May, — forded the Pawcatuck River, and encamped at night at a spot now known as Porter's Rocks, at the head of the Mystic River, in the present town of Stonington. The principal Pequot fort, which was rather a large Indian village surrounded with palisades than a fort, was two miles beyond upon a hill. It was crowded with men, women, and children; and till late into the night the sentinels could hear the sound of song and laughter, as, unconscious of the peril that lurked so near, they boasted that the English had fled without daring to strike a blow even to revenge the death of thirty of their people whose scalps hung in Pequot wigwams.

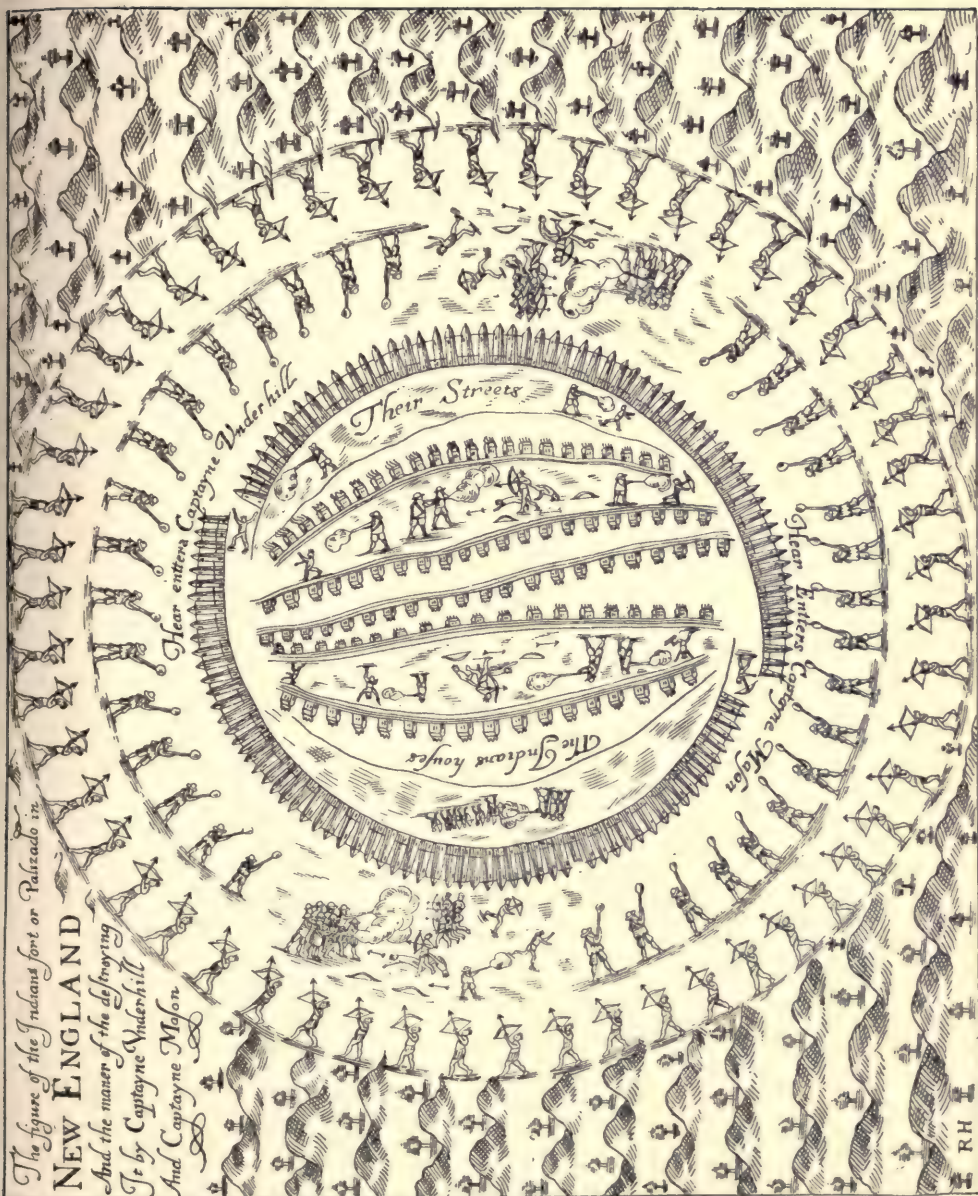
At break of day, when deep sleep had covered the Indian camp, Mason aroused his men. Guided by Uncas, the Mohegan chief, and Wequash, a petty Pequot sachem who had deserted his tribe, they were led within a rod of the palisaded village. Silently and cautiously they completely surrounded it, the Indian allies forming another circle in the rear. So profound was the sleep of the garrison that the first warning was given by the bark of a dog, when a Pequot, springing to his feet, shouted "Owanux! Owanux!" — "Englishmen! Englishmen!"

Attack on the Pequot fort.

There were two entrances to the village, at opposite sides; Mason, followed by his men, sprang in at one over a barricade of brush heaps; Underhill made his way in at the other. The assault was irresistible; the possession complete. Women and children, in the

turning two days, indicates that the place must have been along the open coast outside the bay.

¹ This fort is supposed to have been at a place now called Fort Neck. (*Rhode Island Hist. Coll.* vol. iii., p. 24.) Mason says in his narrative that it was twelve miles from Pawcatuck River. A fort was afterward built on this hill, the ruins of which still remain.

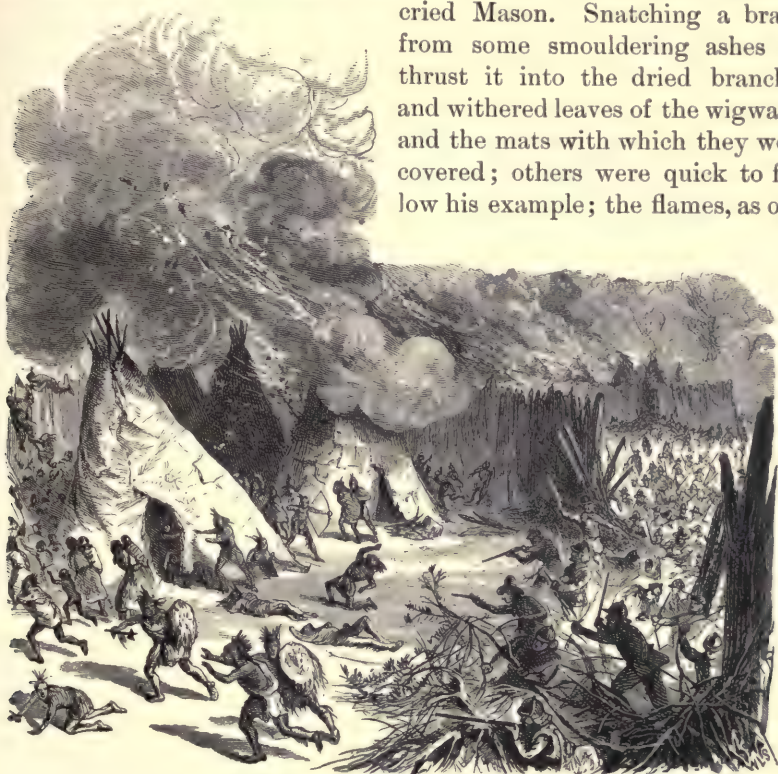


ATTACK ON THE PEQUOT FORT. FAC-SIMILE FROM "NEWES FROM NEW ENGLAND."

extremity of terror, sought either to hide themselves, like frightened wild creatures, beneath anything that would cover them, or to fly to the woods ; the men could only make some feeble show of fight. In the dim morning twilight, in the confusion of a sudden awakening, in the din of the terrible onslaught, there was little chance of either escape or resistance.

But even guns and swords could not do the work fast enough for the impatient and merciless assailants. "We must burn them!"

cried Mason. Snatching a brand from some smouldering ashes he thrust it into the dried branches and withered leaves of the wigwams and the mats with which they were covered ; others were quick to follow his example ; the flames, as of a



Attack on the Pequot Fort.

huge bonfire, sprung into the air and lit up the glow of the coming morning. "The Indians ran, as Men most dreadfully Amazed," says Mason. "Indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames where many of them perished." That the weaker,—the very young, the very old, and the women—should escape, was impossible ; the stronger, if not driven back to suffocation and torture in the smoke and flames of their own homes, could only throw themselves desperately upon the swords of the unyielding circle of steady Eng-

lishmen, or meet beyond a still more impenetrable circle of their own countrymen inexorable as death and more cruel than fire.

In a little more than an hour from the first moment of alarm the rising sun shone upon the smouldering remnants of seventy wigwams and the charred and bleeding bodies of six or seven hundred Indians. Of the whole village only seven escaped and seven were taken captive.¹ "Thus," exclaims the exultant captain, "did the Lord judge among the Heathen!" Of the English two only were killed and about twenty wounded.

Mason and his men were worn out with the fatigue of a long march and the loss of sleep, and their provision and ammunition were well-nigh spent. The mouth of Pequot River was the appointed rendezvous of the vessels, and the men had yet before them a further march of several miles. At no great distance was another Indian village, whence a hundred and fifty of the men had been sent the day before to reinforce the garrison that now lay dead upon the hill-side — the hundred and fifty dead with the rest. In this village, however, there were still three hundred and fifty warriors, and thither the few who had escaped from the Mystic fort had carried the news of the massacre of the larger portion of their tribe.

Howling with rage and grief these were soon upon the trail of the English, whom the treacherous Narragansetts, fearing this very result, had already deserted. Uncas and the Mohegans still remained faithful, and were so far of use that they were induced to render service in carrying the wounded. At least a third of Mason's men were, from wounds and exhaustion, a mere burden upon the rest; but the pursuit was successfully repulsed, with a good deal of loss to the Indians.² The vessels arrived at the river's mouth in the course of the day, with a reinforcement of forty men from Boston, and Mason and his force, before the night closed in, were safe from further attack on board.

The war, however, was not yet quite finished, even by a slaughter so disastrous as this. The enmity between the Pequots and the other tribes of Massachusetts and Connecticut had grown now to a deadly hatred, and there could be no peace between them. While hostilities continued among the natives, there was little safety for the English; and they had, perhaps, no alternative but to join with one party in the subjugation of the other. At any rate, to hesitate at such a crisis would be ruin to the infant settlements, and

The march
to rejoin
their vessels.

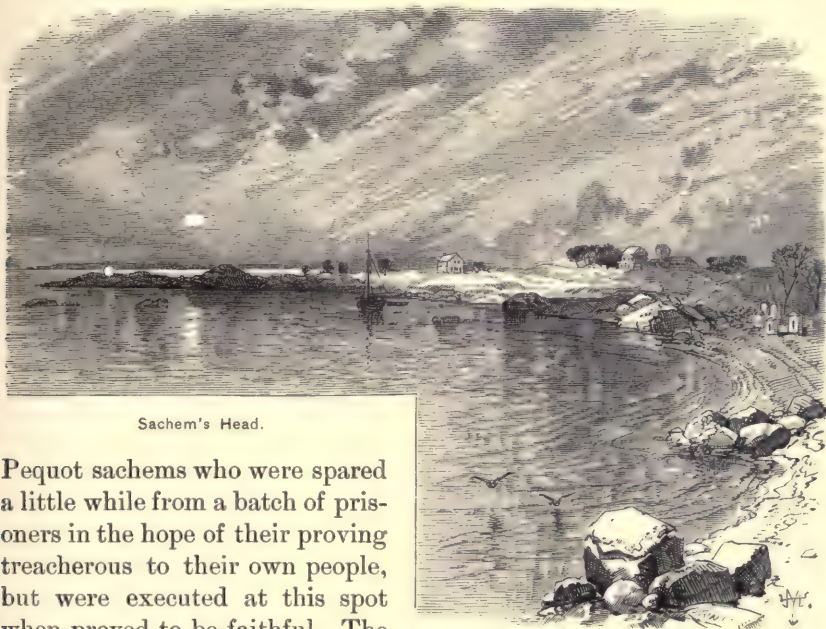
The war
continued.

¹ This is Mason's account. Underhill says there were about four hundred in the fort and only five escaped.

² Underhill says that he, with thirty men, killed and wounded above a hundred of the enemy.

Mason, his force doubled by recruits from the Bay and from Plymouth, under Captain Stoughton, joined with the Narragansetts and Mohegans in an active pursuit of the common enemy.

The summer was spent in skirmishes and ambushes as the Pequots were driven through the forests from one hiding-place to another. It was the Indians, not the English, who now gave the war its character, and it was as savage and merciless as Indian wars have always been. There was little mercy shown, however, to prisoners, whether the Pequots fell into the hands of the English or of their own countrymen. To this day the point on Long Island Sound, known as Sachem's Head in Guilford, commemorates the beheading of two



Sachem's Head.

Pequot sachems who were spared a little while from a batch of prisoners in the hope of their proving treacherous to their own people, but were executed at this spot when proved to be faithful. The women and children indeed were not killed, but they were, for the most part, while the hostilities continued, sent to the West India Islands and sold as slaves.

In July the miserable remnant of the tribe was surrounded in a swamp in the present town of Fairfield. The men fought with the courage of despair, and sixty or seventy succeeded in forcing their way through the ranks of their assailants; but about two hundred were captured. Henceforth those who were free were hunted like wild beasts by the other Indians, and their heads were brought almost daily into Windsor and Hartford, till in their extremity they prayed to the English for protection to

Extermination
of the
Pequots.

their miserable lives. They were ready for the last humiliation, which, next to absolute extinction, is the most terrible misfortune that can befall an Indian. The very name they bore was to be obliterated; they were never more to be known as Pequots, but were to be thankful if permitted to live as a part of those tribes which they had so lately reproached as cowards and derided as women.

It was the fate of war. In accordance with that polity universal among the North American savages, by which prisoners, whether individuals or tribes, were adopted into the families and nationalities of their conquerors, rather than condemned to torture and death, the surviving Pequots were permitted to become Mohegans or Narragansetts. Upon the English devolved the duty of umpire in this division of new subjects; and they assigned, beside the women and children, eighty to Uncas, the same number to Miantonomo, and twenty to Ninigret, a petty sachem of the Narragansetts. To the savages this last act in the destruction of their tribal existence could not but be humiliating and distressing; even to the most careless consideration it is not wanting in dignity and pathos, notwithstanding we are told that Ninigret and his men having killed Edward Pomeroy's mare, were allowed their share of Pequots only on condition that they should give satisfaction for the death of that animal.

There were still to be accounted for about thirty of the most dreaded Pequot warriors, who had escaped both death and captivity, and fled to the Mohawks in the valley of the Hudson. They were treacherously murdered by those among whom they sought refuge, and the scalps of Sassacus, his brother, and five other sachems, were sent to Governor Winthrop, in token of Mohawk fidelity and friendship.

Within five months the Pequot war was begun and ended. The English army had at no time, probably, numbered more than two hundred men, or not one fourth of a modern regiment. To these were added, perhaps, three times as many Indians, all active, courageous, and cruel when the enemy was no longer to be dreaded; but most of them treacherous and cowardly, lurking in the rear and leaving their allies to bear the brunt of the battle so long as success was doubtful. To the sturdy handful of Puritans was due the conquest of a tribe which sent to the field more than five times their number of warriors to fight for freedom and for life. But the character of the war is to be measured rather by its results than its dimensions, and those were of the last importance to the settlement and growth of New England.

Whether the native population and the intruders upon the soil could not have lived long together in peace and harmony, is not so much the

The fate of
Sassacus the
Pequot sa-
chem.

End of the
war and its
results.

question as that they did not. The wisest among the Indians looked from the first with the gravest apprehensions upon the coming of the white men, and doubted if there was room in the same land for their own and another race which lived by the cultivation of the soil and the arts of peace. The forest, which it was the first business of the white man to destroy, was the Indian's home and his most precious possession. Here only could the wild animals on which he subsisted live and flourish, and in its dark recesses and fastnesses only could he lie in ambush for the enemy, whose bleeding scalp he longed to hang at his girdle.

He was a beast of prey with some powers of reflection—a tiger with the gift of speech,—and a wilderness was necessary to his existence. War was his pastime; the chase his only serious occupation. He cultivated to the highest degree the sense of sight and of hearing; he aimed to surpass all other creatures in swiftness of foot; the instinct of the most timid animal was no match for the cunning with which the savage could steal silently through the woods, leaving no footsteps behind him, or track a beast to his lair, or an enemy to his hiding-place, if either had left the most trifling or the dimmest evidence of the path he had followed. To acquire these qualities he would spare no pains or labor; for these, with a power of endurance that shrunk at no extremity of fatigue, of hunger, or of suffering, were his virtues and his pride. All work that required only mere manual force, and called for the exercise of neither moral nor mental power, was beneath him. That he left to his women. They raised his maize, cooked his food, carried his burdens, and bore the sons who were to grow up into warriors and hunters. He was literally the lord of the creation about him; women and all other animals were made to be the victims and the slaves of his wants and his passions. To call himself a man was his proudest boast; no sarcasm was so keen, no reproach so humiliating as to tell his enemy or the coward who had disgraced his tribe that he was only a woman.

The divinest law he knew was the survival of the fittest; the fittest was he who was the most swift of foot, the keenest of sight and hearing, the most cruel and unwearied in the pursuit of his enemy, who could hang up the most scalps in his wigwam, and if such should be the fortune of war, could laugh at torture. The God he most worshipped was the devil, who he believed, was a bigger Indian than himself, and whose only trail was the thunder and the lightning, the tempest and the pestilence, and who was never visible. Of a God of love, of mercy, and of peace he had little conception, for he recognized material force as the highest attribute, and the purpose of such force, as he understood and used it, was evil and not good.

Character of
the Indian.

His religious
convictions.

Nature, indeed, was beneficent, for it gave him the forest and the streams, the summer's heat and rains to grow maize and tobacco, the deer, the beaver, the women, and other useful and pleasant creatures. But nature, if not independent of a cause, if it was not simply a growth — and on this point his ideas were vague and mythical, — was not necessarily under the beneficent government of a supreme being, all-wise and all-good ; while a power evil, omnipotent, and omnipresent, waged a perpetual war with all the kindly forces of nature, perverting and thwarting them, withholding and destroying the fruits of the earth, visiting the poor Indian with starvation and pestilence, sorrow and death. This terrible being he continually tried to propitiate by voluntary sacrifice of whatever was most precious in his own sight ; for he hoped that there might be, at least, some pity if the devil was saved the trouble of helping himself. But he knew he could never escape from the dreadful presence that ever surrounded and threatened him though he should fly to the uttermost parts of the earth. Release could only come when after death he should be welcomed, according to his deserts in taking scalps and killing game in this world, to a happier land, where perpetual summer reigned, where the hunting was always good, where the maize and the tobacco crops never failed, and where the devil could never enter with flood, or fire, or pestilence, to make him afraid.

Not that the Indian was altogether wanting in qualities which are supposed to belong more to civilized than savage life. Indeed in some of these he rather excelled than otherwise, till the vices of civilization crowded them out without planting in their stead any of its virtues. As he was a child in knowledge and in judgment, in all things save war and hunting, so also he had the simplicity and truthfulness which naturally belong to childhood. Lying, whether in word or action, was a stratagem he might lawfully use to deceive an enemy, but never to mislead a friend or one really entitled to his friendship. If he gave his word, implicit trust might be placed in it, as he made no real pretensions to a friendliness he did not feel. To his foe only he was merciless, and he scorned to conceal his hatred except the more certainly to bring about its gratification. Hypocrisy was not among his vices, and he was never anything but what he professed to be. When he circumvented an enemy, which he would do if he could, it was as an enemy and not as a friend. He respected the rights of others as he maintained his own ; the person and the property of his neighbor were sacred. His love for his wife and children was tender and considerate, though the relation between the sexes was almost as loose as that of animals. In the endurance of pain he was impassable, and one from whom the extremest torture could extort a

His moral
qualities.

sigh or a tremor was mourned for, not because he was dead, but that he had ever been born.

Feeble as the Indians generally were in intellect, there were among them men of exceeding shrewdness, of a common sense that was almost genius, of powers of imagination, expression, and pathos that make the poet and the orator; and though such men were the exceptions, they were voluntarily accepted by their fellows as their fitting and natural chiefs. The higher qualities of mind and of character were more potent among them than even the arts of their priests and the influence of superstition. They were inclined to revere and confide in those whom they recognized as superiors; and as a childish vacancy of mind and simplicity of character peculiarly belonged to them, so much the more easily could they be led to a higher moral and intellectual culture. They had little to unlearn, and they received instruction implicitly from the strangers whom at first they looked upon as superior beings; but they were much more susceptible to example than to precept.

In such a people there seems to have been good soil on which to sow pure Christian seed. It was sowed, or what was meant for it, diligently and devotedly, but with small success. Eliot, Gookin, Williams, Mayhew, and many others, both clergymen and laymen, were glad to devote their lives to the salvation of these heathen. To save them was held up as one of the most potent motives for colonization. Pious people in England early formed themselves into a society for the conversion of so benighted a race, and neither prayers nor money were spared in so good a cause. But Christian propagandism was never successful among them. The simplicity of the gospel, the beauty of a virtuous life, forgiveness of injuries, returning good for evil, the duty and wisdom of a cheerful submission to the divine will, were doubtless impressed upon them by some of those who strove to lead them out of a darkened and savage life. They saw, however, the young settlements distracted with questions, a clear understanding of which they were also taught was vital to the Christian faith. Their untutored minds, trained rather to the observation of things than the consideration of ideas, could not easily comprehend the mystery of the personal union with the Holy Ghost, or enter into the subtleties of the question, — over which all Massachusetts Bay went mad, — whether justification came from a covenant of works or a covenant of grace.

But they could measure the morality of the white men with their own; and if the religion of the white men made them no better, why, the Indians asked, should we accept it? It is not strange that they should fail to make a distinction between theology and religion, which the Puritans themselves either would not

Intellectual
character.

Influence of
Christian
teaching.

or could not always recognize. The white men were far wiser than they, and sanctification and justification might be to them matters of vast moment; but for themselves they could not see what such questions had to do with their being more truthful in speech or more just and sober in action than they were already. They may, perhaps, have even doubted whether it was worth while to understand these nice distinctions which led to the cruel persecution of men, however truthful or good, who conscientiously maintained opinions which the majority held to be erroneous. They killed their enemies, and so did the English — killed them, indeed, in much greater numbers than they could do; but they never betrayed their friends, never stole from them, never cheated them, never punished them except for actual crime against the common weal. They had small aptitude for polemics; they could not even conceive that, if theological controversy was the best part of Christianity, its blessings were poured upon New England in overflowing abundance. But they never could get beyond the narrow application of the doctrine of the sanctification of works, that they did as well as they knew how; and they could not understand the teaching which was so intent upon what men believed, so comparatively careless as to how they lived.

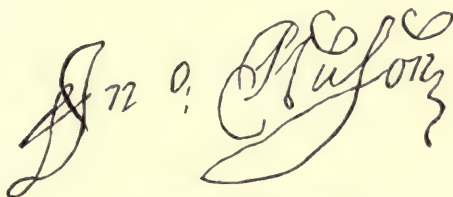
Whether the fault was in the method by which the Puritans sought to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the true faith, or whether these people are by nature incapable of being anything but savages, all attempts at their Christianization and civilization were, in the main, futile. They had undoubtedly fewer vices and more virtues when the country was first occupied by Europeans than they have ever had since; but after fifty years of labor with them under these most favorable circumstances, of all the thousands of the New England tribes, less than fifteen hundred, with their wives and children, were numbered among the "Praying Indians."¹ Many more than that number had meanwhile been destroyed in two Indian wars. The work of killing was far more successful than that of converting, and their utter extinction, though gradual, was certain.

But there was an interval of forty years between those wars. That with the Pequots was so sharp and decisive a lesson that a generation passed away, and there were none left to bear the Pequot totem, ere the jealousy of the English overcame the memory of their prowess, and led the Indians to venture upon another attempt at extermination. That interval of repose was of the last importance to the colonists. Without it, the history of the permanent settlement of New England might have dated some scores of years

Probable
effect of the
Pequot War.

¹ *Letters of Governor Hinckley* (1685), *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. v., p. 132. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 349.

later. Whether Endicott's expedition to Block Island, reckless and inconsiderate, as most of the acts of that precipitate and hot-headed Puritan usually were, was justifiable or not, when considered in the light of its possible, and even probable, immediate consequences, it had only a happy result. It provoked a war at a time when the Indians, foolishly divided among themselves, were easily subdued by the destruction of the most powerful and dangerous tribe among them, while the weaker, who had blindly helped in that destruction, could never again muster the courage or the strength to attempt, till it was too late, to drive the invaders back to the sea whence they came. That the result should be recognized as a signal evidence of the goodness of God was only in accordance with the Puritan faith that they were peculiarly under the divine protection. "The Lord was pleased," exclaims Captain Mason, with more force than elegance, at the close of his narrative — "the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance."



Signature of John Mason

CHAPTER II.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

THE TOWNS ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER. — PREPARATORY GOVERNMENT. — THE FIRST CONSTITUTION AND THE EARLIEST GOVERNORS. — CIVIL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE FIRST SETTLERS. — NECESSITY OF STRINGENT RULE. — CHARACTER OF EARLY LEGISLATION. — ANOTHER EMIGRATION FROM BOSTON. — NEW HAVEN AND ITS CHURCH OF SEVEN PILLARS. — ESTABLISHMENT OF OTHER TOWNS AND CHURCHES. — DUTCH AND ENGLISH BOUNDARIES. — DIFFERENCE OF PURPOSE IN THE TWO CLASSES OF SETTLERS. — ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AT HOME. — ENGLISH INTRUSIONS UPON LONG ISLAND. — CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND. — ROGER WILLIAMS'S COLONY AND ITS GOVERNMENT. — HEATED CONTROVERSY IN MASSACHUSETTS. — SEVERITY OF THE RULING PARTY. — TREATMENT OF THE ANTINOMIANS. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND AT ACQUIDNECK (PORTSMOUTH). — CODDINGTON CHOSEN CHIEF JUDGE. — DISCORDS IN THE NEW COLONY. — THE HUTCHINSONS AT ACQUIDNECK. — HOSTILITY OF MASSACHUSETTS TO ACQUIDNECK. — CODDINGTON'S PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF THE COLONIES. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY. — AGAMENTICUS AND ACQUIDNECK EXCLUDED.

THE colonies on the Connecticut River, though that region was not within the bounds of the Massachusetts charter, were for the first year under the government of commissioners selected from among their own people, but appointed by the Massachusetts General Court.¹ The burden of the war had fallen upon them, and with the necessity of self-reliance came also, no doubt, the sense of independence. When on the first day of May, 1637, it "was ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequot," it was done by a General Court, convened at Hartford, containing not only the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, whose term of office had just expired, but nine delegates — committees they were called — from the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.² The war brought its responsibilities as well as its advantages. The colony was oppressed with debt; so many of its effective men had been called to military service that agriculture had been neglected; there was want of food and want of sufficient shelter for many families. It would be easy to go to ruin if there were any lack of vigorous measures.

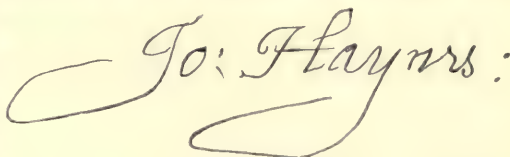
¹ These were Roger Ludlow, William Pincheon, John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward.

² *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, etc., etc., edited by J. Hammond Trumbull.

The General Court was equal to the occasion. The debt was provided for by a special tax of six hundred and twenty pounds; though corn and cattle had risen largely in price, they were gathered from wherever they could be found, and the people were fed without any serious distress till the season of another harvest. To guard against further trouble from the Indians a thorough military organization of all the towns was established, at the head of which Captain Mason was placed as commander-in-chief. The young colony had already grown too large to depend longer upon its older sister of the Bay; the war had thrown it upon its own resources; within eighteen months from the end of it the new government took a more positive form and adopted a constitution.

"Well knowing," its preamble recited, "where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Gouverment established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occation shall require; doe therefore assotiate and conioyne our selues to be as one Publike State or Commonwealth." It recognized no allegiance to any other power, not even that of England; it instituted a popular government in which all the freemen of the three towns were equal before the law, entering "into Combination & Confederation together to mayntayne & presearue the liberty & purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus which we now professe, as also the disciplyne of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised among us; As also in our Ciuell Affaires to be guided & gouerned according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders & decrees as shall be made, ordered, & decreed."

The colony thus founded a Christian Commonwealth and a purely democratic republic upon the first written constitution of any State in America, if not indeed, in the world. And this, with such slight changes in its practical provisions as the increase of population demanded, was the fundamental law of Connecticut for nearly two centuries. Its first governor, chosen in April, 1639, was John Haynes, who had already been a governor of Massachusetts Bay; its second, elected the next year, was Edward Hopkins.¹ The constitution provided that the chief magistrate should



Signature of John Haynes.

¹ Edward Hopkins came to Boston with the New Haven company, in the spring of 1637, and was the son-in-law of Governor Eaton, of that colony. He returned to England after

be chosen for a single year only, and was ineligible for the year next ensuing. The letter of the law was observed while its spirit was not lost. The people of Connecticut knew when they had a good governor, and for many years, with two or three exceptions at the outset, Haynes and Hopkins were

Signature of Edward Hopkins.

alternately elected to that office.

The rule of the magistrate in the young Commonwealth was rigid. The common welfare demanded implicit submission to a compact for mutual protection. The virtuous and the orderly might be, as they usually are, a law unto themselves; but there was special need of watchfulness and restraint of the idle, the vicious, and the violent, who, relieved from the accustomed rule of a long organized society, would riot in the license of relaxed law. All the old bonds that hold society together, and kept anarchy at arms-length, were loosened. The habit of obedience to constituted authority needed to be reëstablished by fresh subjection and enforced discipline. In this respect the colonies were all alike. Each had to work out for itself with such wisdom and such vigor as it could command, the problem of self-government; and each addressed itself, first of all, to the question of self-preservation. Large considerations of the science of government concerned them less at this early stage of their existence than the daily conduct of each individual citizen. There was nothing in morals or

Character of
the govern-
ment.

in manners, as to what men should eat and drink, and wherewithal they should be clothed; how they should dispose of their time and their industry; what their relations should be to each other, to the state, to their wives, to their children; — in all the affairs of life, whether small or great, there was nothing of which the law did not take cognizance. It was needful to the preservation and good order of society so newly organized that it should do so; and if sometimes — indeed very often — the true and sole function of perfected government, protection of person and property, was overstepped, and intellectual freedom encroached upon in the attempt to regulate religious belief and coerce the conscience, such exercise of power is to be pardoned to the exigencies of the times.

There were not probably more than a thousand people in the three Connecticut towns when the Pequot war was finished; the first English child¹ born on the banks of that river was at that time only eighteen

a residence of about fourteen years in Connecticut, and became a member of Cromwell's Parliament of 1657, and a commissioner of the army and navy. (See note in *Savage's Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 273.)

¹ David, son of Captain Lion Gardiner, born at Saybrook Fort, April, 1636. *Life of Gardiner*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. x., p. 177.

months old. It was not difficult for the watchful eyes of the magistrates to scan carefully the life and conversation of each man and woman. Nor could it be doubted that a community made up, in some degree, of mere adventurers, should have its vicious element, though each settlement was at first a church led in a body by its pastor from three Massachusetts towns — Newton, Watertown, and Dorchester. Even the godly people of the Dorchester church were led, Governor Bradford said, by a “hankering mind” to the pleasant Connecticut meadows on which Holmes’s colony from Plymouth had already settled; and by sheer weight of numbers and the influence of the stronger government behind them, they dispossessed the first comers.

When such were the saints what might not be looked for from the sinners? The devil lurked even among the churches of the Puritans. and if he could not be got rid of altogether at least he could be watched with unceasing vigilance.

And the vigilance was unceasing. The records of the proceedings of the General Court that chose the first chief magistrate of the new Commonwealth, also show that by the decree of that fountain of law one Edmunds was to be whip-

ped at a cart’s tail on a lecture day at Hartford; that one Williams was to stand upon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, and to be whipped at the cart’s tail, both in Hartford and Windsor; and that one Starke was to be punished in the same way, to pay a heavy fine, and to have besides the letter R branded upon his cheek. The crime of each and all was wrong done one Mary Holt, — such wrong that Starke was also

Lion Gardiner 1636

Signature of Lion Gardiner.



Supposed First Church in Hartford.

Severity of
the laws.

condemned to marry her ; which, however, he probably never did. At the next General Court, four months afterwards, it was ordered that Mary Holt herself be whipped for misconduct with a fourth paramour, and be banished from the jurisdiction ; not that she was good enough for Boston, but that Boston, perhaps, could better manage her.

But offences of this kind — of the frequency and often most revolting character of which, notwithstanding the severity of the laws of the Puritans, there is abundant evidence in the early records of all the colonies — were by no means the only ones which the magistrates undertook at once to expose and to punish. Unseasonable and immoderate drinking, or even the suspicion of it ; any violence of language or of conduct ; reflections upon the actions of the General Court ; “the sin of lying which,” says the record (1640), “begins to be practised by many persons in this Commonwealth ;” extravagance in the fashion of apparel, “that divers persons of several ranks are observed to exceed in ;” the selling of goods beyond reasonable prices ; “a stubborn or rebellious carriage against parents or governors ;” — these and other offences of a like character, which in older societies are usually left to the control of private conscience, or judgment, or influence, were subjects of legislation, and brought upon the perpetrators prompt and severe penalties.¹

In other respects, however, the welfare of the community was as carefully looked after as it was in these guarded against real or fancied injuries. The rate of wages and the length of a working-day — eleven hours in summer-time and nine in winter of actual labor — were soon regulated by law, that no advantage should be taken of the necessities of new settlers or of the scarcity of laborers. Any possible want of food was provided for by making it the duty of magistrates to ascertain the probable demand and to meet it with a sufficient supply. Idleness was made inexcusable, and agriculture encouraged by allotments of lands and their compulsory cultivation ; and titles were made unquestionable by a register which the law required should be kept in every town. That timber should not be wasted, none could be cut or exported except by special license from the Court, and no trees were permitted to be felled except after the fall of the leaf. In 1640 it was enacted that each family should sow at least one spoonful of English hempseed and cultivate it “in husbandly manner” for a supply of seed the next year. The importation of cotton, which they could not raise, was provided for at the public expense to find its way to the domestic spinning-wheels ; but the cultivation of tobacco, which it was soon found would grow so well in the rich bottom-lands of the Connecticut, was encouraged by a decree

¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut.*

that whoever should after September, 1641, "drinke [smoke] any other tobacco but such as is, or shall be, planted within these liberties," should suffer the heavy penalty of a fine of five shillings for every pound. Such laws foreshadowed some of the important industries and future wealth of the State of Connecticut.

The supremacy obtained over the Indians by arms was confirmed by law over those who survived the Pequot war. It was a penal act to sell them arms, or even to mend those of which they were already in possession. Theft, and intimidation for the sake of theft, the crimes to which the savages were most inclined, were severely punished. If they could not be made good citizens,—and that was hardly attempted,—it was hoped, at least, that as vagabonds they might be rendered harmless. The dealings of the colonists with them were so far just that they paid for the lands they wanted, and permitted the Indians to retain those the English did not want, provided they were peaceful and kept within their own bounds. When these conditions were not observed a raid upon their cornfields and wigwams renewed the lesson of the war. Whoever recognized the higher duty of attempting to lead them to a knowledge of Christianity was quite free to do so without interference from the State; but their most efficient teachers were the lives the Christians led, and the examples they followed were naturally those which were most evil.

While the Pequot war was in progress a fresh colony from England arrived in Boston and was looking for a place of settlement. Edward Hopkins, who soon after went to Hartford, was in this company; John Davenport, a clergyman of some note from London, was their pastor, and the leading man among them was Theophilus Eaton, a merchant of reputation and of affluence. It was a company of wealth and respectability, and the magistrates of Massachusetts would have gladly retained them within their jurisdiction.

Settlement
of New
Haven.

But there were two reasons, imperative with the new-comers, for seeking a place for their future home without the bounds of Massachusetts: there was too much theological controversy and not sufficient harbor accommodation about the Bay. The banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson was not the extirpation of heresy, and Mr. Davenport, it is said, was fearful lest his flock should be led astray by the fatal doctrines of the Antinomians. Whatever other dangers might lurk in the wilderness, the Indians would not, at least, unsettle men's minds as to sanctification and justification. The other point was equally clear: the farming lands near all the good harbors about the Bay were already occupied. Agriculture must, of course, be their immediate reliance; but they hoped to found a commercial colony, and

therefore sought for a commodious port where trade would grow, while lands not too far off to be conveniently cultivated should yield



John Davenport.

them a subsistence. Another reason given was that they wished to put themselves beyond the reach of a general governor, should one be appointed for all New England; but as this had ceased to be probable, the alleged fear of it could only have been a thin disguise for a more substantial purpose — a wish to escape the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and have an independent government of their own.

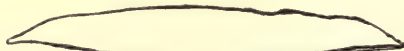
In the spring of 1638, the whole company sailed from

Boston for Quinnipiack,¹ now New Haven, purchased the preceding autumn from Momauguin, the Indian sachem, for twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors.² Several of their number had held possession through the winter, but the first solemn and formal act of occupation was on the 18th of April, the Sunday after their arrival. Then this new band of Pilgrim Fathers assembled beneath the spreading branches of a giant oak, and the pastor, Davenport, preached to them from the

The first
Sunday at
New Haven.

text, — Matthew iv. 1: "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil."

"He had a good day," he said afterwards; and doubtless his hearers, who all looked up to him with great reverence, were as much edified with his expounding of the temptations that were to beset them in the wilderness, as he was satisfied with his own performance.



Momauguin's Signature.

Their undertaking was sanctified not long after by a day of fasting and prayer, when they entered into a covenant that in all things, whether in Church or in State, they would be guided by the rules

¹ "Quinnepaca or Quinnepeange rather," Niles's *History of Indian and French Wars. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third series, vol. vi.

² New Haven Records in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.



THE FIRST SUNDAY AT NEW HAVEN.

“which the Scripture held forth to them.” The temptations of the wilderness could not have been many or great to a community which could live for more than a year without other government than this simple compact.

But in June of the next year preliminary measures were taken for a permanent political organization. These were of a remarkable character, whether looked upon as an instance of the intense earnestness of the religious convictions of the Puritans, or of the submissive deference they were

accustomed to yield to their spiritual guides. The whole community gathered together in a barn,¹ — for want of any other building large enough to hold them — and the first business of the assembly was to listen to a sermon of instruction



Site of Newman's Barn.

and exhortation from Mr. Davenport. His text was from Proverbs ix. 1: “Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.” Herein he found warrant and direction for the gathering of a Church and the formation of a State.

The Church was to rest upon seven pillars and the foundation of the State was the Church. The right and the duty to gather the one and create the other were inherent, not derivative. There was no recognition of either hierarch or king. The assembled people were to choose from among themselves twelve men the most esteemed for their virtue and their wisdom, and these twelve were to elect seven others who were to be the seven pillars. On the pillars the Church was to be built; the seven men, that is, were to call about them such persons as they deemed fit to be members of the Church, and these members were to form the state. For in the Scriptures was to be found a perfect rule for the guidance and government of men in all human affairs, in the family, in the commonwealth, in the church. Church-membership was citizenship; he who was not fit for that, was unfit for this, for the state must be “according to God.”

The Church of seven pillars.


¹ The tradition is that the barn belonged to Robert Newman, and it is supposed to have stood at the corner of Grove and Temple Streets, on land afterwards occupied by the house of Noah Webster, the lexicographer, New Haven. — *Bacon's Historical Discourses*.

Such was the drift of Mr. Davenport's sermon, and it was acceptable to his hearers saving one only, and he it is supposed was a brother clergyman. The assembly elected twelve men to whom should be entrusted the important duty of raising the seven pillars on which was to rest a temple dedicated to the worship of God, but to be also a house for the protection of man. What else could the twelve do but act in conformity with the judgment of the whole community? Among these twelve most worthy the most worthy seven must surely be found. From their own number, therefore, they selected the seven pillars.¹ Around these the church was gathered, the question of fitness for membership resting, in the first instance, with them.

Two months later the people were again assembled; again they were exhorted and counselled by Davenport, with the Bible between his hands. He was now, however, more than leader by weight of character and respect for his learning; the church had chosen him as the pastor, content to accept him as consecrated to the duties of his sacred office by the simple laying on of hands of two of their own number, indifferent to apostolic succession and the authority of bishops. He spoke, therefore, now with greater authority than ever; and under his guidance the popular church proceeded to the organization of a popular government.

Formation
of the State.

Theophilus Eaton



Signature of Theophilus Eaton.

In its general provisions — as to the holding of General Courts, the number and choice of magistrates, the exercise of legislative and judicial power, the rights of the citizen, and his responsibility to the law —

it was essentially the same as that of Connecticut in all outward form, as in its purely democratic spirit. But after all it was democracy with a proviso; the right of self government in holding or in choosing to office was restricted to those who were members of that church. Others, who also assumed to call themselves Christians, were as completely shut out from any share in the government as a hundred and fifty years later the Constitution of the United States excluded "Indians not taxed" and "persons held to service or labor."

On this model established at New Haven other churches were soon gathered in other places, and each church was a town. Some were within the boundaries of Connecticut, and sent their representatives

¹ These were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon.

to the General Court at Hartford; others were for some years entirely independent, recognizing no civil rule outside of their own organization. Among these last was Saybrook, to which a colony under George Fenwick was sent by lords Say and Brook, and which was already known by their combined names. Places like Guilford, Milford, Stratford, perpetuating in their names the tender memories of old English homes, were planted on commodious havens, or at the mouths of navigable streams, along the inner coast of Long Island Sound. Thither fresh emigrants flocked from Connecticut, from Massachusetts Bay, sometimes directly from England. The country, as it was



Old House in Guilford, 1639.

gradually occupied, was fairly purchased from the natives — purchased at insignificant prices, indeed, but large enough to create a title in fee-simple, while they were satisfactory to the original owners, who set small value upon limited tracts of that wide wilderness which they claimed as their own. It was the avowed policy of the State to deal justly with the savages, that offences might be avoided; and, on the whole, the rule was no doubt carefully observed, from choice as well as from necessity. On the other hand, if the savages were sometimes insensible to kindness, and incapable of understanding principles of justice incompatible with their wild notions of individual right, the lesson of the late war was not lost upon them. If not always peaceable, and if often annoying, they were rarely at this period dangerous neighbors. So these English villages were left to take root and grow in strength and thrift when the storm of savage warfare swept over and almost desolated the settlements of their jealous rivals, the Dutch, throughout the boundaries of New Netherland.

Progress of
the English.

Nor could the claim of the Dutch West India Company to the Fresh River — the Connecticut — by right of prior discovery and occupation, though so pertinaciously urged, seriously hinder the steady

progress of the English along the shores of the Sound toward the valley of the Hudson. From the time of the first settlement at Hartford the advanced guard of the more energetic race had pushed on, in spite of the protests and threats, the rage — furious but harmless — of the Dutch. The quiet energy and determination of the English were stronger than the loudest and most indignant complaints ; for success lay naturally with the party that acted rather than with the one that, for the most part, only talked.

The two peoples were moved, moreover, by totally different motives. The Fresh River, and all the region it watered, the Dutch looked upon only as a back country, rich in beaver skins, to be made tributary to the great trading station at New Amsterdam. It best served their purposes while it remained a hunting-ground for the Indians, with here and there a half-military, half-trad-

Encroach-
ments on the
Dutch.

The Dutch
in New
England.



Mouth of the Connecticut.

ing post, to regulate the traffic in the peltries which the Indians gathered. When the Dutch wanted to colonize, if they went out of the valley of the Hudson, or beyond the immediate vicinity of their chief colony, it was to dispute with the Swedes the possession of the beautiful shores that extended on the South River from the Capes of the Delaware a hundred miles into the interior to the mouth of the Schuylkill. They had no such designs of settlement along the coast of New England, however much they coveted the possession of the country for the sake of its trade.

But the English were moved by quite another spirit ; they wanted homes. They laid the axe at the root of the forests which sheltered and hid the Indian and his game. They cleared the ground for their seed corn ; built their log-houses and barns ; gathered together in churches, and founded commonwealths. The rude forts and mere trading-posts of the Dutch were powerless against circumvallations made with English ploughs ; and the New Netherland garrisons re-

luctantly, but inevitably, retired before a host armed with spades and hoes, musical with the hum of women's spinning wheels and the voices of happy children, led by Puritan generals in gown and bands, whose orderly-book was the Bible, and whose word of command was a prayer and an exhortation — a host seeking to make the wilderness blossom into homes, which laughed at threats of armed resistance, and scouted claims of discovery not backed up by more permanent signs of possession than a flag-staff and a sentinel.

There could be little doubt as to the result of such a conflict between assumed title and actual possession; nor was it possible to change that result by appeals to the governments in England and at The Hague to adjust the boundaries between the rival claimants. The representations of the case were listened to with impatience or indifference; on the one side was want of will, on the other want of power, for any efficient interference. Sir William Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague, discloses in his official correspondence the policy of his government.

English diplomacy on colonial boundaries. 1642.

It would be well enough, he thought, that an act or declaration of some kind should be passed either by both Houses of Parliament, or by the Lower House, or, failing that, by a Committee of that House, to show that "these businesses" relating to the American Colonies were not altogether ignored or forgotten. Such act, or declaration, or memorial, with its official sanction of some sort, it mattered very little what, could then be sent to him with a letter from the Lords of Council with some vague instructions. Provided with such a document, he would present it when and how it should seem to him most expedient — when, he no doubt means, it was no longer possible to escape a pretence of doing something — either to the States General, or to the West India Company, or to some other body political or commercial, as should seem to him best, and should best serve his purpose of doing nothing. And when these methods of diplomatic procrastination were thoroughly exhausted, there was still another crowning act of dilatoriness in reserve to be resorted to — his excellency could, when further delay was no longer possible, make a report, which would refer the question back again to his government for further consideration, to be ground over again in the slow mill of parliamentary debate and subsequent reference to a parliamentary committee.

A little intimidation also, Sir William thought, could be brought to the aid of this skilful diplomacy. The Dutch ambassador in London, who was supposed, meanwhile, not to be idle, but to be pressing the question of colonial boundaries and encroachments, should, he advised, be quietly approached by some persons of authority and persuaded of the certain injury and inconvenience that would befall the

Dutch West India Company if these dissensions and difficulties between the distant and quarrelsome colonists should involve their respective governments at home.

There was little likelihood of any adjudication of boundaries, whether just or unjust, while the English government carefully guarded against any approach to its serious consideration. It was meant that it should be otherwise settled. The conclusion of Boswell's counsel is: "That in the mean tyme, th' English there doe not forbear to put forward their plantacons, and crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have [occupied] but without hostility or any act of violence."¹

Not only was the "crowding" pushed along the shores of the mainland, but it crossed the Sound. In 1639, Lion Gardiner purchased of the Indians the island Manchonack — since known as Gardiner's Island — near Montauk Point. Shelter Island, still further up the bay, was taken possession of by

English
settlements
on and near
Long Island.



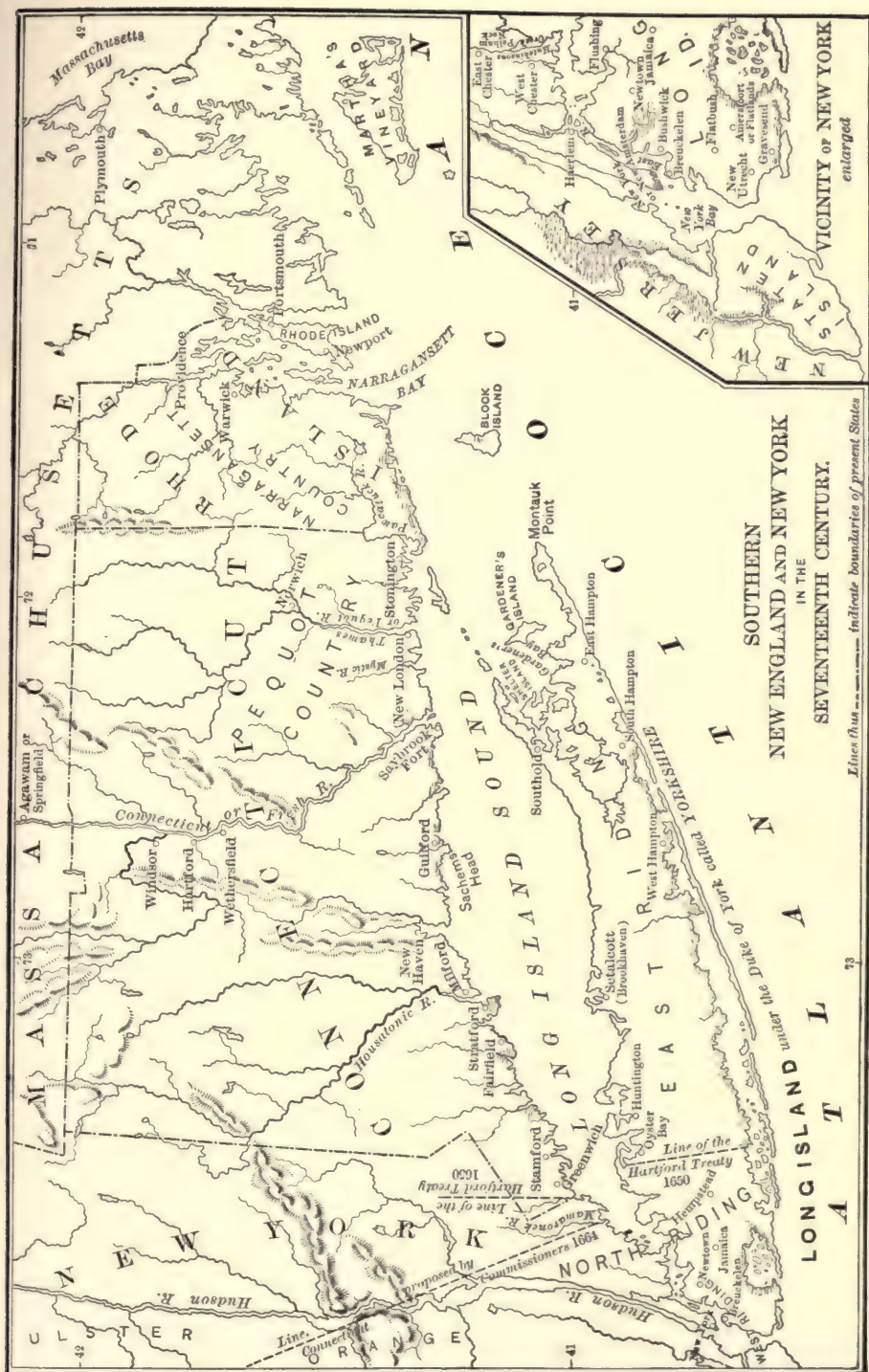
Gardiner's Island.

James Farrett, who was sent out by William, Earl of Stirling, as his agent, he claiming the whole of Long Island under a deed from the Plymouth Company, made before its dissolution by order of the king. Farrett vis-

ited Manhattan, and was held for a short time under arrest by the Dutch governor, Kieft, for asserting Lord Stirling's title.

The enterprising New Englanders, however, were not to be deterred by such measures. In 1640 a company from Lynn, Massachusetts, appeared, under the leadership of Captain Daniel How, at Cow Neck, within the present town of North Hempstead, Long Island, and attempted a settlement. They tore down the arms of the Prince of Orange, which they found upon a tree, and carved in place of the shield an absurd face, as their countrymen had done some years before at Kievit's Hook, at the mouth of the Connecticut. The insult and intrusion were resented by Kieft with spirit, and How and his companions were compelled to retreat. But it was only toward the other end of the island, where they settled South Hampton and East Hampton, at the eastern extremity.

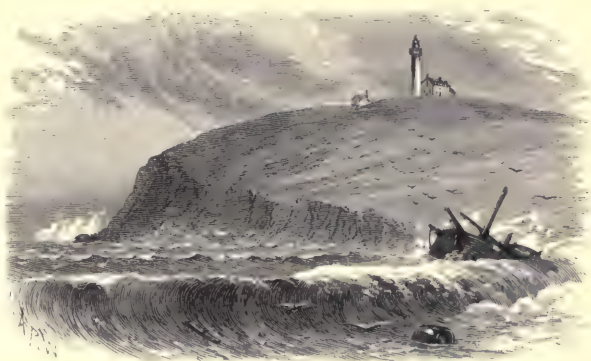
¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, Trumbull, Appendix I.



The same year some New Haven people took possession at Southold on the Sound. The young colonies had not long to wait, when once a firm foothold was gained, for accessions both from Old and New England. Nor were the Dutch unreasonable, for they seemed quite willing to share the island with the English, leaving them to take possession of the eastern half unmolested. Ten years later indeed, in 1650, they made a treaty to this effect with the New England colonies, by which a dividing line should be drawn from the west side of Oyster Bay to the sea; but in the mean while, they

Treaty of
1650 with
the Dutch.

had only insisted that the English plantations which in the course of that decade had grown up west of this line, should be held to be within the jurisdiction of the West India Company, and should acknowledge their allegiance to the



Montauk Point.

States General. Hempstead, Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, were, therefore, Dutch towns, though settled by the English. But South Hampton, East Hampton, Southold, Brookhaven, Huntington, and Oyster Bay, were united at different periods, to Connecticut, till after the surrender of New Netherlands to the English in 1664, when the whole island came under the government of the Duke of York.¹

This migration of the English from Massachusetts Bay to the country of the Connecticut, thence westward along both shores of the Sound, crowding in one direction almost as far as Hell Gate, pushing, in another, almost to the banks of the Hudson, was not impelled by any imperative necessity of outward circumstance, but rather by an uncontrollable restlessness, a fever of change that gave them no quiet. Full of energy, activity, curiosity, and a love of independence, political and religious, they demanded above all things space enough for the gratification of ambitions that sought to found thriving colonies and open new avenues to wealth.

They were all Puritans, and as such were anxious to escape from a real or apprehended thralldom in church or state. But there were, perhaps, in these offshoots of the parent stock something more of a

¹ A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Towns of Long Island, etc. By Silas Wood.

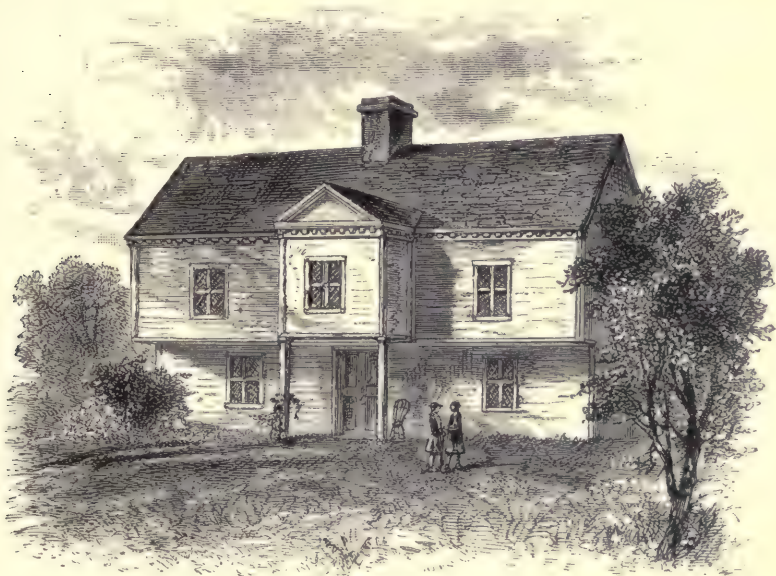
worldly disposition, and something less of that spirit of fanaticism which led the Boston brethren to welcome above all things a plunge into the uproar of a theological controversy, and to subordinate all else to the establishment of a uniformity of faith. That Puritan prudence, which was careful to be out of the reach of the heavy hands of the Bishops before the non-conformist ventured to expand into the more perfect freedom of separatism, seems to have been carried into all the other relations of life by these people who chose to find their abiding places without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay.

They would not, indeed, have been Puritans had not the interests of religion been with them paramount to all earthly considerations; but they were not therefore disposed to look upon all merely material interests with comparative indifference. It was not, perhaps, so much any essential radical difference of character between them and other New England emigrants of their time and class; but there was at least that fortunate difference of circumstance and opportunity which came with their escape from the fierce polemics of Boston, and reluctance to live under magistrates who, however excellent their rule in many respects, never willingly assented to the admission of others to any share of it, while insisting upon implicit obedience in all things which they decreed, whether relating to this world or the next. The people who escaped from this domination into Connecticut, if it were only that the ambitions of leaders might have fuller play, and the consent of followers a larger choice, gained, beside, more freedom than they sought. They were led to take a wider view of the possibilities of the new country they had found than as merely an arena for theological discussion where the metes and bounds of religious liberty, however much enlarged into the wider field of Puritanism, were just as arbitrary and as fixed as ever. They saw that they might be prosperous without ceasing to be pious, and that worldly thrift was not necessarily incompatible with a due regard for the things of the everlasting life. They were too busy in clearing forests, in planting crops, in building towns at the mouths of all the rivers that seemed most promising for future commerce, to permit themselves to be absorbed in attempts to find out the whole counsel of God in dim and subtle distinctions of theological controversy.

Not that they were unmindful of those things which made so large an element in the intellectual and spiritual life of the time; but that other interests were with them of equal if not sometimes of greater consideration. A steady compliance with the suggestions of worldly wisdom, a prudent attention to the conditions of worldly thrift, not less than an implicit obedience to the highest sense of religious duty,

Character of
the Connect-
icut Puri-
tans.

have ever characterized this branch of the family of New England Puritans. Wherever they have gone they have carried with them this profitable mixture of puritanic rectitude and wise worldliness. However stern and rigid their piety, hand in hand with it have gone industry and prosperity ; the government of the people by the will of the majority ; the free school ; the free church according to their standard of religious freedom, and the common law of England. Of that hardy race of pioneers — whose indomitable courage, whose irrepressible energy, whose restless love of change, neither chains of mountains, nor gigantic rivers, nor lakes that are inland seas, nor arid deserts could hinder in their march to the shores of another ocean — there has been no more fruitful root than that which was first planted in the rich soil of the valley of the Connecticut.



Hooker's House at Hartford.

There had been struggling into existence, meanwhile, another New England colony, the stern and hard realities of whose early experiences were touched with no play of that idyllic light and shadow that give grace and romance to the first migrations from Massachusetts Bay to the region of the Connecticut. Its feeble beginning was no pleasant patriarchal journey like that of Hooker and Stone and their followers from Newtown to Hartford. With these went flocks and herds, and wagons laden with household stuff ; and they travelled leisurely through the hundred miles of forest in the early days of June when the woods, rich in the tender colors of the young foliage, let

the warm sunshine through upon the green, fresh-grown moss and the dead leaves of past summers, flecked all over with flowers in blue and white and gold — the warm sunshine that stirred, at the same time, into unwonted movement the hearts of the young Puritans, youths and maidens and hilarious children, in whom not even the watchful care and sombre presence of elder and deacons could suppress the quick and joyful sense of sympathy with the freedom, and beauty, and delight, that filled all nature.

So Davenport and his company sailed out of Boston harbor in the bright days of April, — sailed on even keel and with gentle breezes past the long beaches of the Bay; past the white strands and sand-hills of Cape Cod; past the islands of the southern coast of New



Coast of Massachusetts. — Nantasket Beach.

England where the warm current of the Gulf Stream with a westward sweep tempers the waters and the air; and so at length **they came** into Long Island Sound. The pastor meanwhile, no doubt gathering the elder men about him on sunny days in the shadow of the sails, held wise and sweet converse upon that stately temple of seven pillars which should presently rear its fair proportions in the primeval solitude where great oaks and elms cast their shadows over the rich meadows that stretched down to the sea.

All these went forth with the God-speeds and good wishes of the brethren of Massachusetts; but not so with the founders of Rhode

Island. Roger Williams fled out into the night and the winter's storm, with the order of the General Court behind him, the officers of the law in hot pursuit, and a ship waiting in the offing to bear him into perpetual banishment across the sea. The shelter which Puritan intolerance denied him he sought and found among savage friends. As he, the next spring, with only five companions, paddled his canoe along the shore of Providence Bay, their thoughts were less of hierarchies and of commonwealths, than where the sunniest slope could be found for a field of maize, the most sheltered and convenient nook for huts.

Landing of
Roger Wil-
liams at
Providence.

Mooshausick, as the place was called where Williams hoped to find rest at last — and which he named Providence, because, he said, “of God’s merciful providence unto me in my distress” — he desired, also, “might be for a shelter for those distressed in conscience.” It was not long ere such asylums were needed. Whether the exercise then and there of the right of free thought and free speech was wise or foolish, whether it was harmless or baneful either to church or state, the attempt to suppress that right was altogether futile.¹

Roger Williams had not long to wait for companionship. Within two years from the time of his landing upon Slate Rock such accessions were made to his colony that “the lands on the two fresh rivers, Wowasquatuckett and Mooshausick,” granted to him by Canonicus and Miantonomo, he conveyed to twelve associates for thirty pounds. These incorporated themselves and all that should be subsequently admitted, into a township, promising to render “an active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good,” by the consent of the majority. But the submission was to be “only in civil things.”²



Signature of Miantonomo.



Signature of Canonicus.

¹ The popular defence of the intolerance of the early Boston Puritans — for strange to say, they have their defenders — is that the critical circumstances of their condition as an infant colony with its peculiar relations to the parent state made it imperative that a uniformity of belief should be enforced for the sake of preserving the Puritan ascendancy both in religious and civil affairs. And it is triumphantly asserted as the result that the character of the Massachusetts of later times, and its influence upon the history of the whole country, are due to the stern and wise policy of the early fathers in their suppression of a liberty that was running or had run into license. Whereas, the truth is that those bigoted elders and magistrates, though they sometimes silenced the men, never suppressed the opinions whether true or false. They only tried, and the more they tried the less they succeeded. The character of Massachusetts and the potent influence she has exercised upon the history of the United States are due to the fact that neither bigots nor fanatics have ever, from the time of Roger Williams to the present moment, been able to destroy the liberty of thought and of speech within her borders. Her people have always been wise enough — wiser always than the Synod and the General Court — to tolerate freedom of opinion, and, in the long run, to reject that which was unwise and injurious and accept that which was true and good.

² The twelve men to whom the conveyance was made were: Stukely Westcoat, Wil-

This was the corner-stone of the Commonwealth laid by the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay. He and his companions were pronounced dangerous men because their doctrines were assumed to be subversive of the state and the church. Their first act, so soon almost as there were enough of them gathered together to make an agreement, was — as a dozen intelligent Americans would do to-day if thrown together under similar circumstances — to enter into a compact for government by rule of the majority, leaving to each the enjoyment of such religious belief as the intelligence and conscience of each should dictate. Among the earliest recorded actions of the town of Providence is one depriving Joshua Verin of the privilege of voting because he had committed “a breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience,” inasmuch as he had prevented his wife from going when she pleased to Mr. Williams’s meetings.

To those whose presence in Massachusetts Bay the “Lords brethren” would not tolerate, or who could not submit to the despotic rule which these brethren sought to establish, the country about Narragansett Bay soon came to be as a land of refuge. There gathered there, no doubt, in the first few years a heterogeneous and remarkable company; some half crazed with those teeming maggots of the brain which so breed in times of exasperating religious controversy; others possessed by harmless vagaries of illogical thought, which spring up in such seasons in some minds, and which, if they have a meaning to those who cherish them, are incomprehensible to everybody else. Indeed, the wonder is, in our soberer times, not that there were so many of these unhappy and infatuated polemicists, but that any clear exercise of sound judgment remained in a community where the weight of wisdom and of character convened as in the Cambridge Synod, could elaborate out of the controversy on justification and sanctification eighty-two pestilent heresies worthy of condign punishment. There were nevertheless many men, possibly even a majority of the church in Boston, who in all this confusion of tongues, preserved their intellectual balance unmoved and kept their eyes firmly fixed on the everlasting truth. Many among them were determined to preserve the one thing worth preserving — liberty of thought and of conscience; never losing sight of its supreme value, sometimes, perhaps, abusing it themselves, suffering much oftener

William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman. The thirty pounds, however, seems not to have been paid till the admission subsequently of some new members into the body politic, when a new and fuller deed was made by Mr. Williams, and the first twelve were released from any payment. See Backus’s *History of the American Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 92. 93.

Character of
Williams’s
Colony.

Heated controversy in
Massachusetts.

from its abuse in others, but dreading, nevertheless, the danger of its suppression far more than any evil likely to arise from its undue exercise.

Of these men, some who were wise and some who were foolish instinctively turned their faces, when Massachusetts would tolerate them no longer, to that shelter which Roger Williams had provided "for persons distressed in conscience." The eighty-two heresies which the Cambridge Synod saw lurking in the doctrine that a covenant of grace was the only way to salvation, and which were discovered to be equally dangerous to church and state, must with the Lord's help, be scattered to the winds of Heaven. The General Court, which was essentially the synod under another name, had little mercy upon the persons who held these dangerous opinions, upon those who were assumed to hold them, or upon those even who questioned the justice of punishing the real or the supposed offenders. It was not only that the original heresy was pronounced as deserving of punishment, but they were held no less guilty who refused to acknowledge as legitimate whatever dangerous deductions their opponents chose to draw from opinions conscientiously and innocently believed in. And no less was it an offence against the Commonwealth to maintain that one's carriage and behavior were not necessarily dangerous and seditious because one's abstract faith was pronounced to be heretical by elders and magistrates.¹

Attitude of
the General
Court to-
ward here-
tics.

The party which Winthrop led in the General Court, both officially and personally, and Wilson in the Synod, was content with no half measures. Vane was evidently glad enough, at last, to get back to England on any pretext after his defeat by Winthrop in the election for governor; ² Cotton, whom poor Mrs. Hutchinson had followed to New England, because of the soundness and purity of his faith, seemed

¹ See Callender's *Historical Discourse on The Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island & Providence Plantations*, 1739. For an admirable account of the Antinomian Controversy, see also Ellis's *Life of Anne Hutchinson* in Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. vi., new series.

² How intense the party feeling of the time was is evident in some significant incidents related by Winthrop. When he was elected to succeed Vane in 1637, the two sergeants, whose duty it was to precede the governor on all public occasions, carrying halberds, refused to perform this office before Winthrop. One of the men was a son of Mrs. Hutchinson. Winthrop invited a young English lord — Lord Ley — on a visit to Boston, to dinner, asking Vane, among others, to meet him. "Mr. Vane," says Winthrop, "not only refused to come (alleging, by letter, that his conscience withheld him), but also, at the same hour, he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him." One is not surprised to read that when, not long after, Vane and Ley went down the harbor on their way to sea, although many persons were present to do honor to the departure of the ex-governor, and salutes were fired from the castle and elsewhere, the governor himself "was not come from the court, but had left order for their honourable dismissal." Such were the amenities that attended the controversy on sanctification and justification.

to fall away from his friends, though, perhaps, he only saw how impossible it was for any man, in the full possession of his reason, to go the whole length of either party.¹ One by one the Antinomians were deprived of their strongest leaders. Wheelwright wandered away northward, and stopped when he reached what seemed a promising spot in the woods for a plantation — now Exeter, New Hampshire. The most shocking and disgusting calumnies were, — as we have already related,² — visited upon Mrs. Hutchinson, and were enough to drive her out into any wilderness, however savage, even if Massachusetts had not decreed her banishment after a trial which only needed thumbscrews and the rack to be complete after its kind.

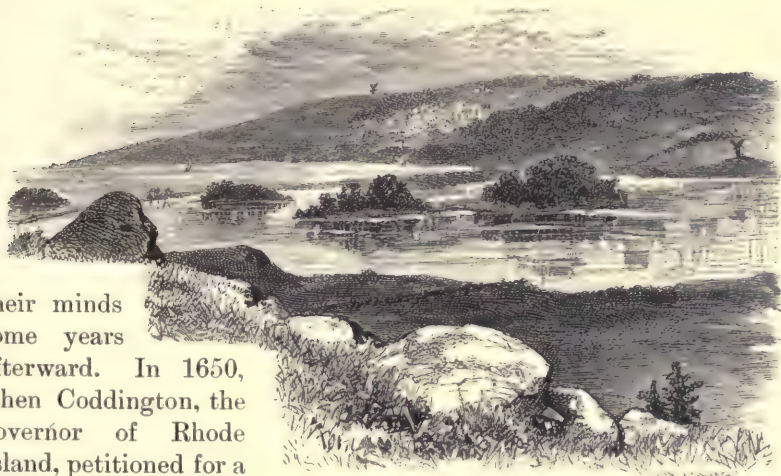
In Boston and its vicinity between seventy and eighty, most of them men of character and influence, were compelled to surrender their arms, — with the added humiliation of carrying them with their own hands to a certain place of deposit, — as enemies of the commonwealth. Many shared the sentence of Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother and were banished; others preferred voluntary exile to remaining where they were objects of constant suspicion, and dreaded as a dangerous and wicked faction. Whether there was any reason or not for apprehending that the defeated party would resort to arms, there was good reason for fearing their strength. Though the ministers, and the magistrates who joined with them, were able to rule with a high hand, the minority that was compelled to submit was a very large one.

Many of these were driven by such persecutions to seek for a new home outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Nearly all of them were of that number who were compelled to give up their arms. "I thought it not strange," wrote one of them — John Clark — "to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able so to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter [his own friends], for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the profer of Abraham to Lot, and for peace sake,

¹ Eminent and good as John Cotton was, his course in this controversy, as well as on other occasions, could hardly fail to give him the reputation of a man so candid that he cared nothing for consistency, or else so vacillating as to be untrustworthy. A Mr. Ward, "once lecturer at St. Michael's, in Cornhill, London," — probably the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," — said of him: "Here is our reverend elder, Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year, that the next year he publicly repents of, and shews himself very sorrowful for it to the congregation." *Simplicite's Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, etc., etc. Republication in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. ii., p. 122.

² See vol. i., p. 556.

to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left.”¹ Moved by a purpose so peaceful and sensible, Wheelwright was first visited at Exeter; then Long Island and the Capes of the Delaware were proposed, and on the way southward Williams and the people of Plymouth, — tolerant of schismatics and who knew from long and bitter experience what exile for conscience’ sake meant — were visited. All concurred in advising them to go no further, but to take possession upon the island of Aquetnet, or Acquidneck — now Rhode Island. Their first choice was Sowames — a neck of land in the present town of Barrington, — but the Plymouth people claimed the latter as belonging to them, holding it, they said, “to be the garden of their Patent, and the flour in the garden,” while the island was not within their boundaries.² On this latter point, however, the Plymouth authorities changed



The Cove, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

their minds some years afterward. In 1650, when Coddington, the governor of Rhode Island, petitioned for a patent, Edward Winslow appeared on behalf of the Plymouth people before the committee of the admiralty in London, claiming that Acquidneck belonged to them under the grant of 1620.³

The island, however, was purchased from Canonicus and Miantonomo, for “forty fathom of white beads,” for Coddington and his associates. It was done, writes Williams, “through that love and favour which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the great sachem, Myantonomy, about the league which I

¹ *Ill Newes from New England: or a Narrative of New England's Persecution*, etc. By John Clark, Physician of Rhode Island in America. 1652. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

² *Clark's Narrative*.

³ *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, p. 338.

procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts in the Pequod war."

The purchase was made on the 24th of March, 1637-8. The new comers pitched their tents at the northern extremity of the island, at Pocasset, now called Portsmouth, possibly some days before. With a reverential reliance upon the divine support, quite out of keeping with the supposition that they were men too dangerous to society to be trusted with deadly weapons, they had entered, on the 7th of the month, into a compact rather of the character of a church than of a civil body. To incorporate themselves into a body politic they submitted their lives, persons, and estates unto the "Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of his, given unto us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."¹ Under this theocracy they proposed to live; and Mr. Coddington was at once chosen chief judge, with, probably, the functions of an equity court, but without the power of enforcing its decisions.

Settlement
at Ports-
mouth,
Rhode Isl-
and, March,
1638.

Coddington
chosen chief
judge.

The experiment was a short one. "The perfect and absolute law"



Governor Coddington.

of the Scriptures might have been quite sufficient for the original associates alone, but their numbers were soon added to with such a result as might have been looked for. Some of those who came to the new settlement were probably not saints; some of those who were may possibly have been saints of a very pragmatistical and uncompliant disposition. Not a year had passed when we find that three persons were elected as elders to assist Mr. Coddington, and two of these three were not among the original associates. Not long after a constable was chosen to preserve

the peace and prevent unlawful meetings, and a sergeant elected to keep a prison for the custody of those committed to his charge.² About the same time William Aspinwall, one of the most respectable

¹ The associates were William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, Jun., Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Phillip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Sen., Henry Bull. — Callender's *Historical Discourse*. Backus adds to the list the name of Randal Holden.

² *Rhode Island Colonial Records*.

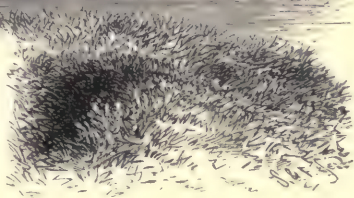
and most conspicuous of those who had been banished from Massachusetts, was proceeded against "as a suspected person for sedition against the State." There are no surer evidences of civil government than jails and constables.

It is easy to imagine the progress of events. The class to which, under the category of "Persons distressed in conscience," Roger Williams suggested that a shelter might be found about Narragansett Bay, is always sure to include some very disagreeable and very unreasonable, though unquestionably most upright and worthy people. Some of this kind, probably, whose consciences were very tender, as well as some who had no consciences at all, followed to Rhode Island John Clark and his friends, whose earnest desire in going was that they might be permitted "to live peaceably together." There were penalties many and severe yet to be paid before liberty and peace could dwell together undisturbed, as these people soon made manifest.

Difficulties
of the new
colony.



It was thought in Boston, or, at least, Governor Winthrop believed, that Mrs. Hutchinson was at the bottom of the troubles which broke out in the new colony. In May, 1639, the governor writes: "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. Hutchinson only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance."¹



Entrance to Newport Harbor.

This was, no doubt, so far true that Mrs. Hutchinson was not likely to have been a silent listener to any discussions, especially upon theological questions, and these could hardly have failed to arise among minds cut loose from all settled beliefs by the Antinomian controversy, and hot and eager with

Influence of
Mrs. Hutch-
inson in
these dis-
cords.

¹ See Winthrop's *History*, vol. i., p. 356, and Savage's note on this passage. Also, Palfrey's *Hist. of New England*, vol. i., pp. 512, 513.

novel theories, political and polemical. And out of such discussions may well have been evolved the necessity of civil rule and a change of rulers. But the spirit, nevertheless, in which John Clark spoke

influenced many among them, remembering the proffer of Abraham to Lot, and turning one to the right hand and the other to the left. Coddington and his friends removed within two years to the other end of the island, — at Newport, — but the colonies were soon after united under one government, with Coddington at its head, and Hutchinson as one of his assistants.



Coddington's House, Newport.

Newport was settled by nine of the leading men of Pocasset — or, as it was this year named, Portsmouth — including all its magistrates.¹ Of these, the first who built a house was Nicholas Easton, who, with his two sons, Peter and John, arrived in a boat on the first of May, perhaps a little in advance of his eight associates. He and his sons, at any rate, were the first to provide themselves with a permanent shelter.² At the first recorded meeting of the emigrants on the 16th of May, the site of “the plantation now begun at this southwest end of the island” is fixed as on both sides of the spring, “by the seaside southward”; this spring was on the west side of the present Spring Street near the State House, its stream running to the harbor. The town grew rapidly, and in five months numbered one hundred and one persons. Winthrop says in his journal of that month: “They [at Aquidneck] also gathered a church in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of

¹ The nine were William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, John Clark, Jeremy Clark, Thomas Hazard, Henry Bull, and William Dyre.

² The house was on the west side of Farewell Street, a little west of Friends' meeting-house in the Newport of our day. Coddington's house was on the north side of Marlborough Street, fronting Duke Street. — Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

the church of Boston and not dismissed." He probably refers to a gathering at Pocasset, but these nine founders of Newport must have been its chief members, and were not likely to have lost their Christian fellowship by their removal. The "disordered way" was ere long the Baptist Church of Newport, with the Rev. John Clark as pastor, — to the Puritan mind "a confusion worse confounded."

Hutchinson died in 1642. Only the summer before a son and a son-in-law of the family had been imprisoned and fined on a visit to Boston,¹ and it is far more probable that Mrs. Hutchinson, longing for peace and tranquillity, sought, after her husband's death, to escape persecution and calumny by removing to New Mrs. Hutchinson goes to New Netherland. Netherland, out of the reach of her own countrymen, than that it became intolerable to her, as her detractors would have us believe, to live in any peaceful and well-ordered community. "She and her party," says Winthrop, "would have no magistracy." But there was no evil he was not willing to believe of that unhappy lady. He even suspected her of witchcraft, and that she had bewitched this young man Collins, who married her daughter; for "it was certainly known," he says, with the utmost solemnity, that her "bosom friend," one Hawkins's wife, "had much familiarity with the devil in England."

In truth these Rhode Island people grew, from the beginning, to be more and more intolerable to the Boston brethren. It was bad enough that they should obstinately maintain the rights of independent thought and private conscience; it was unpardonable that they should assume to be none the less sincere Christians and good citizens, and should succeed in establishing a government of their own on principles which the Massachusetts General Court declared were criminal. Even in a common peril the Massachusetts magistrates could recognize no tie of old friendship — hardly, indeed, of human sympathy — that should bind them to such men. Opportunities for showing the bitterness and intensity of this feeling were not long in coming.

The necessity still existed — by whose fault may, perhaps, be questioned, but, at any rate, existed — of the utmost vigilance lest the hatred of the Indians should be again provoked, notwithstanding the terrible lesson of the Pequot war, into open hostility. An alliance of

¹ Collins, the son-in-law, was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50, not with any expectation that such fines could ever be paid, but that the men might be detained in prison. Governor Winthrop frankly acknowledges this and gives as an additional reason that the family had theretofore been so troublesome. In Collins's case this vicarious punishment was inflicted upon a man who had not even been in the country a twelve month. When the magistrates were satisfied with the length of the imprisonment the fines were remitted, and the young men returned to Rhode Island.

all the English was, as that war had proved, the wisest precaution and the surest defence. These later settlements, made meanwhile on Narragansett Bay, were not less sensible of the common danger, nor doubtful as to how it could best be met.

Upon this subject Governor Coddington wrote in 1640, by order of the General Court, to the Governor of Massachusetts. The character of the letter we only know from Winthrop's account of it. Though it came from Newport and not from Providence, it was written in that humane spirit which Roger Williams had always held should govern the treatment of the natives; that the real safety of the English lay in a just recognition of the natural rights of the Indians. "They declared," says Winthrop, "their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being of the cursed race of Ham, and their desire of our mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them."

The magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven united with those of Aquidneck in this reasonable and Christian proposition. Nor was it in itself repugnant to the General Court of the Bay. But however apprehensive they might be of a savage outbreak, however much disposed to conciliate the Indians by justice and kindness, they, in Boston, would neither bestow nor willingly receive blessings in companionship with heretics. The resentment which would seize such an occasion for its gratification seems almost puerile. "We returned answer of our consent with them in all things propounded," writes Winthrop, "only we refused to include those of Aquidday in our answer, or to have any treaty with them."¹ The official record is even more explicit. The letter, it was ordered, "shall be thus answered by the governor; that the court doth assent to all the propositions laid down in the aforesaid letter, but that the answer shall be directed to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Haynes [of New Haven and of Connecticut] only, excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton [of Newport,] as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themselves or the people of the Island which they inhabit, as their case standeth."²

Nor was this an outbreak of a merely temporary feeling. Here was the spirit which was to shape the future relations of the older and the younger colony. It shut out all considerations of a common interest, dulled the sense of a common danger, stifled the sympathies of a kindred blood. The "case" of these men in Narragansett Bay was that they had been banished from Massachusetts, or had fled of their own

Proposition
for an alli-
ance of the
colonies
against the
Indians.

Refused by
Massachu-
setts.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 24.

² *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 305.

accord that they might enjoy in peace the right of thinking for themselves. But that was a right which to the Puritans of Boston was intolerable. It was not merely — as is so often pretended on their behalf — that these Puritans sought to protect the house of refuge they had built from any disturbing influences; they were no less determined that there should not be, if they could prevent it, anywhere within their reach, a church or a state that was not formed upon their model.

This proposition from the people of Rhode Island was only the renewal of an already familiar discussion. The question of a confederation of the colonies had been annually brought up for consideration from the close of the Pequot war to the spring of 1643 among the magistrates of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth. From year to year the project was deferred, the two smaller colonies fearing lest, in the adjustment of the terms of alliance, too much power should fall into the hands of the stronger colony of the Bay. One point, at least, might now be considered as settled; however willing Connecticut and New Haven might be that Acquidneck should be included in such a league, should it ever be formed, the assent of Massachusetts could only be obtained by the exclusion of that colony.

In 1643, accordingly, a confederation was made embracing Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. The same end and aim, the preamble recited, had brought them into these parts of America, “to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace.” Their distance from each other was incompatible with a single government for all these plantations, but their danger was a common one from the “people of several nations and strange languages” by whom they were surrounded; they could not look for protection from the home government because of “the sad distractions in England;” they entered, therefore, under the name of the United Colonies of New England, “into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.”

The purpose of this federation was strictly defined and limited, and its affairs were to be entrusted to a body of eight commissioners, two from each colony. The main object was an offensive and defensive league in case of war, though the rendition of fugitive servants and criminals was also provided for. In all things else each colony reserved to itself the right of self government. Thus simple were the terms of this federal union, so obviously the germ of the union of States of the next century.

The New
England
confederacy.

For six years, as we have already said, this question of confederation was a topic of anxious discussion. Though so strictly defined and limited, it was only with the utmost caution that the several colonies consented to surrender the rights of self-government even for so obvious a good as a sure protection against their enemies. Perhaps the league would have been even longer delayed had not other than Indian wars been thought possible. The people along the southern coast of New England had turned their resolute faces and longing eyes towards New Netherland. The people of Massachusetts, or, at least, the leaders among them, never lost sight of the hope of absolute independence which first moved them to transfer their company, with its charter, quietly and secretly from London to Massachusetts Bay. They watched with absorbing interest the progress of the Revolution in England, cautious of any rash precipitancy, but ready for any emergency by which they might be involved in that great struggle, and any event that might be turned to their own advantage. That General Court of Massachusetts which ratified the act of confederacy, also decreed that in the oath of allegiance taken by the Governor and magistrates they should omit "for the present" the words "you shall bear true faith and allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles;" for the king, they said, "had violated the privileges of Parliament, and made war upon them."

But from this first New England confederacy — with its immediate purpose of defence and offence against the Indians, and the possible purposes which time might bring forth — Gorges's colony at Agamenticus (York) in Maine, and the plantations on the Narragansett, were rigidly excluded. The Puritans dreaded the state and the church from which they had fled, and which Gorges represented; they hated the heretics who had escaped to Rhode Island from the persecutions of the church and the state which they sought to establish.

Agamenticus and
Acquidneck
excluded.

John Davenport

Signature of John Davenport.

CHAPTER III.

THE BOSTON PURITANS.

ROGER WILLIAMS AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — BOSTON PURITANISM. — ITS BIGOTRY. — THE BELIEF IN A SPECIAL DIVINE PROTECTION. — SPECIAL PROVIDENCES. — PURITAN INTERPRETATION OF DISASTERS AND MISFORTUNES. — POPULAR APPREHENSION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — EARLY LAWS OF THE PURITANS. — REGULATION OF DRESS AND CUSTOMS. — PATERNAL CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT. — RELATIONS OF THE SEXES. — LAWS AGAINST LYING AND BLASPHEMY. — PUNISHMENTS. — PURITAN SPIRIT AND ITS RESULTS IN PRACTICE. — SAMUEL GORTON. — HIS ACTION AT BOSTON AND AT PLYMOUTH, AND HIS BANISHMENT. — GORTON AND HIS COMPANIONS AT ACQUIDNECK AND PAWTUXET. — THE ATTEMPT TO SEIZE WESTON'S CATTLE. — INTERFERENCE OF MASSACHUSETTS. — ARBITRARY COURSE OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES. — GORTON AT SHAWOMET. — HIS LETTER.

“SLATE ROCK,” as the spot is still called where Williams first stepped on shore in search of a new home, marks a memorable event in the history of New England. The wrongs he had suffered might have passed into oblivion as evil so often does, had not their memory been kept alive by the good which followed as a beneficent if not an inevitable consequence. A man less sturdy in courage, or of a virtue less stern would have been crushed into submission or frightened into retraction by the persecution with which he was beset. But whether the assertion of the liberty of thought and of freedom of conscience did or did not lead Roger Williams into errors, sometimes of thought and sometimes of action, the right of private judgment and the sacredness of conscientious conviction were still true; and to him was given the strength to assert and maintain, through much tribulation, the great principle, then dimly understood, which lies at the foundation of all free government and of all intelligent religious belief.

In the last analysis Puritanism meant freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. But the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay limited it to that measure of truth — by no means small indeed — to which they had attained. It was, they believed, obedience to the highest law of the human soul to go as far as they went; it was heresy to go beyond. They not only would not admit that free-

Williams
and liberty
of con-
science.

Boston Puri-
tanism.

dom of thought and of conscience could legitimately lead to any other conclusions than those they had reached ; but they would not admit that such freedom should go further and test the justice of those conclusions. More than this, — they insisted that any conclusions differing from their own were full of dismay and disaster ; and they denied the possibility of coming to any other result by any logical process of thought whatever.



Slate Rock.

Accordingly they believed those deserving of the severest condemnation who maintained any doctrine which, according to the construction they chose to put upon it and the deductions they chose to draw from it, was mischievous, however vehemently those holding that doctrine might repudiate such a construction and such deductions. They assumed, therefore, not merely to punish the propagation of error evidently or confessed as of evil intent ; they were no less eager to visit with severe penalties any doctrine which others might hold to be truthful and beneficent, but from which they by some ingenious intellectual process could deduce a possible civil offence or a religious heresy.

It was to the last degree narrow-minded, and, as narrow-mindedness always is, absurd. But these people were not the less sincere because they were intolerant. Bigotry, though it be ever so cruel, is not necessarily dishonest, and there can be no rational doubt that these Puritan bigots were for the most part upright and conscientious. They had braved the pains and perils of exile from homes and country most dearly loved to secure their own inalienable rights, and they felt to the very marrow of their bones the persecution from ^{Its bigotry.} which they had fled. That which was gained was the more precious for the price that was paid for it, and they could not intermit their vigilance in guarding a possession that had cost so much. If the weakness of passion sometimes blunted the finer sense of justice, this is only to say that these men were human, — that great suffering had not taught them perfect charity.

But either they would not or could not recognize the fact that because they had gone so far and opened the way, others would inevitably insist upon going further; that the limit to thought and to freedom in matters civil and religious which they set up would not be accepted by others because they themselves were satisfied that only danger and darkness lay beyond. There was reason enough in their own circumstances and in their relations to the mother country for the exercise of the utmost care lest liberty should become license; but it behooved them of all men to make no mistake in drawing the dividing line between license and liberty. If they feared the harvest was to be of thorns they should have remembered it was of the tree they planted; and remembering this they should have doubted of such thorns; they should have reflected that if, when the fruit be gathered, it should be found not sharp and bitter, but of exceeding sweetness and wholesomeness, what madness it would have been to lay the axe at the root of the tree that bore it.

No faith could be more profound — none indeed more logical, if resting on a sure foundation — than that of these Boston Puritans in their own righteousness. They believed that the Almighty Power which created and governed the universe, unseen elsewhere and of other men, manifested itself visibly and unmistakably for their protection and in approbation of their lives and actions. It was, perhaps, only the elect few who recognized in all its marvellous majesty this impendency of the Divine presence; to common people yet subject to temptation and liable to sin, God may have seemed, as He does always to ordinary mortals, afar off. But to those who did see it, this visible imminence of the Almighty, manifested in incidents that might otherwise seem trivial or fortuitous, as well as in great events, had an awful meaning, and exercised over their existence an

Belief in a special Divine protection.

irresistible and commanding influence. Life must needs have been a very stern and sombre thing to men who believed themselves to be standing face to face with God, to have entered into his counsels, to be joined with Him in the same work, to be justified in all they did by constant revelations of His will, or warned by significant punishments of His displeasure. They felt quite as intensely and devoutly as men generally feel that the will and the law of the Infinite Creator governed everywhere and always — omniscient in a universe without bounds; omnipresent in an eternity without beginning and without end. But to them there was a sense of a personal Divine presence which had another and even more overwhelming meaning: God himself was always and personally in Boston.

This belief in an immediate Providential government of the affairs of New England, so often avowed by Winthrop and others of the leading Puritans, was more profound than any ordinary superstition; it was a fundamental religious faith. Incidents in themselves trivial were "special Providences;" events of larger moment and wider consequence were "judgments of God." He before whom Moses hid his face, and who said "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," was again a real personal presence upon the earth, had again revealed himself to his own peculiar people. Their wisdom was his wisdom; their purposes were his purposes; their enemies were his enemies. He shielded them in a thousand ways from trouble. If the wicked were visited with misfortunes, it was because they were wicked in His estimation as well as in theirs. If mishap sometimes befell the good it was to remind them of their dependence upon God, or to rebuke them for a proneness to forget that He was the source of all blessings. In either case it was to testify His immediate presence, or His approval of all that they thought and did believing it to be His will. Thus there was vouchsafed to them a constant revelation, and by the wise its voice could never be mistaken.

To incidents trifling in themselves there might be a tremendous import. Among a thousand books in a chamber where also was a store of corn, lay a volume in which were bound up together a Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Book of Common Prayer. It was a thing "worthy of observation," to the pious Winthrop, that a mouse should have entered the garret, eaten the Prayer Book, "every leaf of it," and left the rest untouched. Could this be accident? Was it a mouse's discrimination? It was so obvious as to need only to be pointed out that by this humble instrument God had chosen to testify his abhorrence of the stated prayers of an idolatrous church.

Special
Providences.

Could the Lord tolerate false doctrine? There was no want of answers. God followed Mrs. Hutchinson — a “woman who had the chiefe rule of all the roast, being very bold in her strange Revelations and misapplications” — and her family to New Netherland, where, says Johnson,¹ the Indians “cruelly murdered her, taking one of their daughters away with them, and another of them seeking to escape, is caught, as she was getting over a hedge, and they drew her back againe by the haire of the head to the stump of a tree, and there cut off her head with a hatchet.” But this was “the loud-speaking hand of God against them.” A barber was overtaken by a storm on Boston Neck — the road still so called, and leading to the suburban towns of Roxbury and Dorchester — and perished. It was remembered of him when his frozen

body was recovered from the snow, that he was one who “having a fit opportunity, by reason of his trade, so soone as any were set downe in his chaire, he would commonly be cutting of their haire and the truth together.”² In the Hutchinson controversy this unhappy man had been so carried away by his



Ruins of the Oldest House now standing in Boston; built in 1633.³

mistaken zeal, that his name is found among those whose arms were taken from them.⁴ That he should freeze to death was a testimony from the Lord that an antinomian and contumacious barber, who for the propagation of error, so misused his opportunities, was not fit to live.

Governor Winthrop called it a notable “judgment of God,” that twenty-one barrels of gunpowder should explode on board an English ship in the harbor of Charlestown, killing the captain, nine or ten of his crew, and some others; for they were “profane scoffers,” says the

¹ *Wonder-working Providence in New England*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., *et seq.*

² Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*.

³ This house, of which an account is given in the *Historical Magazine*, second series, vol. ii., p. 169 (number for September, 1867), stands on Minot Street, near Chicatawbut Street, in the part of Dorchester called Neponset, now annexed to Boston. It is called the “Minot House,” from the name of its first owner; and is asserted to be the oldest wooden house in the United States.

⁴ His name was William Dinely, and his infant son, born ten days after the father's death, was baptized Fathergone. Savage's *Winthrop*. Note, vol. i., p. 345.

Governor, "at us, and at the ordinances of religion here." Not that they were irreligious or wicked men in any other sense, for the captain had said, when questioned for his absence from a fast-day meeting in the town, that "they had as good service on board as we had on shore." It was a fatal assumption on behalf of the English Church; only two hours later God made the difference manifest by tearing ship and people to atoms; and it was the more significant that a shower of rain and some other hindrances were sent to detain from the coming catastrophe some of the leading Puritans of Boston, who were on their way to the vessel. The Lord protected His own, and sent his "judgment upon those scorers of his ordinances and the ways of his servants."

So at home and abroad, in great things and in small things, in the affairs of individuals, and in the affairs of the church and of the state, the interference of Divine Providence was manifested, and always for the protection of these His peculiar people, for the justification of their wisdom and virtue in thought and deed, and for the punishment of their enemies. It was "a special providence," Mr. Winthrop thought, that set a neighbor's hens to cackling in the night time, and aroused their owner to discover that the house of good Mr. Pelham at Cambridge, was on fire. No foolish fowls or crowing cocks could so mistake the light of a conflagration for the break of day, except it were to bring safety to a man so truly good.

But see a protecting care in larger measure to save the State.

Divine inter-
position in
political
affairs.

When one Captain Mason built in London a ship which was to bring over the dreaded General Governor for New England, it was the Lord who "disappointed and frustrated all the designs" of its enemies by breaking the ship's back before she had left the stocks. Mason himself, as a further evidence of the divine displeasure, "soon after fell sick and died," not even death-bed repentance availing him when he promised that "if he recovered to be as great a friend to New England [to the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, that is,] as he had formerly been an enemy." So also Sir Ferdinando Gorges "never prospered," for he "also had sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand, pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare."

Even some rash men, returning to England against all advice and bearing thither no good report of the people and the country, were beset with disaster, tossed up and down by tempests, reduced to painful suffering for want of food, and only escaped shipwreck when they "humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them, for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here." Nor was disaster by sea the end of their troubles. On shore, "some were exposed to great straits,

and found no entertainment, their friends forsaking them ;” the daughter of one of them soon went mad, and a worse fate befell two of her sisters, who were debauched ; a schoolmaster, the worst of these slanderers of the saints, who succeeded in gathering a school about him, was ruined by the plague by which his pupils were dispersed and two of his own children taken away from him.

They saw the hand of the Lord raised over them in special protection, or in special rebuke in evidences like these many times, from year to year, in many places in the old world and the new. Only a few months before these evil-minded passengers were followed across the Atlantic by the divine wrath, a mail carrier was overtaken by a freshet on his way to Boston from the Isles of Shoals, where a ship had just arrived from England. His companion was lost beneath the ice, but he was permitted to escape, for “ he had about him all the letters from England which were brought in the ship, which sure were the occasion of God’s preserving him, more than any goodness of the man.” Again, “ a special providence of God appeared ” in the case of a burning house in Roxbury, for some one remembered and gave warning in season that there was a store of gunpowder within, and though the explosion was like an earthquake, and burning cinders were carried even beyond Boston meeting-house, yet was no man injured. But the loss of the powder was the more observable, inasmuch as the General Court had neglected to pay for it, and had refused to lend a portion of it both to Virginia and to Plymouth, when those colonies were in danger of an attack from the Indians, and were without adequate means of defence. It was thus that Heaven chose to remind its servants that neither commercial contracts nor the claims of humanity could be ignored with impunity even in Boston.

Puerile as such incidents may seem to the robust common sense of later times, and easy as it is to bring to their interpretation the test of reason, they had a tremendous meaning to the Boston Puritans. Why, for example, should the Lord destroy the powder of Massachusetts Bay at one time because it was not sent to the Virginians to be used for their defence against the Indians, when the next year it was the divine will that these Virginians, then no better and no worse, should be destroyed by the savages ? But counsel was not taken of human reason. In the later event Governor Winthrop could only see in the desolation of Virginia, that “ it was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them, and had made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the church of England should depart the country by a certain day, . . . and many were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that

Puritan interpretation of certain disasters.

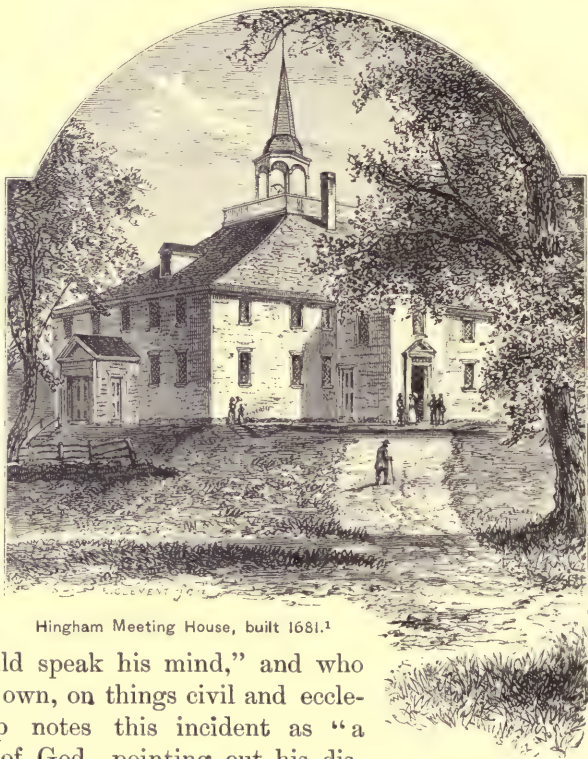
this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." The essential thing was, not whether the Virginians had or had not gunpowder; whether they could or could not defend themselves against the Indians; but that Boston might be rebuked or justified in whatever happened to them in which she had any concern. It was not that God cared much about Virginia.

The sign sought for in any coincidence of events was always the divine approval of the gospel according to the Puritans, and all that the Puritans did to

establish that gospel. Thus it was because certain men of Hingham put out upon the Bay with a raft of timber, upon a fast day, that a tempest descended upon them, the timber was nearly all lost, and the men came near drowning; for they scoffed at a fast appointed by the magistrates in Boston, following their pastor, the Rev.

Peter Hobart, "a bold man, who would speak his mind," and who had notions of his own, on things civil and ecclesiastical. Winthrop notes this incident as "a special providence of God, pointing out his displeasure against these profane persons."

And when not long after, intelligence was received of the loss by shipwreck, on the coast of Wales, of Governor Kieft and eighty other persons of New Netherland, the Massachusetts governor speaks of it as "an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherlands, which though it were sadly to be lamented in regard of the calamity, yet there appeared in it so much of God in favor of his poor people here, and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured



Hingham Meeting House, built 1681.¹

¹ This is the oldest Meeting House now standing in North America.

them as is not to be passed by without due observation and acknowledgment." Quite as observable is it that his religious faith had not overcome the natural man in the good governor, whose kindness of heart speaks out in spite of his stern theology.

Men who had this abiding faith that they were under the special protection of Providence in a way and to a degree that was not extended to the rest of God's creatures ; — faith that God manifested, in the events of every-day life, his approval in what they did and in what they refrained from doing ; — faith in the divine sanction of all they believed, of the divine condemnation of all which they held to be error, making thus their limit to the freedom of thought God's limit also ; — men with such a faith, being human became intolerant, and being intolerant, became persecutors. It was not merely, as they held, that no further discovery was possible of moral or religious truth ; but that the truth already discovered and established could not be trusted to compete with error. They recognized the direct interposition of God in arresting false doctrines and in punishing those who held and spread them ; what else could they do but follow the divine example ? There was a singular and unquestioning confidence in their own righteousness which seems inexplicable except by their unshaken conviction that they were, even as the angels of heaven, at one with God, and understood His will as it was given to no others to understand it.

"It is said," — wrote a Puritan writer, whose seriousness and piety were none the less because of his wit, and his authority and influence none the less because of his pedantry and his affectation of quaintness — "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it ; I can rather stand amazed than reply to this : it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance ; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and find an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will Petition to be chosen the universal Idiot of the world."¹ Not a Puritan in Massachusetts, that Massachusetts could tolerate, but would agree with this. For so surely as it was divine wisdom that led the Puritan out of the Church of England, so it was not liberty of conscience but license of the devil that would lead one inch beyond the Church of Boston.

Popular apprehension of liberty of conscience.

¹ *The Simple Cöbler of Aggawam in America*, by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Mass. This eminent Puritan clergyman exhausts the peculiarity of style which distinguishes him when writing of toleration. "How," he says, "all Religions should enjoy their liberty, Justice its due regularity, Civil cohabitation moral honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction, is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametrical contradictions, as to comopolitize such a multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly ; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more than the Senate of Heaven."

“We have been reputed,” writes the same author, “a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow room for our Phanatic Doctrines and practises; I trust our diligence past and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I dare take upon me, to be the Herauld of New England so far, as to proclaim to the World, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Anti-nomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.”

Nor was this merely an expression of opinion; it was the avowal of a policy. Non-conformists in Old England who became Separatists almost before they were off soundings on their voyage to New England, could hardly escape the suspicion of encouraging the utmost latitudinarianism. Men who had secretly provided that the royal charter should go with them to their new home,¹ well knew that their purpose of self-government was very likely to be construed into a purpose of independent government and freedom of religious opinion. There was suspicion to be done away with, and a good reputation to be established even with that class of their countrymen who might seek, as they had sought, to escape from the imminent storm in England, and to find an asylum beyond the observation, if not actually beyond the reach, of king and bishops. They could not, indeed, choose who should follow them to that place of safety; but they could show that it was a place of safety only to those who, like themselves, believed neither too little nor too much. There was no doubt in their minds that they apprehended the will of God and did it; but they were not so different from other men of other times that their religious convictions were uninfluenced by mere worldly considerations, by pride of opinion, by an imperfect comprehension of avowed principles, by an impatient intolerance of all those who declined to accept that measure of truth, no more no less, which they maintained was the only correct measure.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay its founders meant should be a virtuous, a happy, and a prosperous commonwealth; but it was to be so strictly in accordance with their own notions of what constituted virtue, happiness, and prosperity, and there was no welcome and no toleration among them of any other opinions than their own. The cause of civil and religious liberty they maintained as they understood it, and up to that point which they had themselves reached; and they would have arrested all further progress at that point if they could. But man only proposes. It was well for humanity, civilization, and religion, that they were as good as they were, and did as much as

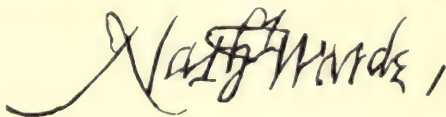
¹ See vol. i., p. 521, *et seq.*

Distinct
policy of the
Puritans.

they did; that they were no better and did no more was their loss, not the world's. Where they stopped, others went forward.

But it is not to be forgotten that they were as rigid and uncompromising in their ideas of morality as in their religious principles. If they aimed to measure and limit thought by a ^{Puritan laws.} standard which they believed God himself had prescribed, so they were equally sincere and unwearied in their efforts to make men's lives conform to the same rule of absolute right. Their whole method of government, whatever they did and whatever they proposed to do, can only be fairly considered in the light of their own understanding of their responsibility, and wisdom, and righteousness.

The first code of laws drawn up at the request of the General Court, by the Rev. John Cotton, was taken entirely from the Old Testament. It was not, indeed, accepted, but another was substituted of which the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, — who knew something of Roman as well as Jewish law — was the author.¹ He was lawyer enough to know that there were necessities of society in the 17th century which were not provided for in the laws of Moses. But the idea of government, nevertheless, was largely formed from a study of the Hebrew Scriptures. To exercise an immediate supervision over the conduct of every individual in the community, in all his private as well as public acts and relations, was to govern men in accordance with the will of God. A glance at some of their laws shows the spirit of their rule, and how infallible their belief was that the world could be made perfect if it was only governed enough, and governed in absolute accordance, nothing beyond it and nothing short of it, with the Puritanism which they professed.



Signature of Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

¹ The code drawn up by Cotton was published in London in 1641, and entitled, "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established." But they never were the established laws of either Massachusetts or New England, though it was long believed, as that publication asserted, that they were. The "Body of Liberties," which was the work of Mr. Ward, and adopted in 1641, was in reality the first Constitution of Massachusetts, and the foundation of subsequent constitutions. Mr. Ward preached the election sermon that year, — "a moral and political discourse," says Winthrop, "grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error." Laws had better, the governor thought, be taken from the Bible, than "on the authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths." Mr. Ward thought something could be learned from Justinian as well as Moses. The first article of this code provided that the rights of person and property in the citizen should be inviolate except by express law, or in default of that by "the word of God." What might be just and requisite under the "word" was to be decided by the General Court. See Savage's *Winthrop*, Hutchinson's *History*, and especially a paper on the "Abstract" of Cotton, and the "Body of Liberties" of Ward, by F. C. Gray, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. viii.

The sale of everything was regulated by law, with such minuteness as to reach the cost of a meal at an inn, and even the price of a pot of beer between meals. The law fixed the price of all commodities, of all labor, and of all servants' wages. The use of tobacco was early forbidden in all public houses and places; and though one might smoke it in his own house, it was unlawful to do so before strangers, or for one person to use it in company of another. Fashion in dress was the subject of much anxious and stringent legislation. In the early days of the colony, all apparel which any man or woman should make or buy was forfeited by law if it had upon it

Sumptuary
regulations.



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

any lace, whether of gold, silver, silk, or thread; the same penalty attached to any garment with more than one slash in each sleeve, and one in the back; to all "cuttworks, embroidered or needle-work capps, bands and rayles;" to "golde or silver girdles, hattbands, belts, ruffs, and beaver hats." The size of the sleeve in any dress for women was limited to a width of half an ell, and none were to be made "with short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered in the wearing thereof."

But to enforce laws in such matters was, the General Court at last acknowledged, exceedingly difficult; "in regard," they said, "of the blindnes of mens minds and the stubbournnes of their wills." So difficult, indeed, did they find it, that in 1651 they gave it up so far

as it concerned magistrates, civil and military officers, persons of education and employment “above the ordinary degree,” those who were worth two hundred pounds, and those whose estates had been considerable but had decayed — all those, in a word, called of the better class — were exempted from these sumptuary laws. But the Court felt itself called upon to declare the more emphatically their “utter detestation and dislike that men or women of meane condition, educations, and callinges, should take vpon them the garbe of gentlemen, by the wearinge of gold or siluer lace, or buttons or poynts at their knees, to walke in greate bootes ; or women of the same ranke to weare silk or



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

tiffany hoodes or scarfes, which, though allowable to persons of greater estates, or more liberal education, yet we can not but judge it intolerable in persons of such like condition.” Either something of the simplicity of character that belonged to the early Puritans was lost in the first quarter of a century, or resistance against the assertions of rank and fashion was found to be useless.

Long hair in men was early prohibited, as “uncomely and prejudicial to the common good,” and a few years later it was pronounced as “sinful.” The governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates formed an association to suppress an evil so “contrary to the rule of God’s word ;” the elders were exhorted to testify against it from the pulpit, and “to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith.”

The government aimed to be paternal. The selectmen of the towns were required to have a special oversight of the education, behavior, and occupations of the children within their jurisdiction. This power of supervision extended to all families, and not merely to those who, as in all communities, are unworthy, from poverty, or indolence, or vicious habits, to be trusted with the care of their own offspring. The magistrates were to see that all young people were not only taught to read, to understand the principles of religion, and the character of the laws, but also to spin, to knit, and to weave; for a fixed quantity of "lining, cotten, or wooling" was required to be spun by each family, and the selectmen regulated the sowing of flax and the raising of sheep. These officers were to take care that boys and girls were not "suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest, or immodest behaviour;" and to further regulate the relations of the young people, it was provided by law that "no person shall endeavour directly or indirectly to draw away the affections of any maid . . . under pretence of marriage, before he hath attained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors," or, in the absence of these, from the court of the shire. When this last was obtained the courting could go on under a magistrate's warrant, but not otherwise.

This latter law was meant to correct an evil the prevalence of which is the more remarkable among a people whose piety was so fervid, and where any breach of morality was so rigorously visited. "Marvilious it may be," exclaims Governor Bradford, "to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow and break forth here," notwithstanding the austerity of public opinion and the severity of the law, both exceeding that of any place he ever knew or heard of, and the latter so relentless as to be "somewhat censured by moderate and good men." Of these wickednesses, "unclainnes" was one. No penalty, even unto death, was left untried to keep the sexes within decent bounds in their relations to each other, and to restrain men from the most unnatural and beastly indulgence of passion. So common were such sins that Bradford suggests as one reason for their frequency that "the Divell may carrie a greater spite against the Churches of Christ and the gospell hear," and that "Satane hath more power in these Heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over God's servants in them." His more rational explanation, however, is that the very strictness of the law defeated its purpose, and was, in some degree, responsible for unrestrained outbreaks of lechery; and that in a small community it was the more difficult for crime to be hidden.¹ Among other laws

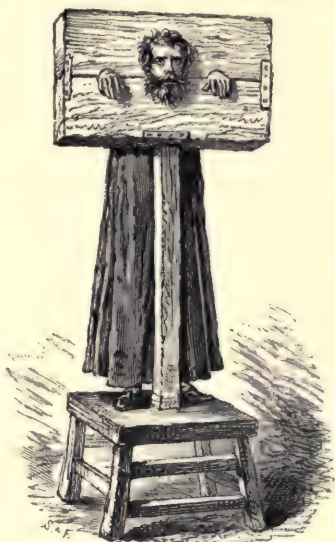
Paternal
character
of the
government.

Relations of
the sexes.

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 385, 386.

relating to this subject was one forbidding men and women, whose wives and husbands were not with them, to remain in the country, unless to prepare for new homes, or for purposes of trade for a brief season.

Lying, whether intended to injure private persons, or to deceive the public "by false newes or reports," was punished by exposing the culprit in the stocks or by public whipping.¹ License of speech was never tolerated, though the distinction between license and liberty was not always recognized. "Reviling speeches," "uncomely speeches and obscen," were often punished. Mr. Shorthose, for example, it is recorded, was sentenced "to have his tongue put into a cleft stick and stand so by the space of haulfe an houre," for swearing by "the blood of God;" and the unruly member of the wife of Thomas Aplegate, was subjected to similar discipline for "swearing, raileing, and revileing." Later, a fixed penalty was adjudged for profane swearing "either by the holy name of God or any other oath." To make this law more effective it was afterward enacted that the fine should be doubled, or the culprit whipped, if he swore more than one oath at a time.



The Pillory.

Laws against blasphemy.

In the fundamental law, the "Body of Liberties," it was provided that whoever shall blaspheme the name of God, the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, should be put to death. Profane language, therefore, was not held to be necessarily blasphemous, however immoral. But to deny that any one of the books of the Old or the New Testament was inspired by the Holy Ghost and contained the will of God, was no less a crime than blasphemy. Whoever committed it, whether on sea or land, was to be fined or severely whipt for the first offence, and for the second, put to death.

Punishments were, in the earlier years of the colony, largely at the discretion of the magistrates; nearly twenty years passed away before any penalty was provided by statute even for

Punishments.

¹ Such a law may not have been without reason, if one who wrote of the manners and character of the people of New England as late as 1686, was not himself a fair subject for its penalties. Speaking of a friend in Boston, he says: "And this was a noted quality in him, that he would always tell the truth; which is a practice so uncommon in New England, that I could not but value his friendship." Had this been said in Boston instead of in London, the writer would have been set in the stocks. — *John Dunton's Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, vol. ii.*

the crimes of burglary or violence against the person.¹ Subsequently the punishment for burglary was branding on the forehead. Such marks, indelible, or conspicuous for a certain period, to designate criminals, to hold the culprits up to public terror and expose them to public humiliation, may, perhaps, have been resorted to in the absence of any safe place of confinement. Boston had her jail at an early day, and so possibly had one or two others of the larger places; but it was not till 1655 that houses of correction were provided for each county. At any rate, it was the punishment and not the reformation of criminals which the magistrates and the court had in view when they affixed upon the faces or the clothing of offenders, who were allowed to be at large, marks of ignominy which must set them apart from their fellow-men.

Thieves and drunkards were exposed to public scorn with placards upon their breasts inscribed with capital letters to denote their offences. Dunton saw an English woman in the streets of Boston, who, for having admitted an Indian to some "unlawful freedoms," was compelled to wear upon her right arm the figure of an Indian cut in red cloth.² In a certain case where the general court and the jury did not agree as to the evidence offered where the crime charged was blasphemy, the court decided that the accused should be severely whipped in the market-place, then burnt in the forehead with the letter B, and banished from the colony. The cognate offence of contempt of the "word preached," or contemptuous behavior towards the preacher, thus "making God's wayes contemptible and ridiculos" was punished in a manner meant to eradicate the crime by exposing the criminal to peculiar ignominy. If the offence was a second time committed the culprit was exhibited for "two houres openly upon a block 4 foote high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this, A WANTON GOSPELLER, written in capital letters." In 1677 another law was passed, intended not merely, probably not chiefly, for the vulgar Sabbath-breaker, but for the more contumacious citizen, the disturber for conscience sake of public worship; he was to be taken to Boston, or any other town where such accommodation was provided, and confined in a cage in the open marketplace till such time as the

¹ The natural inference that such crimes were uncommon is not necessarily correct. It is no proof that burglary was or was not common, but it is an incident worth noting as indicating a rather unusual degree of lawlessness, that two young men of twenty years of age, both students of Harvard, one a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the other a son of an equally well-known clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury, were detected in robbing two houses at different times. They were first whipped by the president of the college, and it was then ordered by the court that the punishment be doubled, or the young men imprisoned. — *Savage's Winthrop*. *Coffin's History of Newbury*.

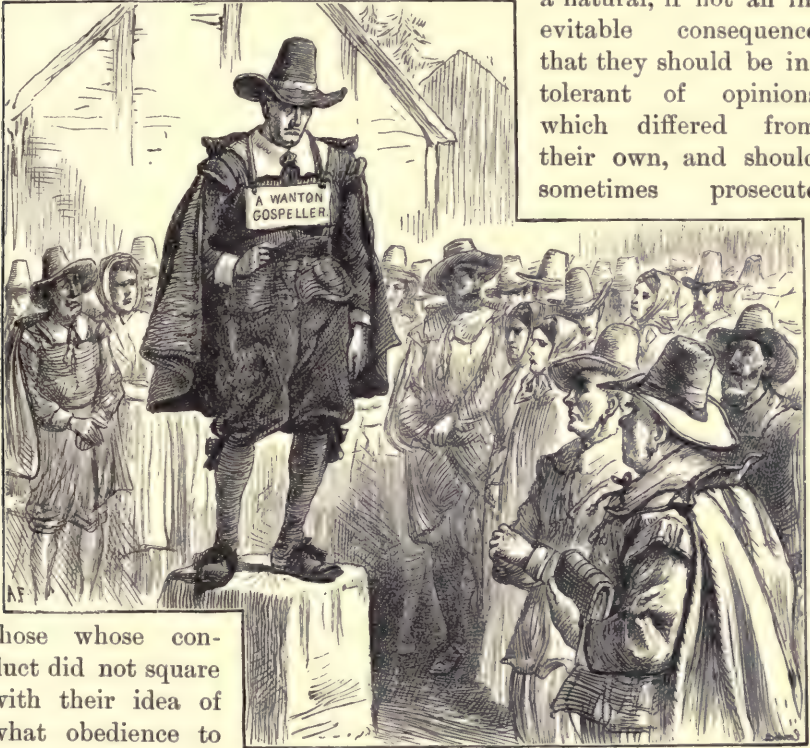
² *John Dunton's Journal*, p. 100.

magistrates should find it convenient to give him a trial. Notwithstanding the severity of such laws, however, the "wanton gospeller" has not been exterminated in Massachusetts even unto this day.¹

Such was the spirit of the religion and the laws of the Massachusetts Puritans. They were to govern in the name of God, who had there set up his kingdom in a peculiar manner. As they themselves, however, were not divine, but were moved by human passions and limited by human weaknesses, it was

Puritan
spirit and
practice.

a natural, if not an inevitable consequence that they should be intolerant of opinions which differed from their own, and should sometimes prosecute



A Wanton Gospeller.

those whose conduct did not square with their idea of what obedience to God demanded and the good order of society required.

When, therefore, it turned out that the "wild opinionists," with their "phanatic Doctrines and practises," their "multi-monstrous maurey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets," were swarming about Narragansett Bay, it was no wonder that Governor Winthrop and others should believe—and he used the words in literal faith—that "at Providence the devil was not idle." He was never busier, never doing more fatal mischief, it was believed, than when he was exciting theological controversy to its whitest heat.

¹ For all these early laws see *Massachusetts Records*.

Among the earlier settlers at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, was one Samuel Gorton, who soon proved himself to be a singularly incomprehensible, obstinate disputant, and incorrigible citizen; "a man," says Hubbard, "of an haughty spirit, and very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of Familism."¹ The same author says that he left Boston soon after arriving there because of a demand for an unpaid debt which followed him from England. The charge would be hardly worthy of belief even on better authority than that of Hubbard; for in all the acrimonious strife in which Gorton was involved for so many years, and in all the persecution with which he was pursued, there was no question of his integrity. "Whose ox or whose ass have I taken," — he said in a letter of defence and defiance, written in 1669 — "or when or where have I lived upon other men's labours, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?"² No one gainsaid him, as some one of his opponents would certainly have done had it been easy. For at a period remarkable for the exceeding ingenuity developed among men to make themselves hateful to their fellows, Gorton showed himself to possess pre-eminent ability; and his reputation for morality would have been — as it was for righteousness — picked clean to the bone, had he ever laid himself open to such an attack.

From Boston he went to Plymouth. Antinomianism was not necessarily responsible for his first conflict with the Plymouth authorities, as its occasion was his public defence of a servant in his own family, who having permitted herself, unfortunately, to smile in church, was declared by that token to be a heretic and a scoffer, and unworthy to remain in a Christian community.³ But he began about this time to exercise his gift of preaching, persuaded that he had "a call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferiour to any minister in this countrey, tho'," as he afterward said, "I was not bred up in the schools of humane learning, and I bless God that I never was, least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance."⁴ He soon preached himself out of Plymouth. The Fathers put him under bonds for his good behavior, punished him by a heavy fine, and gave him fourteen days to depart out of their jurisdiction.⁵ Naturally he turned his face towards Acquidneck, where he soon made himself conspicuous.

¹ *General History of New England.*

² Letter from Samuel Gorton to Nathaniel Morton, in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. Appendix. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii.

³ *Life of Gorton*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. New Series, vol. v. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

⁴ *Letter to Morton.*

⁵ Morton's *New England's Memorial*, p. 143. Hutchinson says he was whipped.

Here as at Plymouth he soon got into trouble, and, as it appears, on a somewhat like occasion. His maid assaulted another woman in a quarrel about the pasturage of a cow. Gorton appeared in her defence and behaved so insolently to the court, that he was arrested and imprisoned.¹

The grand jury indicted him as a nuisance, one of

But still I am yours + o live
and fo Die Samuel Gorton
Warwick + he 20
of November 1649

Signature of Samuel Gorton.

the counts of the indictment being that he called the magistrates Justasses; another that he alleged in open court that they were lawyers.² In the affair of the maid servant his friends Holden and Wickes made so much disturbance that an armed guard was called to suppress it, and Wickes was put in the stocks. Gorton fared even worse at his trial. Winthrop says there was much "tumult" at Acquidneck, and whether right or wrong, Gorton seems to have been in the thick of it. "These of the Island," says a contemporary writer, "have a pretended civill government of their owne erection without the King's Patent. There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of their magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the king, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the king, lay hold on Coddington*."³ Coddington's was the strongest party, and Gorton and his friends sought an asylum in Providence.

Williams received them kindly, as was his wont. How could he, who not long before had accepted re-baptism from Ezekiel Holliman — "a poor man late of Salem" — the founder of the first Baptist Church in America, refuse a welcome to one who had just testified to the truth, as he believed it, by suffering an ignominious punishment?

He leaves
Acquidneck
for Providence.

Gorton bought lands, in the latter part of the year 1641, at Pawtuxet — now Cranston — but within the bounds of Providence, and was soon involved in disputes with his new neighbors. "Those of Providence," says Winthrop, were all Anabaptists; "some were only against baptizing of infants; others denied all magistracy and churches, etc., of which Gorton . . . was their instructor and captain." Wil-

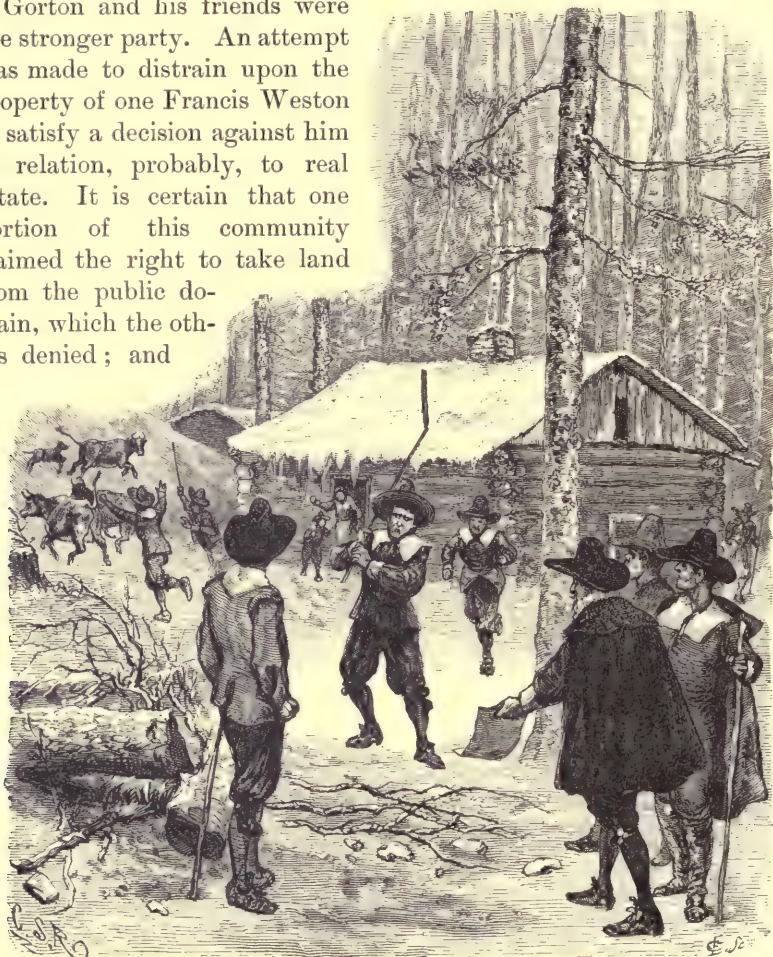
¹ Winslow's *Hypocrisie unmasked*.

² Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

³ *Plain Dealing; or Newes from New-England*. By Thomas Lechford, of Clement's Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent., London, 1642. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii. See also Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 69.

liams kept the peace among them for a little while, but controversialists soon became combatants, and from words came to blows.

Gorton and his friends were the stronger party. An attempt was made to distrain upon the property of one Francis Weston to satisfy a decision against him in relation, probably, to real estate. It is certain that one portion of this community claimed the right to take land from the public domain, which the others denied; and



The Conflict over Weston's Cattle.

it may be that for an encroachment of this kind Weston was adjudged by a board of referees — which was the method adopted for the administration of justice — to make a payment into the public treasury. The debt, at any rate, was a public one, and Weston refused to submit to the judgment in a written reply, a copy of which he nailed to a tree in the village, as well as gave to the authorities. The order was given to levy upon his cattle, which Gorton and others resisted, with a “tumultuous hubbub,” and some blood was shed. A second attempt was made, when, says the narrative, “Weston came furiously running

with a flail in his hand, and cried out, 'Help Sirs, Help Sirs, they are going to steal my cattle,' and so continued crying till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came running, and made a great outcry, and hallooing, and crying 'Thieves, Thieves, Stealing cattle, Stealing cattle;' and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice, if any men, at any time, in any case, attach anything that is theirs."¹

Gorton's party resist the Providence magistrates.

Benedict Arnold,² and a dozen others of the defeated party, appealed at once to Massachusetts for aid and counsel against these "lewd and licentious courses" of persons who, they declared, had openly proclaimed that they would "have no manner of honest order or government either over them or amongst them;" and who, unless brought to reason, would soon come "boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts," and fail to recognize any "manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives." The exaggeration of such a statement is self-evident. It was so much the habit of the time to attribute all manner of immoralities, as a necessary consequence, to any difference of opinion, that nothing was easier — even to those who had been sufferers from intolerance in others — in a dispute where feeling was warmly enlisted, or pecuniary interest deeply involved, than to asseverate that he who maintained one side of the question had, therefore, no more religion than an Indian, and that he who maintained another must be bad enough to covet his neighbor's goods, and was generally no better than a thief and a murderer.³

¹ *Petition of some of Providence Colony to the Government of Massachusetts against Gorton and Others. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d series, vol. i. Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. ii.*

² The petition was in Arnold's handwriting.

³ In 1664-65 the people of Warwick — as Shawomet had come to be called — petitioned the King's Commissioners that satisfaction might be given them for the great losses they had suffered from the Massachusetts government. The General Court of Massachusetts cited in their defence the petition referred to in the text from the Providence people against those of Shawomet. As nearly twenty-five years had elapsed since the event referred to had occurred, it was clear enough that the consequences which the petition predicted — namely, that unless the Shawomet people were checked in their evil courses they would come to be like licentious, savage, brute beasts, holding all things, even their wives in common — were completely falsified. A prophecy proved to be false in 1665 would be a poor justification for Massachusetts to offer for her conduct in 1641. It therefore suited the General Court to quote the Providence petition as stating that Gorton and his companions were already the vile and dangerous men which the petitioners only said they might become in a certain contingency. In other words, the court so garbles the petition as to make it assert as an existing fact that which was only put as a possible consequence. However heretical it may seem, it is difficult to escape the suspicion that the Puritans some-

To the appeal of the discomfited party, however, the magistrates in Boston returned a cautious, and, at the same time, a suggestive answer. They could not, they said, levy war without the action of the General Court; but then any aggrieved people would be sure of protection if they subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. As all these people at Pawtuxet knew what it was to live under the government of Massachusetts and had run away from it, they were apparently not disposed to try it again immediately.

They were evidently not so disposed, for they did not "subject" themselves. For a year nothing is heard of any discord among them, and when, after the lapse of that period of quiet another cry came to Boston for help, it was not from the people of Providence at large; not even from the thirteen who had begged for interference the year before; now it was only four men who appealed to the Massachusetts magistrates, and of these four two were new men.¹

These "four of Providence," writes Governor Winthrop, "who could not consort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and molested by them, came and offered themselves and their lands, etc., to us, and were accepted under our government and protection." This was done, he says, "partly to rescue these men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts, either under ourselves or Plymouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive." But there was still another reason for this proposed interference with his neighbors, and Winthrop is frank enough to avow it; "the place," he adds, "was likely to be of use to us." The good Governor, who was so apt with Scriptural illustration, might have been reminded of

Interference
of Massa-
chusetts.

times showed signs of human weakness. See *Memorial to the King's Commissioners*, re-published from *Mass. Records in Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.

¹ The four were William Arnold and his son, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter and Robert Cole. Benedict Arnold and Carpenter were among the petitioners of the year before. Cole, during the ten previous years, had been more under the active jurisdiction of the government, whose protection he now asked for, than most men. He was repeatedly punished for drunkenness and other misdemeanors, as the Massachusetts Records show. One of these records is: "Robte Coles is fined X^s & enjoyned to stand wth a white sheete of pap on his back, wherein a drunkard shalbe written in greate ires, & to stand therewth soe longe as the Court thinks meete, for abusing himselfe shamefully wth drinke, intiseing John Shotswell wife to incontineney, & oth^r misdemeane^r." *Mass. Records*, vol. i., p. 107. And again: "It is ordered, that Robte Coles, for drunkenes by him comitted att Rocks-bury, shalbe disfranchized, weare aboute his necke & soe to hange vpon his outward garm^t, a D, made of redd cloath, & sett vpon white; to contynue this for a yeare, and not to leave it of att any tyme when hee comes amongst company, vnder the penalty of xl^s for the first offence, & V^s the second. & after to be punished by the Court as they thinke meete; also, hee is to weare the D outwards, & is enjoyned to appeare att the nexte Gefall Court, & to contynue there till the Court be ended." *Ibid.* p. 112. Even the austere magistrates in Boston must have smiled to see Robert Coles in the attitude of plaintiff, and asking their intercession for the establishment of an orderly and quiet government.

that narrative in which it is related how "Naboth, the Jezreelite, had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house."

The grievance actually complained of related to the division of wild lands, a question on which it was absurd to assume that one side was necessarily in the right, and the other as necessarily in the wrong. Massachusetts had not the shadow of authority for interference on either side. But she wanted a pretext and found it in the petition of the Arnolds and their two companions. It was natural enough to covet the garden of the Narragansett; it was not less natural that she should wish to punish over again those whose banishment had led to so pleasant a possession and not to pains and penalties. In addition to these carnal motives, there was the desire to serve God, as they proposed to do, by suppressing heresy.

Gorton was undoubtedly a pestilent and noisy fanatic, preaching doctrines as incomprehensible as they were captivating to himself and his illiterate hearers. But he does not seem to have been a bad citizen, and probably would have been harmless enough had he been let alone. But "a wanton gospeller" was of all men the most exasperating to a Boston Puritan, — a kind of human vermin which he felt bound to extirpate. Williams had written to Winthrop the year before: "Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Acquidneck, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the Most High assisting) to death."¹ But the short and sharp punishment which Coddington adjudged Gorton drove him speedily out of that colony. It is probable that he was already becoming of little moment to the Providence people, inasmuch as two only of the thirteen who the year before asked for aid against him now joined with two others in this second complaint. A year's experience had probably convinced the rest that the man was a harmless enthusiast; but whether he was or not, Williams, however much he might disapprove of him, would not be likely to ask the protection of that government the character of whose mercy he so well knew.

There came presently a formal and formidable notice from the Massachusetts magistrates, that, inasmuch as the two Arnolds, Cole, and Carpenter had put themselves under their protection, they should

¹ Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked*.

“maintain them in their lawful rights. If,” continued this remarkable document, “you have any just title to any thing they possess, [referring to the lands in dispute] you may proceed against them in our court, where you shall have equal justice; but if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us if we shall take a like course to right them.”¹ That course, indeed, was taken at once, and the case prejudged in favor of the four complainants; for these were immediately appointed “to keep the peace in their lands,” which only meant that they should have all requisite force to crush their adversaries. In short the whole proceeding was an act of sheer usurpation on the part of Massachusetts, done on the flimsiest pretext, and for an unavowed purpose.

Their defence of it was that it was their right and duty to protect any Indians who asked for protection; that Plymouth claimed that the lands in dispute were within the limits of the Plymouth patent, and her magistrates assented to this interference on the part of Massachusetts; and that the commissioners of the United Colonies justified her action by formal vote. But the real question at issue was whether either Massachusetts or Plymouth had any such rightful jurisdiction over these lands of Pawtuxet. The conduct of Massachusetts, therefore, could not be justified by the assumption of that right while it was still doubtful, nor could that conduct, if wrong, be made right by the approbation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The plea that the Indians needed any protection was a pretext and not a reason.

The whole Gorton party seems to have been only about a dozen. So far from assuming to be defiant or dangerous, except in words, they immediately abandoned their houses and lands at Pawtuxet, — which put an end, of course, to any plausible pretext of the necessity of interference from anybody — and moved away in search of a new home. Whatever they may have done at other times, and in other places, to provoke persecution, they were anxious now to get out of the way of it. Though they did not mean to forego the right of maintaining their religious convictions, they hoped, at least, to escape from a jurisdiction where to those convictions was attached a penalty. They might well call upon the woods to hide them from a government which summoned them to appear as plaintiffs in a civil suit, that it might try them as criminals, whose guilt admitted of no defence.

The place chosen for their new settlement was Shawomet — afterward called Warwick, — about a dozen miles south of Providence. All those who went, being of one mind, probably hoped to escape further molestation from Massachusetts, as well as to

Arbitrary
course of
the Boston
authorities.

Gorton at
Shawomet.

¹ *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 53.

be beyond the reach of the four new justices of the peace that Massachusetts had put over them. So far as the land-titles at Pawtuxet were concerned, the Arnolds had carried the day; but the magistrates at the Bay were greatly mistaken if they thought that any assumption of territorial jurisdiction on their part could silence Gorton.

Before he and his companions fled to Shawomet they answered the Boston magistrates in a letter of many pages. It covered their whole body of theology as that was conceived and brought forth, full grown, from the brain of Samuel Gorton; it touched upon civil things,

Gorton's letter.

but only as they had some theological aspect; it was replete with Scriptural illustrations; it abounded with references to Hebrew history; it was illuminated with copious annotations; it assumed to be exhaustive as to its logic; as to its inward spiritual sense its depths were unfathomable; it was red and hot and angry with denunci-



Site of Gorton's Settlement at Shawomet (now Warwick).

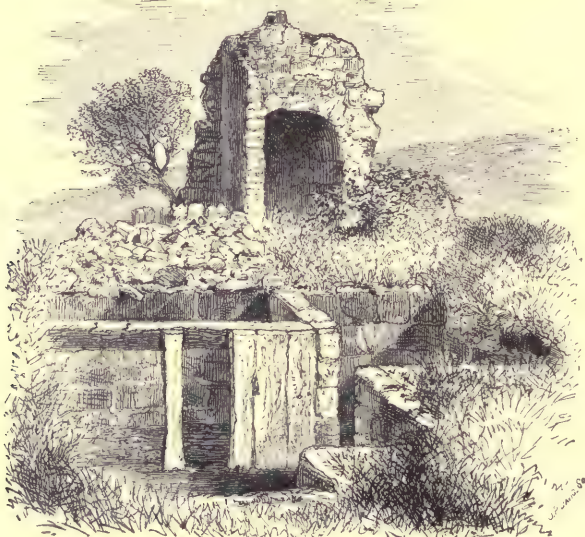
ation, and had only the briefest and most perfunctory allusion to the question of land titles. No doubt it meant a great deal to those who wrote it, though we have never heard of anybody since that time who has pretended to understand it; and it is creditable to the intelligence or the ingenuity of those to whom it was addressed that they could find in it "twenty-six particulars, or thereabouts, which, they said, were blasphemous," though to do this they had, the writers said, to change the phrases, to alter the words and the sense, and in no case take the true intent of the writing.¹ So taken, however, it answered the purpose of those who received it; here were fresh heresies and blasphemies to denounce from the pulpits; and the magistrates and General Court of Massachusetts were incited to new watchfulness to find a fresh pretext for the suppression of the schismatics whose existence troubled the Israel of New England.²

¹ Gorton's *Simplicities Defence*, in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.

² The signers to the letter were John Wickes, Randall Houlden, John Warner, Robert

For that pretext they had not long to wait. They seized it and used it pertinaciously and remorselessly. However unworthy it was of men so enlightened and so good as they unquestionably were; however sincerely they may have believed they were suppressing evil, not hindering the truth, they must be judged by their acts, rather than their motives, — by that abstract rule of right by which the deeds of all men are to be measured. In no event of that period do we see more clearly the spirit of that rule which the Puritans hoped to establish, or a more marked illustration of the character of that struggle for civil and religious freedom, and the abuses attending it, which belong to the early history of New England.

Potter, Richard Waterman, William Waddle, Samuel Gorton, Richard Carder, John Greene, Nicholas Power, Francis Weston, Sampson Shotton. These twelve men were the purchasers of Shawomet.



Ruins of Gorton's House at Shawomet (Warwick, R. I.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHAWOMET PEOPLE AND THEIR INDIAN FRIENDS.

PURCHASE OF LANDS AT SHAWOMET. — PROTEST OF TWO INDIAN CHIEFS, PUMHAM AND SACONONOCO. — SHAWOMET PEOPLE SUMMONED TO BOSTON. — COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO VISIT THEM. — THREATS AND PREPARATIONS FOR RESISTANCE. — FLIGHT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN. — THE MEN BESIEGED. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — A HOLLOW TRUCE. — THE MEN TAKEN PRISONERS AND CARRIED TO BOSTON. — THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT. — THEIR RELEASE AND RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND. — APPREHENDED TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS. — CHARGES AGAINST MIANTONOMO. — FEUD BETWEEN THE MOHICANS AND NARRAGANSETTS. — UNCAS BEFRIENDED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES. — CAPTURE OF MIANTONOMO BY UNCAS. — HIS ASSASSINATION BY DIRECTION OF THE ENGLISH.

THE lands at Shawomet upon which Gorton and his eleven companions hoped they might live unmolested, were bought of Miantonomo. He gave a deed as chief sachem of the Narragansetts, and by it conveyed possession "with the free and joint consent of the present inhabitants, being natives, as it appears by their hands hereunto [thereunto] annexed." Among these was Pumham, a petty sachem of the place. The twelve men with their wives and children had fled for the sake of peace into the wilderness; for their lands they had paid the owners in sound Indian currency of wampumpage, — one hundred and forty-four fathoms, twelve fathoms to a man; — and as they had gone where they could do no harm to others, they only asked that no harm be done to them.

But they were not left long undisturbed. Whether it was that the controversy about the lands at Pawtuxet had aroused in Benedict Arnold a personal animosity so bitter that nothing would satisfy him but the ruin of his opponents; or whether he was only anxious to serve those with whom religious rancor was quite as inexorable as private hate could be, — whatever was his motive he again appeared before the government of Massachusetts as a complainant against the Shawomet people.

He was an Indian trader and interpreter, and as such possessed a good deal of influence over the natives. Soon after Miantonomo's deed was given Arnold went to Boston, and with him were two chiefs, Pumham and Sacononoco. They claimed that they were independent sachems; that one of them —

An Indian complaint against the Shawomet settlers.

Pumham — had been compelled by Miantonomo to part with his lands at Shawomet, and affix his signature to the deed conveying them to the Gorton people, for which he declined to accept any remuneration; and both now begged that they might be taken under the protection of Massachusetts.



Signature of
Pumham.

It is far more likely these Indians were induced by Arnold to come forward with such a proposition, that a plausible pretext might thereby be made for further proceedings against the Shawomet people, than that the Indians should ask for any such interference between them and another chief. The umpire whose good offices they would have naturally sought, in case of any real grievance, was Williams. And even if they did not owe allegiance to Miantonomo, — which, as he was the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, they probably did, — the protection of one Indian against another did not necessarily extend the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over a country beyond the boundaries of her patent. The colonies, great or small, were responsible to the government at home, and not to Massachusetts. The plea, nevertheless, answered its purpose. Miantonomo was summoned to Boston, and on the testimony of Arnold, an interested witness, and Cutshamake, a petty sachem of Dorchester, who knew little about the matter, the magistrates decided that Pumham and Sacononoco were independent chiefs, whose lands Miantonomo had no right to sell. Pumham and Sacononoco were thereupon told that they would be received “not as confederates, but as subjects,” to which they replied with true Indian frankness and indifference, that they knew the English had so little respect for them that they expected nothing better.¹

That the new subjects might be properly protected the twelve men

¹ The two chiefs seem to have been but little impressed with the gravity of changing their nationality. On the other side it was made a very solemn business, and the Sagamores were put through a rigid course of catechizing. Some of their replies were curious and characteristic. They should wish, they said, to speak with reverence of the Englishman's God, for He did better by His people than their gods did by them. As to false swearing, they knew nothing about it, as they did not know what an oath was. When asked if they would refrain from unnecessary work on the Lord's day while in the towns, they replied that it was easy to do that, for they had very little to do at any time, and could forbear from work on that day quite as well as any other. As to honoring superiors — so much was it their habit to do so, they said, that if the governor told them they lied they should not resent it. Certain crimes which they were asked to refrain from, they said with quiet sarcasm were no more allowed, though they were committed among them, than stealing was — stealing not having been mentioned by their catechizers. They would like to know, they said, the “manners” of the English, when asked the comprehensive question if they would permit their children to read God's Word that they might have a knowledge of the true God, and worship Him in accordance with his will. In short, whether consciously or unconsciously, they were guilty of literal contempt of court in their manner of treating very serious matters.

of Shawomet were summoned to appear before the General Court at Boston.¹ They answered that they were responsible for their actions, not to Massachusetts but to the government in England which was over both. A second message was sent a few days later, but with an indictment much enlarged. Wrong had been done, it declared, not merely to the Indian sachems but to English and Indians generally within the newly found jurisdiction, and more than this, even to the Massachusetts government itself. The accused were notified that commissioners would at once proceed to Shawomet for negotiation, taking with them, however, a sufficient guard "for their safety against any violence or injury." But this precaution for the protection of the commissioners had another purpose; for unless their demands were complied with "we must" — adds the letter, signed by the secretary of the General Court — "right ourselves and our people by force of arms,"² — the "force" of a powerful colony against twelve men.

The Gorton party summoned to Boston.

The handful of Shawomet men were nevertheless defiant. "If you come to treat with us," they wrote to the commissioners, "in ways of equity and peace (together therewith shaking a rod over our heads, in a band of soldiers), be you assured, we have passed our childhood and nonage in that point; and are under commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage, but to quit ourselves as men. We straitly charge you, therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our lands in any hostile way, but upon your peril; and that if any blood be shed, upon your own heads shall it be." But the peril was one that no brave words could avert.

The commissioners had with them a minister as well as a band of soldiers, "certainly persuading ourselves," they said, "that we shall be able through the Lord's help, to convince some of them at least of the evil of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise

¹ According to one of the Gorton letters, addressed "To the great and honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts," an offence that was neither forgotten nor forgiven, these Indian chiefs had some reasons, not stated, for wishing to be released from responsibility to the Shawomet people. They were both thieves, and Pumham having, on one occasion, crept down a chimney and rifled a house in the absence of its owner, was captured as he was attempting to escape by the same outlet. Perhaps the Massachusetts magistrates were not insensible of the ridicule thrown upon them by the relation of this incident in the letter, with the reflection, "indeed Pumham is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession."

² The commissioners were George Cooke, Edward Johnson, and Humphrey Atherton. Johnson was the author of *The Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, published in London in 1654. In that book he speaks of Gorton as the "ring-leader of the rout, full-gorged with dreadful and damnable errors"; as he who "vomits up a whole paper full of beastly stuff"; as "exceeding the Beast himself for blasphemy."

must necessarily lead to eternal ruin of them and theirs; . . . but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall look upon them as men prepared for slaughter."

There was little opportunity, had there been any serious intention of engaging in theological disputation, and this suggestion of persuasion was mere pretence. That point was long since passed, even if Gorton had been a much more hopeful subject. The presence of a clergyman only showed that the suppression of heresy was the true object of the expedition, as it was of all the preliminary measures that led up to it; but the suppression was not to be by an appeal to reason.

Though Gorton had been whipped from colony to colony, and he and his followers must have been quite conscious that they were held to be a very obnoxious and even dangerous people, this answer of the commissioners to their brave words seems to have revealed to them, for the first time, that they really were in danger of their lives.

Alarm at Shawomet. Alarm spread through the village. The women gathered their children about them to be ready for flight to the forest, where they hoped to find refuge among the savages. The men prepared themselves, few as they were, for fight, but without sufficient means for any effectual resistance, if their own story be true, that the magistrates of Massachusetts had, some time before, included them in a prohibition of the sale of gunpowder to the Indians.

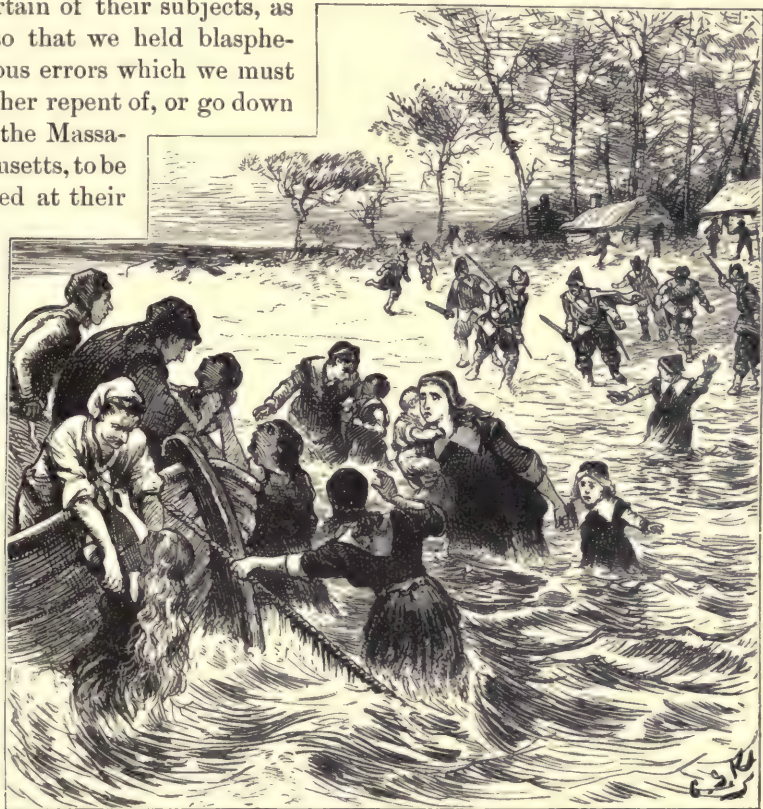
The commissioners were not far behind the announcement of their determined purpose. The band of soldiers and Indians was seen coming through the woods, and the alarm was hardly given before they charged into the village. The affrighted women and children fled before them as the brave troops of the Massachusetts General Court levelled their muskets upon women great with child, upon toddling children holding to their mothers' skirts. Some ran to the woods for shelter; others waded into the river to reach a boat where some kindly Providence people, whose sympathies had brought them to the place, were ready to give them a helping hand. None were killed actually upon the spot, though some died afterwards in premature childbed, and others from the sufferings to which they were all exposed.

The men, not thinking, probably, that they were leaving their wives and little ones to any serious peril, had fortified themselves as best they could, in one of their log-houses. Gorton was the last to enter this citadel, having delayed that he might help his wife—it should have been the wife of another man if he deserved his reputation—to a place of safety. When the soldiers had dispersed all who were incapable of resistance they con-

Gorton's
people at-
tacked.
Their par-
ley.

sented to a parley with those who could fight. It was only by the persuasions of the Providence people, however, who hearing of the coming of the commissioners were there to prevent bloodshed if they could, that an immediate assault upon the log-house was prevented.

The commissioners demanded an instant surrender. "They pretended," says the Gorton narrative, "we had done some wrong unto certain of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors which we must either repent of, or go down to the Massachusetts, to be tried at their



The Gorton Party attacked.

Courts, or else they had commission to put us to the sword and to pay themselves out of our goods for their charges in coming thither.”¹ Possibly they may not have gone to the extremity of threatening instant death, but the statement of the alleged offences for which surrender was demanded is, no doubt, correctly given.

The besieged refused. They denied that they owed any allegiance to Massachusetts, for they were not within her jurisdiction. They declined to accept as their judges those who were their avowed enemies ;

¹ *Simplicite's Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, p. 104, vol. ii., *Coll. R. I. Hist. Society*.

but they were quite willing that the differences between them should be submitted to the government at home. This proposition was met with a peremptory refusal.

They then offered to submit the case to arbitration. Impartial men, they proposed, should be chosen by both parties, and they promised to bind themselves by their goods, their lands, and their persons to abide by any decision that should be given against them. This was so far considered that a truce was agreed to till a reply to the proposal could be received from the government in Boston.

It is clear enough that the Gorton people were only anxious for peace; equally clear that the other party only meant that they should be punished. The truce on one side was a hollow pretence. Before the messenger could return from Boston, the houses of the village were broken open and pillaged; their desks were rifled and their papers stolen; the soldiers helped themselves to all they wanted, carrying beds and bedding to the trenches for their own comfort; the women and children venturing back from the woods to see the husbands and fathers who they hoped would be for a little while unmolested, were assaulted, and even fired upon as they approached. No doubt it was — as some pitying people in Providence wrote at the time to Governor Winthrop, under the delusion that their intercession and testimony might abate the rigor of that persecution — no doubt it was “a mournful spectacle,” and one can only wish, as they did, that these poor creatures so likely “to be left miserable,” had but been “able to write their own grief.”¹

Affairs were still worse when the messenger arrived from Boston. The proposition for arbitration was rejected at once. The real offence was one for which there could be no compromise, and, with the Puritans no palliation. “Besides the title of land,” wrote Winthrop, to the compassionate mediators of Providence, they “have subscribed their names to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all magistracy.” Above all things was “the vindication of God’s honour,” which the Boston people firmly believed was intrusted to their keeping. And, moreover, to whom could all the questions in the case be referred? Not to you of Providence, said the Massachusetts governor, for you live too near and have too much pity for these blasphemers, to be trusted; and as to those people on Rhode Island

¹ However much the people of Providence may have been vexed at the extravagances of Gorton and his friends, they deprecated and protested against the cruel treatment which their vagaries brought upon them. Even had they of Providence cared nothing for liberty of conscience, they knew how little reason there was to fear that any harm could come of the preaching of an apostle who had gained, even with the rare advantage of two public whippings and expulsion from every place where he had tried to find a home, only about a dozen disciples.

we know them too well! No! There could be even no further negotiation, much less arbitration. They must surrender or take the consequences.

Gorton and his men, whatever else they were, were not cowards. A discharge of musketry announced the return of the messenger, and notice was given that the truce, — which had been no truce, — was ended. They saw their goods despoiled, their cattle driven off, or slaughtered; their women and children were in they ^{Shawomet pillaged.} knew not how great extremity; they were a dozen men only shut up in a log cabin; the enemy was nearly four times their number, safely



The Gorton Party besieged in the Block-house.

entrenched in ditches, amply provided with arms, with ammunition, and with food, of all which their own supply was probably not abundant. It was not easy to dislodge the beleaguered men, though their resistance was rather passive

than active. For several days they withstood the siege, but without firing a shot, for they would shed no blood if they could avoid it. The soldiers in the trenches emptied their bandoliers of four hundred bullets into the logs of the fortress; they built fires in the night time against the walls; but all with no other result than the con-

sumption of much patience and powder. It was a special providence, Mr. Winthrop thought, that nobody was hurt — nobody, that is, on his side; the ungodly Gortonites perhaps thought that nobody was killed because they preferred not to kill the enemy on the outside, and on the inside kept themselves out of the range of the bullets.

But what could not be done by force was done at last by stratagem — if treachery be not the better word. Reinforcements were sent for from Boston, and it was evident that defence much longer was hopeless. It was agreed, therefore, that hostilities should cease, Gorton and those with him consenting to go to Massachusetts, on condition, however, that they should go not as prisoners, but as “free men and neighbors.” So soon, however, as the soldiers gained

The Gorton
party taken
prisoners.

admittance to the house, the men were seized by order of the captain, their arms taken from them, and the whole company marched off as captives. They were permitted to make no disposition of their property, which was left as a spoil to the Indians after the commissioners and the soldiers had helped themselves to all they thought worth taking. They had been, it is plain, too thrifty and industrious a community to have been very bad citizens, for their losses were fourscore head of cattle, besides swine and goats, corn and other provisions, and their household goods. “Our countrymen,” — is the simple but emphatic testimony, a few months afterward, of some of the most respectable people of Providence, — “were peaceably possessed of a plantation at Shawomet;” they were “assaulted and besieged by Captain Cooke and his company in warlike manner,” . . . “their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were seized upon by the foresaid captain;” . . . they themselves “were carried captive through this town of Providence to the Bay of Massachusetts;” . . . Their “wives and children were scattered in great extremities, and divers since have died.”¹

No glimmer of merciful relenting, no ray of pitiful compassion, soften or relieve the cruel and sombre gloom of this page in the history of Massachusetts. Making every possible allowance for the strength of religious convictions, and for the sensitiveness of political relations still inchoate and experimental, it is hard to find any other excuse than that which may be given for any religious bigotry for this persecution of a handful of harmless people, whose numbers were too few to be dangerous, and whose doctrines were too abstruse, if not absolutely too unmeaning, to admit of that number being ever seriously increased. But it was enough that they were blasphemers against God, because their supposed theological notions did not square with those preached in the First Church of Boston; that they were disbe-

¹ *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 117.

lievers in all human governments, because they questioned the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts.

The unhappy prisoners were hurried on to Boston. Had they been malefactors on their way to the gallows, — malefactors on whose garments the mob hope to see, and shudder at the thought of seeing, the blood of the victims of their cupidity or their hate, — they could hardly have been received with more public emotion. In some of the towns they passed through the clergymen called the people to join in prayer, in the open streets, in recognition of the good-

The captives
at Boston.



Winthrop blessing the Soldiers.

ness of the Lord that he had given them the victory. In Dorchester was a great gathering, and in the crowd were those worshipful ministers, Master Cotton and Master Mather, whose presence gave special solemnity to the volleys of shot that were fired over the heads of the prisoners in token of the triumph of the expedition. In Boston the public rejoicings were made even more significant. The troops were drawn up in double file in front of Governor Winthrop's house, and, at intervals of five or six soldiers, were placed these dreadful enemies

of the quiet of the Church, and the peace of the Commonwealth. The commissioners entered the house, and in due form reported their return; and then came out to the military array the honored governor, who, passing between the lines, lifted up his hands and his voice in welcome and in thanksgiving that God had permitted their safe deliverance and signal victory. And he took from each soldier his name, that the General Court might be informed of their pains and good carriage, and where such worthy instruments of its will might be found when occasion should again arise for great services.¹ Then, after a brief examination, the prisoners were committed to the common jail; the governor again stepped forth to receive a salute of three rounds of shot from the military, who then marched to the nearest inn, the governor at their head, for a frugal banquet, before disbanding. There was peace in Massachusetts.

Trial and punishment came in due order, beginning with compulsory attendance upon Mr. Cotton's ministrations on the first Lord's day after the arrival in Boston, — a penalty, however, not without mitigation, for Gorton took up the sermon of the learned clergyman and answered it on the spot, point by point. For such an opportunity of exhorting he and his followers would have been willing, doubtless, to listen to Mr. Cotton daily, but we find no record of the repetition of this particular discipline. It was clearly more prudent that the elders should conduct these theological discussions within the jail, rather than the meeting-house, lest some feeble brothers or sisters, as was quite possible, should be deluded by the Evil One into believing that Master Cotton or Master Wilson had the worst of the argument. There was, at any rate, no lack of controversy till the time of the public trial, and the most learned elders, and those most distinguished for godliness, spent themselves in vain in labors with the stiff-necked heretics.²

¹ Gorton, in the *Simplicite's Defence*, and Winthrop, in his history, are perfectly in accord as to the details of this singular proceeding.

² To grapple with a knotty theological problem was the delight of the learned and devout Puritan, and it is easy to understand the complete satisfaction with which they came to the encounter with so tough a disputant as Gorton, armed and equipped with such weapons as these, — we quote from Winthrop: "Gorton maintained (in a dispute in the prison with one of the elders) that the image of God wherein Adam was created, was Christ; and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in regeneration was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former." The devout governor discovered flat blasphemy in all this, but it is difficult to understand that such a thesis, however earnestly defended, could threaten the safety of either Church or State.

Gorton's method of controversy was only a travesty of that of the time. That professedly minute and exhaustive analysis of texts of Scripture, in search of some profoundly occult meaning, overlooking the obvious interpretation as puerile, because it was level to the vulgar comprehension, — this Gorton imitated and reduced to a fine absurdity. The

They were brought at length before the General Court and put formally upon their defence. The judicial proceeding was characteristic of all that had gone before. The offences, for which the accused were on trial, were theological rather than civil, and therefore the elders were called to sit with the judges. As to the claim of jurisdiction, including protection for the vagabond Indian chiefs, "we need not," said Winthrop, "question them [the Shawomet people] any more about that;" possession was gained, and the Massachusetts "title appearing good," he said, they refusing to prove a negative. They refused, because they were too wary to be impaled upon the horns of a dilemma by appearing as defendants before a court whose jurisdiction they denied, where the question to be tried was whether that court had jurisdiction.

Trial of the
Gorton
party.

"They were all illiterate men," says Winthrop; "the ablest of them could not write true English, no, not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turns." Pity might have waited gracefully upon such contempt as this, and the more, that these ignorant enthusiasts would not acknowledge, perhaps were incapable of understanding, that the doctrines they preached could bear any such interpretation as the court chose to put upon them. But they stood before judges of a faith too inexorable to be moved by compassion, and, as was fit, they to whose care that faith was specially committed were the most unrelenting.

The trial lasted several days. A single incident shows the manner in which it was conducted. Four questions were put to Gorton, in

difficulty was that the very elect were taken in by any such assumption of profound religious wisdom, because the presentation was after the approved method. They became incapable of relying upon the good sense of the people, who, when no appeal was made to their sympathies by the persecution of obnoxious persons, would easily distinguish the false from the true. To give an instance of Gorton's method: When in prison in Charlestown, he wrote to the minister of the church, and proposed that he might have "liberty to speak and express the word of the Lord" in public, either on Sunday or at the weekly lecture. The Scripture he proposed "to open and declare" was the ninth chapter of Revelations. The first verse of that chapter is: *And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.* On this text the people of Charlestown were to be taught by Gorton—

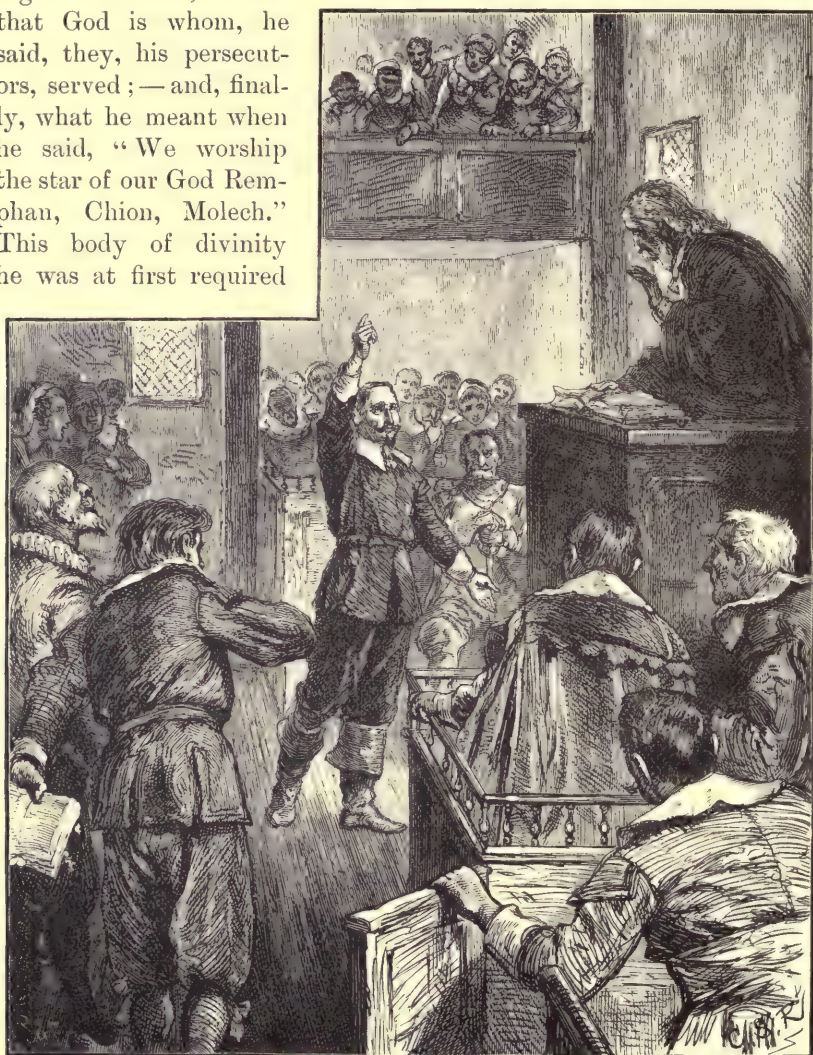
"1. What the sound of the trumpet is. 2. Who the Angel is. 3. Why the fifth.

"1. What the star is that falls from heaven to the earth. 2. What the fall of it is. 3. How it falls from heaven unto the earth.

"1. What the key of the bottomless pit is. 2. To whom it is given. 3. The manner how it is given. 4. How the pit is opened. 5. How it can be said to be bottomless, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottom, but the Lord himself."

He goes on to other verses of the chapter with the same drastic diffusiveness of verbal criticism; and were it not perfectly certain that Gorton was in most deadly earnest it might be supposed that he was aiming to give an absurd caricature of Puritan preaching and exegesis. — See *Simplicities Defence*. *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 146.

which he was called upon to answer, whether the Fathers who died before Christ was born, were justified and saved only by his blood ; — whether the only price of redemption was not the death and sufferings of Christ ; — who that God is whom, he said, they, his persecutors, served ; — and, finally, what he meant when he said, “ We worship the star of our God Remphan, Chion, Molech.” This body of divinity he was at first required



Gorton's Dispute with Cotton.

to elucidate in writing, at peril of his life, in fifteen minutes ; but the time was afterward extended to half an hour, and then to the next morning. In the answers, no flaw could be found, but they were none the more satisfactory on that account ; on the contrary, they

were on that account the more objectionable, inasmuch as they were not what was expected, and did not agree, the court decided, with what Gorton had written in his answer to the accusations of the magistrates. There could be little of the spirit of justice in a court that arraigned a man for alleged erroneous opinions, and then refused to accept his defence because he denied that these opinions which his judges accused him of holding were his.

The elders declared that the offence of these men was deserving of death; of the magistrates, all but three agreed with the elders; but the larger number of the forty delegates to the General Court representing the body of the people, where sound judgment and love of justice had freer play, refused to sanction such a sen-
The sen-
tence.
tence. But it was decided that the accused should be dispersed into several towns, where each should be kept at hard labor, with irons upon one leg, and commanded that they should "not, by word or writing, maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death."¹

The imprisonment lasted through the whole winter of 1643-4, and, as not unfrequently happens, the purpose of the punishment was defeated by its severity. The poison of false doctrine was spread, not suppressed; for the fear of death with such men was as nothing compared to the fear of offending their own consciences by base and submissive silence. In the spring, the anxiety was as great to get rid of them as it was in the autumn to bring them within reach of the heavy hand of Massachusetts law. "The court," Winthrop frankly confesses, "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death." Gorton, no doubt, was willing enough to be released, but he parted unwillingly with the "iron furniture" about his leg. He would have been glad to drag that clanging witness at his heels about the streets of Boston, as he boldly cried aloud against the injustice of her magistrates, and proclaimed anew his own heresies. But the people could no more be trusted to listen than he to preach. Within three days of the order of release, which gave them permission to remain a fortnight, Gorton and

Gorton expelled from Massachusetts.

¹ Winthrop's *History*, Savage's edition, vol. ii., p. 177. *Mass. Records*, vol. ii., p. 52. "And when the bolts and chains were made ready," says Gorton, in his *Simplicities Defence*, "they put them upon us in the prison of Boston, that so we might travel in them to the several towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to go from Boston, only we were to stay till Master Cotton, his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the congregation, in that our iron furniture for the credit of the sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose." Whatever Governor Win-

his companions were commanded "to depart out of the town before noon this day," — the day of the order.

Persecution in their case had clearly not been successful except to inflict upon them needless suffering. As they turned their faces back toward the road along which they had been brought as prisoners six months before, they evidently felt that the Lord had given them the victory. "Was Captain Cooke a good captain?" asked some of them of an Indian chief at whose wigwam they were entertained on their journey. "I cannot tell," he answered, "but Indians account of those as good captains, when a few dare stand out against many."¹ They were quite willing to accept this tribute to their own courage and this estimate of good soldiery.

For one night they stopped in their old homes at Shawomet, now desolate and ruined. And it must have been in no slight degree exasperating to the magistrates in Boston, when a letter came from there asking if the prohibition to settle upon any lands of Pumham and Sacononoco was meant to include Shawomet? for they very well knew — and knew that those magistrates knew that they knew — that the only lands to which those sachems had ever made any precise claim were the lands of Shawomet. They were not so out of the fashion of the times as to be given to unseemly mirth; but possibly they may have indulged in a quiet smile when Winthrop, foolishly provoked into answering the question, and betrayed by its impudence into unwonted anger, replied, that not "upon peril of their lives," were they to intrude upon the lands of those chiefs, "be the place called Shawomet or otherwise." Surely never were a more exasperating people.

Nevertheless, Shawomet, in the end, again became their home. They found refuge for two or three years in Rhode Island until they were reinstated upon their lands by an order from the government in England. For Gorton as a politician was by no means wanting in sagacity, and the first use he made of his liberty was to avail himself of, and probably encourage, a strong feeling of enmity existing — for a reason to be explained presently — among the Narragansetts against the Massachusetts colony.

These Indians, Gorton says, were puzzled to understand why the magistrates in Boston, having had these Shawomet people — the violent proceedings against whom the Indians witnessed with their own eyes — in their power, should have permitted them to escape with their lives from a Massachusetts prison. They

Subsequent
doings of
the Gorton
party.

Effect of
these events
upon the In-
dians.

throp may have thought of the power of these men to write "true English," this statement could hardly be put in a style more forcible and picturesque.

¹ *Simplicities Defence.*

did not understand why an enemy, who was worth the trouble of being captured, should not be killed. The explanation was an Indian explanation. Rumors of a great war in England had reached their ears. There must then be in England two kinds of people, the Wattaconoges — as they called the English generally — and the Gortonoges; and the Gortonoges must be the stronger, for here in Massachusetts, the Wattaconoges were afraid to kill them. The policy the chiefs chose was the Indian policy; it was to be on the strongest side. Pessicus, Canonicus, and Mixan, the Narragansett sachems, accordingly submitted themselves and their people, by sol-



Signature of Pessicus.



The Messengers at the Tent of Canonicus.

emn act and deed, to Charles the First, who at that moment stood in great need of faithful subjects.

The government at the Bay were duly advised of this new aspect of affairs, and the sachems were summoned to appear before the General Court. They declined to come; whereupon messengers were sent them with instructions to ask "by whose advice they had done as

they wrote, and why they would countenance and take counsel from such evil men, and such as we had banished from us, and to persuade them to sit still and to have more regard to us than such as Gorton." But Canonicus sulked in his tent; for two hours he kept the messengers waiting in the rain; and when he admitted them to his presence entertained them only with "a few froward speeches." Pessicus was more amenable. The conference he granted to the messengers lasted through the night, and his speeches, though not "froward" were "witty."¹ The savage chieftain probably could not be convinced why, if it were right that Pumham and Sacononoco should ask the protection of Massachusetts, he and Canonicus and Mixan should not declare allegiance to King Charles, the great chief, as they considered, of the Gortonoges. Moreover he declared that the Narragansetts would presently go to war with Uncas, the Mohegan sachem.

This avowal of hostility to the Mohegans is the real explanation of the relation in which the Narragansetts stood to all parties. The King of England, the government of Massachusetts, or the handful of fanatics at Shawomet, were of little moment to them except so far as they might hinder or help their designs of revenge upon their savage enemies. There had long been a deadly feud between these two tribes, and the Narragansetts were at this time in mourning for the death of their chief Miantonomo, whom Uncas had caused to be treacherously murdered, the previous year, with the connivance or rather by the counsel, of the United Colonies of New England.

For several years before this act of useless and cruel perfidy, there had been suspicions that the great sachem Miantonomo, jealous of the growing power of the English, and alarmed at the result of the Pequot war, — was seeking secretly to unite all of his race in a league for the utter destruction of the whites. He was represented as travelling among the tribes from Massachusetts to Long Island, everywhere appealing to their patriotism, buying their consent with presents of wampum, inciting them by his eloquence to protect their own interests and to revenge the wrongs they had suffered. We, he is reported to have said, are all Indians as they are all English, "so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly. For you know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins; our plains were full of deer, as also our woods; and of turkies; and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our

Feud between the Narragansetts and Mohegans. Its causes.

Supposed designs of the Chief Miantonomo.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 203. Wit in the sense of wisdom.

clam banks, and we shall all be starved. Therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the sachems from east to west, both Moquakues and Mohawks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all at one appointed day . . . and when you see the three fires that will be made forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women and children; but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again.”¹

This bit of Indian eloquence, which seems to have been the prototype of many Indian speeches since, was probably never made by Miantonomo, but put into his mouth by some clever savage to work him harm. Captain Gardiner, nevertheless, believed it to be his, and reported an intended massacre of the English to Mr. Haynes at Hartford, and Mr. Eaton at New Haven. Massachusetts was appealed to for aid, and the sachem was summoned to Boston to answer the accusation. The only evidence against him was the hearsay testimony of his enemies.

This evidence, though accepted at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, was not believed by the Massachusetts magistrates. Twice (in 1640 and 1642) Miantonomo appeared before them, and by his dignified and fearless bearing, his evident good sense and frankness, satisfied them that, as Winthrop said, “All these informations might arise from a false ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Narragansett and Monhigen.”² The plot had no other foundation than the purpose of Uncas to provoke the English into hostilities against the Narragansetts.

But the Gorton difficulty favored Uncas in an unexpected way, and forced Miantonomo into an attitude which the United Colonies assumed to be hostile. He would not, with Pum-
The policy of Uncas.
ham and Sacononoco, repudiate the sale of the lands of Shawomet to Gorton, nor ask, as they did, under the leadership of Benedict Arnold, the protection of Massachusetts. During the progress of that controversy, but before Gorton and his companions were taken prisoners to Boston, Uncas attacked and destroyed a Narragansett village, and killed a number of its people. Miantonomo complained of this outrage to the magistrates of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and begged them not to be offended if he should revenge this wrong done to his relatives and friends. Governor Winthrop replied: “If Onkus [Uncas] had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his course.”³

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*. We follow the text of this supposed speech *verbatim*, but making a few slight changes in the punctuation where the sense obviously requires it.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 155.

Confiding in this assurance of neutrality he went upon the war-path against Uncas. The result was unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner, the weight of the coat of armor, which, it is said, Gorton had given him, preventing his escape by flight. That disgrace, no doubt, overwhelmed him, for he begged his enemies repeatedly to take his life, taunting them, perhaps, after the Indian fashion, with his own deeds of prowess in the past, and how they had fled like women before him at the sound of his war-whoop. But Uncas had learned to refine upon the crude methods of Indian revenge; he sent the great chief to Hartford to be lodged in the common jail.

How should so important a prisoner, falling thus into the hands of the English, be disposed of? The question was one, it seems, not easily answered. The governor and magistrates at Hartford consented to hold him in custody, but declared that it was not for them to decide upon his final disposition; there was no war, they said, between their colony and the Narragansetts to justify their interference. That decision, they thought, belonged to the commissioners of the United Colonies.¹

A meeting of the commissioners, at which Governor Winthrop presided, was held in Boston in September, and the subject had their most serious consideration. They well knew, they said, the ambitious design of Miantonomo "to make himself universal Sagamore or Governor of all these parts," and they believed he had determined to exterminate the English; but this knowledge and belief, they declared should not influence their judgment in this case, which was simply one between the two Indians. Their conclusion was "that Uncas cannot be safe while Myantonomo lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will be still in danger. Wherefore they thinke he may justly put such a false and blood-thirsty enemy to death, but in his owne jurisdiccon not in the English plantacons—and advising that in the manner of his death all mercy and moderacon be showed, contrary to the practise of the Indians who exercise torture and cruelty."

This was their conclusion. The considerations that led them to it were: That Miantonomo had made war upon Uncas without submitting his grievances to the English for arbitration, as had been provided by treaty: that a subject of Uncas had attempted to kill him and then fled for protection to the Narragansetts, and that Miantonomo instead of surrendering him as he had promised, had himself cut off the culprit's head, "that he might tell no tales": that Miantonomo had attempted to destroy Uncas by "sorcery": that it was Sequasson and not Uncas who was the original aggressor in the quarrel

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 131.

that led to the conflict between Uncas and Miantonomo: and, finally, that Miantonomo had “suddenly without denouncing war” come upon Uncas with superior numbers and relying upon those had declined to settle their feud by single combat; that the Mohawks were now within a day’s journey awaiting the issue of his capture, though what they might do “whether against the English, or Uncas, or both,” the commissioners acknowledged, “is doubtful.”¹

This formidable indictment, nevertheless, was not accepted, at once, as conclusive. Winthrop’s statement of the conclusion of the commissioners is, that they, “taking into consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him [Miantonomo] at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death.”

Here then was a dilemma. Was Miantonomo to be punished because he was the enemy of the English? He was believed to be so in Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford, but hitherto Massachusetts



The Grave of Miantonomo.

had not believed it; moreover, the delegates from those colonies declared that was not the question now at issue. Was he to be punished because he had disregarded the treaty, as the commissioners said, by neglecting to notify the English that he proposed to make

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 8, *et seq.*

war upon Uncas? But this was not true, according to Winthrop's own testimony. Miantonomo, he had recorded in his journal, "sent to Mr. Haynes (at Hartford) to complain of Onkus;" and Governor Haynes had replied, "that the English had no hand in it, nor would encourage them." "Miantonomo gave notice hereof also to our governor" — Winthrop himself — continues the journal, and the chief was told "to take his own course." Miantonomo took "his own course." Was it a crime because the fortune of war was against him?

"In this difficulty," says Winthrop, after giving the decision of the commissioners — "in this difficulty we called in five of the most judicious elders, (it being the time of the general assembly of the elders,) and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death."

The question
settled by
five elders.

"It was now clearly discovered to us," says the governor, "that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English and that Miantunnomoh was the head and contriver of it." Apparently it was the judgment of the elders alone that revealed the truth of what hitherto had not been credited, for there seems to have been no new evidence.

Miantonomo was to die then by the sentence of the English, but Uncas was appointed to be his executioner. The Mohegan chief was by no means reluctant to take upon himself that pleasant office. The prisoner was delivered into his hands and marched to a spot near where he was captured, now known as Sachem's Plain, in Norwich, Connecticut. It was ordered by the commissioners that the execution should be without torture, and some Englishmen were present to see

The execu-
tion of Mi-
antonomo.

that the order was obeyed. If the method chosen was savage, it was, at least, merciful: one of Uncas's men — said to be his brother — stealthily approached the prisoner from behind, and with a deadly blow buried a hatchet in his brain. Uncas sprang upon the body of his fallen enemy, and cutting a large piece of flesh from the shoulder devoured it in triumph, exclaiming, "it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, it made his heart strong."¹

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 135. Drake's *Book of the Indians*, p. 65. Winthrop was probably wrong as to the place of this tragedy, notwithstanding Savage (vol. ii., p. 162), in a note, maintains that he is right. Drake doubts if Uncas committed the savage act attributed to him, but Trumbull is good authority for the tradition. A monument has been erected to the memory of the great Sachem on Sachem's Plain in Norwich.



View of Providence, Rhode Island.

CHAPTER V

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

THE SHAWOMET CONTROVERSY TAKEN TO ENGLAND. — DECIDED IN FAVOR OF GORTON AND HIS ASSOCIATES. — CHARTER GRANTED TO PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. — CIVIL LIBERTY AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION PROVIDED FOR. — VISIT OF CLARK, HOLMES, AND CRANDALL TO BOSTON. — PUNISHED FOR HOLDING AND PREACHING HETERODOX OPINIONS. — DISSENSIONS IN RHODE ISLAND. — CODDINGTON APPOINTED GOVERNOR FOR LIFE — THE CHARTER GRANTED BY CHARLES II. — ITS CHARACTER AND HISTORICAL INTEREST.

DEEPLY moved with grief and indignation as the Narragansetts were when they heard of the treacherous assassination of their young and beloved sachem, it shows how little real fear there was of any retaliation on their part, that a small guard was thought sufficient for the protection of Uncas. "That the Indians might know," says Winthrop, "that the English did approve of it, they sent 12 or 14 musketeers home with Onkus, to abide a time with him for his defence, if need should be." There was no need ; the Narragansetts understood.

They understood, they thought, so well that when a few months later Gorton and his men came back rejoicing and confident with not a hair the less upon their heads, it was, the Narragansetts believed, because the others were afraid. Gorton looked, he told them, to the king for justice ; it was no hard thing to persuade them to offer their allegiance to a power which, though so far away, was feared by their enemies. If such subjects were of no

Gorton's return to Shawomet.

use to Charles, and such a king no protection to such subjects, the deed of submission was, at least, a good document for Gorton to have in his hand when he appealed to the government at home. This he did, and so successfully that within about two years, Randall Holden and John Greene — two of the Shawomet people — arrived in Boston, with an order from the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in London, that they and Gorton should be permitted to pass unmolested through any part of New England, from which they had been banished; and ten days later these Commissioners issued an order that all those evicted from Shawomet should be permitted to reënter upon and enjoy their possessions in that place. The Earl of Warwick was the president of that Board of Commissioners, and in gratitude to him the place was thereafter called Warwick.

The English commissioners' decision in his favor.

This happy result to their troubles was not, of course, brought about without a struggle. Edward Winslow was sent by the government of Massachusetts, to controvert in England the statements of Gorton, and a lively controversy ensued between them before the Com-

missioners and a committee of Parliament, and in published letters and pamphlets, which found listeners, absorbing as the interest of the English people was, at that time, in their own affairs. Winslow was faithful to his trust, and withstood with all his might a controversialist, who thanking God that he was bred in no "schools of human learning," must have been the harder to grapple with; but even Gorton himself testified to his manly fairness.¹



Edward Winslow.

But Winslow only so far prevailed that a year later the order restoring their lands to the Shawomet people was so modified and explained by a committee of both houses of Parliament, and by the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Plantations that the question of jurisdiction should be left for future decision. Winslow claimed that

¹ Edward Winslow, often governor of Plymouth, was deservedly one of the most honored and respected of the early New Englanders. No one went so often as he as the agent of the Colonies to England, and on one of these visits he was sent by Cromwell as commissioner on the expedition to the West Indies, in 1654. He died, after the disgraceful repulse at Hispaniola the next year, of fever; A Diary in the *Memorials of Admiral Sir William Penn* says: "Taking conceit (as his man affirms) at the disgrace of the army on Hispaniola, to whom he told, it had broken his heart."

the lands were within the Plymouth patent; but however the colonists may have persuaded themselves on this point, the Commissioners still insisted that Gorton, Holden, and their friends should be permitted to rest on the lands they had purchased from the natives.

For years the question continued to vex the colonies, and was a frequent subject of discussion, and even of altercation, between Plymouth and Massachusetts, between the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and between them all and the people

Later phases
of the Gorton
ques-
tion.

of Warwick. As a reason for insisting upon the exercise of the right of jurisdiction over them the latter were accused of wrongs committed against their neighbors both English and Indian, the ready rejoinder to which accusation was that the injuries were from the other side and were only withstood in self-defence. There seems to have been little peace for them till 1658, when William Arnold and William Carpenter, two of the four original instigators of the troubles of the Shawomet people, petitioned — with others of Pawtuxet — that Massachusetts would discharge them from the jurisdiction of that colony. This petition, however, is to be understood as one of the evidences that Massachusetts had relinquished her claim and is not to be mistaken as the cause of that change of policy.

Years before this Warwick had become a part of the colony of "Providence Plantations," under a charter procured by Roger Williams in March, 1644.¹ This was granted to Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, Warwick not being named in it; but when in May, 1647, the colony was organized, that plantation was admitted to equal privileges with the rest. Thereafter any attempted exercise of power over her was an intrusion upon territory protected by patent given under the authority of the English Parliam-

Williams's
charter.
1644.

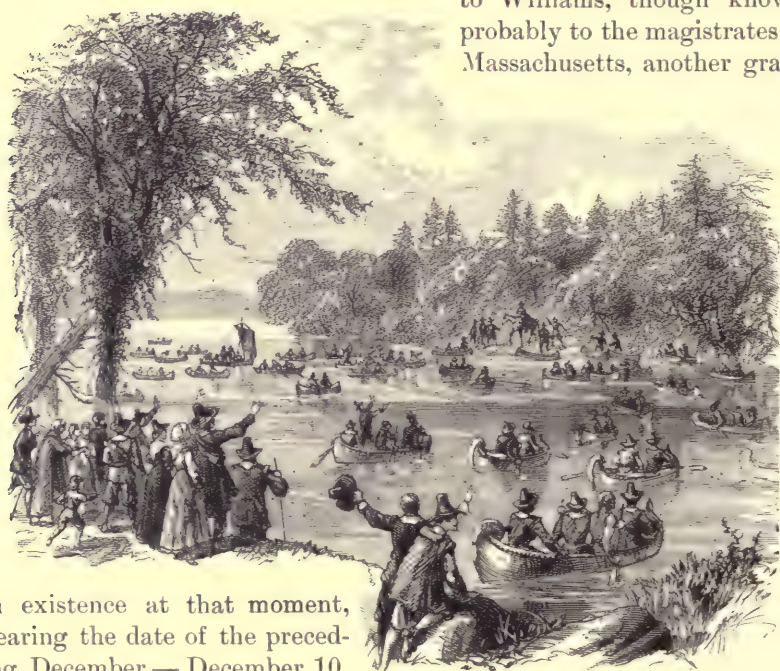
ment. Williams arrived in Boston with this charter in September, 1644, and was allowed to land there on his way to Providence by virtue of a letter from "divers lords and others of the parliament" to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts. Not that there was any growing disposition to tolerate him or his doctrines.² The letter alone secured him a safe passage through Massachusetts and at the same time informed its magistrates that he was the bearer of this charter granted to him and his friends by both houses of Parliament.

¹ There has been some controversy as to the date of this charter, the question being whether it was March 14th or 17th. In Hazard's *State Papers* it is the 14th; Savage in *Winthrop's Journal* maintained that this was correct, while Elton and Staples in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, insist that it should be the 17th. But Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers* in the State Paper Office, London, gives the 14th [O. S.], and this, therefore, must be the correct date.

² Hubbard's *General History of New England*, chap. xliii.

The warmth of his welcome at home was as marked as the coldness with which he was received in Boston. It was a little less than eight years since he had evaded the sentence of the law of Massachusetts and fled into the forest through which he now again found his way. The people had heard of his coming; at Seekonk the river was covered with canoes; all Providence had come out to hail the return of a benefactor and a friend. Surrounded by a grateful people he made an almost triumphal entry into the colony he had planted.

It is an interesting and important fact that there was, unknown to Williams, though known probably to the magistrates of Massachusetts, another grant



Williams's Welcome.

in existence at that moment, bearing the date of the preceding December — December 10, 1643 [O. S.] — extending the

Existence of
an earlier
charter to
Rhode
Island.

patent of that colony over the whole of the present State of Rhode Island. It is probable that the instrument had not then been received, for some reason, in Boston, for the first allusion to it is found in the records of the 7th of October, 1645. Mr. Williams is then notified by an official letter to refrain from exercising any jurisdiction over the lands about Narragansett Bay and the tract "wherein Providence and the Island of Quidny are included," the charter of which was "received lately out of England,"¹ giving that country to Massachusetts.

¹ *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. iii., p. 49.



VUE IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

Why should a charter which, if put in force, would settle definitively so much that was vexatious because unsettled, have been received only "lately" in October, 1645, when the grant was made nearly two years before, in December, 1643? Why also, ^{Puzzling questions in} when received, though so tardily, was ~~not some further use~~ ^{regard to it.} made of it other than in this single instance to hold it up as a menace to the Providence Plantations? That is the sole use to which it was ever put by the Massachusetts government, and in that case the warning was not thought worth heeding by those to whom it was sent or followed up by those who gave it.

The patent was a month old when Gorton and his companions were released from their sentence of confinement at hard labor in Massachusetts and dismissed with a new one of banishment beyond her borders. It was four months later when Governor Winthrop warned these people that the General Court did not intend their sentence as a "scarecrow" — that it would be found real and effectual should it be transgressed. Did he know at that very moment that these men were still within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and in proposing to settle on Rhode Island were as much disregarding the order of the General Court, if this charter were valid, as they would have done by remaining in Boston? It is of course, possible, though not probable, that the Massachusetts agents in London, the Reverend Thomas Welde and the Reverend Hugh Peters, had not informed the government of Massachusetts that they had secured so important an addition to her domain and her power. But even if this were true, for years afterward, when the charter was certainly in Boston, no attempt was made to enforce it, though its enforcement as a matter of absolute right would have settled at once so many questions over which discussion, altercation, and contention lasted through all those years.

Why then was so important an instrument permitted to lie in abeyance among the archives of Massachusetts? Why should Winthrop, whose journal of the events of that period is so minute, and therefore so much more valuable than any other contemporary narrative, be absolutely silent — save in a single instance where it is alluded to by way of illustration only — upon this Narragansett patent?

Positive answers there are none to these questions, but many conjectures.¹ By some writers it is maintained that the charter was fraudulent, procured in an irregular and illegal way by Welde, and sent out by him to be used in Massachusetts to sustain the unfounded claim of jurisdiction over Rhode Island, assumed in the outset for the punishment and suppression of the

Singular treatment of the matter by the Massachusetts government.

¹ See a very thorough discussion of the subject by Mr. Charles Deane and Col. Thomas Aspinwall in the volume of *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1862-1863.

heretics of Shawomet. Williams in a letter to Major Mason, written in 1670, says that when Gorton made his complaint, in London, against the action of Massachusetts, "the Lord High Admiral, President, [Warwick] said openly in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew of no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained, and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended had never past the table."¹ In a petition presented by John Clark and others on behalf of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to Lord Clarendon in 1665, the charter is referred to as "that which Mr. Wells [Welde] got under-hand" and as "never passed at Council table nor registered."² And in 1662 President Brenton told Hutchinson, the Massachusetts agent in London, that the Narragansett patent "was not fairly got;" that "there was no such thing upon record in any court of England, for he had sent to search the records;" and Hutchinson in a letter to Secretary Rawson of Massachusetts, says, "find there theirs, but not ours."³

On the other hand, Sainsbury records the patent as in volume x. of the State Paper Office in London.⁴ But this record rather complicates still further than clears up the question, for added to it are the words — "Copy, attested by Edward Rawson, Secretary." Rawson was the Colonial Secretary of Massachusetts. Did he send back to England an official copy of a charter obtained by fraud, that it might

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., First Series, vol. ii. R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iii.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, vol. vii.

³ Mass. Archives, cited by Aspinwall in the discussion with Deane.

⁴ Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers, p. 325.

unto) full power good right and lawfull... Hereto from Linc to Linc and att
 morall Cohorts and Cptions to be within the present and future of
 is founding and setting of indeterminate (hurdles) or (happolls) within any part
 thereof to any other if or ifd, whatsoever that may best serve to the benefit
 propagation of Good true Religion, as well for the drawing in of the Nations
 the of English Nation **To have hold and** Henry the said Dratts of
 and becom of these granted to and executed unto the said Govern...
 or (they being the goodly and able those for habiting) Except and above
 towards as are heretofore lawfully granted and in quiet possession held and
 constantly to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding All in the
 the Death ~ ~ ~ Day of December 1643. And in the Churchbook year

Sam Vassall

John Bond

Wm of Spafford

Art. Hestige

Niles Forster

Robert

appear, for some ulterior purpose, of record in the State Paper Office? Or, appearing there in due course, were the Earl of Warwick, John Clarke, President Brenton of Rhode Island, and Edward Hutchinson of Massachusetts, all in error as to its legality?

It is neither agreeable nor charitable to suppose that the Massachusetts magistrates would avail themselves of a patent which they knew to be obtained by trickery, even for so pious a work as the suppression of heresy. They recognize its existence just often enough to show that they accepted it as legal — or accepted it at any rate — while they refrained so completely from maintaining any vested right under it, that it is plain they preferred, for some reason, to ignore it. Perhaps the most commonplace explanation of the enigma is nearest the truth, — they did not use the charter because it did not answer their purpose. For some reason, which probably will never be explained, there were serious doubts as to the genuineness of the document; but in Boston, let us hope they knew it was legal, and nevertheless they put it aside among the archives of the colony because it was of little practical value in carrying out their policy in regard to Rhode Island.

For the jurisdiction Massachusetts wanted in that region of country was not merely jurisdiction over land, but over people; not merely over that which was uninhabited, except by Indians, but that in which dwelt their own countrymen. In each of the new settlements were men already obnoxious to the laws of the General Court, and in each could men still more obnoxious find an asylum. But the Narragansett patent contained a reservation of all lands previously granted, "and in

*provision for his being and their justes. (Goodly land) to be
all lands hereafter ad' option and when they shall see cause, all their go
Interpreted as to the said, desire and wishes for the convenient plant
or parts of the said who dwells or dwelt of lands, or for the employment,
and benefit of the said plantation, as they shall think most meet, and for the
advantage to the true knowledge and work of Almighty God, as to the said
land and all and singular the hereby granted, promised with their
assistants and freedom for his being and their justes, for or
proceeds and reforms all and singular said Islands' land and have
enjoyed by any of his Majesty's Subjects, Any thing herein
written, which doth well have hereunto put o' hands and seals' JOHN
of the said of his Majesty's Lord, Sir Charles F.*

present possession held and enjoyed by any of his majesty's Protestant subjects." There had, indeed, been no grants of lands in the territory in question, but there was "present possession" at Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Shawomet, and the charter, therefore, conferred upon Massachusetts no right of jurisdiction over these or their inhabitants. Her authority, therefore, in that country would have been only a divided authority, and would have failed precisely where she most wished to exercise it. Rather than accept this she may have preferred to await the decision she hoped for — that the country was embraced within the Plymouth patent, inasmuch as Plymouth had conveyed her right of jurisdiction to Massachusetts.¹ But, however her course may be explained, the question still remains unsolved, — how came the Commissioners of Plantations to confer — if they did confer — upon the Providence Plantations, in March, 1644, a patent of precisely the same lands which three months before they had granted to Massachusetts?

The charter which Williams brought back from England was free and absolute, giving to the people of Providence Plantations "full power and authority to govern and rule themselves and such others as shall inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greatest part of them shall be found most serviceable in their estates and conditions;" and to that end it empowered them to make and enforce such civil laws and constitutions as should be necessary, provided only that they were in accordance with the laws of England. And even this condition was so modified as to provide that this conformity to the laws of the mother country need be only so far as the nature and constitution of the colony admitted. It was the freest colonial charter that had ever been given; naturally, for it was obtained at the solicitation of Roger Williams, through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, and from a parliamentary commission.

The first General Assembly which met under it at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647, adopted a code of laws, in the preamble of which it was declared: "sith our charter gives us to govern ourselves, and such other as come among us, and by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary consent, etc., shall be found most suitable to our state and condition. It is agreed by this present Assembly, thus incorporate, and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free

Provisions
of the grant
of 1644.

First Assembly and laws under the Williams charter.
1647.

¹ See Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 119.

inhabitants." The personal rights of the citizen were guarded by the declaration "that no person in this Colony shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his lands or liberties, or be exiled or any otherwise molested or destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by some known law, and according to the letter of it," ratified and confirmed by the General Assembly. And that absolute freedom of conscience should be secured, it was declared that "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this Colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah, their God for ever and ever."¹

Five years before Portsmouth and Newport had declared in almost the same words, that such were the principles by which they meant to be governed. Here was a new and wider union under the authority of a charter. It laid down as the firm foundation of the State that idea of civil and religious liberty, which every wise man among them, who had followed Williams to an asylum for those distressed in conscience, maintained to be its only true foundation. Whatever vicissitudes and trials they were called upon to meet, they kept carefully in mind the great principles of their political faith.

There were dividing interests and dissensions in the several towns, however, which the union under this charter could not reconcile. What these were is not, and cannot now, be accurately known, but they were, no doubt, increased by division of feeling and opinion on affairs in England. Royalists and parliament men no more loved each other in the colonies than at home, though distance from the scene of the actual struggle softened the political rancor enough to restrain them from open violence. But whatever other differences there were, this one intensified them. Codrington, a royalist, was the leader of one party, and one strong evidence of the difference between the two was that he, with others, asked on behalf of the island that they be admitted into the confederation of the United Colonies. He claimed that this was the wish of a majority of the people of Portsmouth and Newport, and he may have been right, for the island towns and the mainland towns seemed to mark the division of parties.

Influence of English affairs in colonial dissensions.

The party feeling in the Rhode Island towns must have been intense that could make any of them so forget the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Massachusetts, as to ask an alliance where hers was the chief influence. The request of the petitioners was refused unless they would acknowledge that the territory they occupied was within the Plymouth patent. To accept such terms would have been

¹ *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 229.

to forego all the advantages of the possession of their own charter, and to surrender themselves eventually to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. What that might be the people of Providence Plantations had already been taught by some efficient lessons, and others were to come.

In the summer of 1651 the Reverend John Clark, who was not only one of the most influential and most respected citizens of Rhode Island, but the pastor of the Baptist Church at Newport; the Reverend Obadiah Holmes, who had gathered a church of the same denomination at Seekonk, and one Crandall, went together to Lynn, in Massachusetts, to visit a sick brother in the church, one William Witter.¹ Clark was an eminent and public offender inasmuch as he was a Baptist clergyman, and the leader of that band of exiles who, banished from Massachusetts, found a home on the island of Acquidneck; Holmes was also a Baptist clergyman, had been excommunicated from the church at Seekonk, and bound over to keep the peace by the authorities of Plymouth; and Crandall, to his other offence of being an Anabaptist, had added that of marrying a daughter of Samuel Gorton. Three such criminals were not to be permitted to come with impunity within the boundaries of Massachusetts, although the church of which all three were members had deputed them to visit a brother member, sick and old and blind, who, from his distant home, had asked for the consolation of a religious visit.²

On the Sunday after their arrival, "not having freedom in our Spirits," says Clark, "for want of a clear Call from God to goe unto the Publike Assemblie to declare there what was the mind, and counsell of God concerning them," he "judged it a thing suitable" to hold divine service in the house and with the family of Witter, and four or five others who came in to join in their worship. While thus engaged there came in two constables with a warrant for their arrest. A request to finish the services was denied, and "the erronious persons, being Strangers" whom the writ of Justice Bridges commanded should be brought before him in the morning, were marched off as prisoners — bail being refused — to the inn for safe keeping.

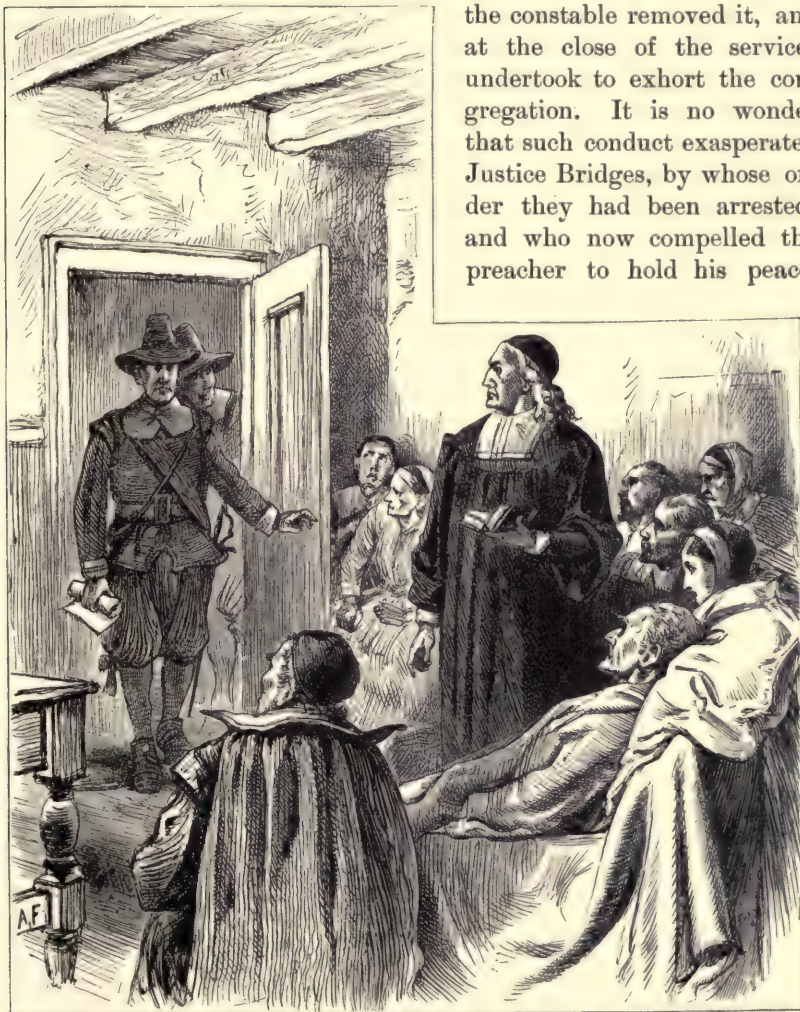
The constables were more zealous than wise, for in the afternoon they insisted upon taking the prisoners to the Meeting, notwithstanding

¹ Witter was nearly seventy years of age and blind; not being able to go to Newport for the comfort of the ordinances in the church to which he belonged, he asked that he might be visited, for he seemed to be near his end. Clark, Holmes, and Crandall were sent as the representatives of the church at Newport, as appears by the records of the church, as quoted by Backus.

² Backus's *History of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 215.

ing Mr. Clark's repeated protests and warnings that if compelled to go there his conscience would constrain him to testify to his dissent both by word and gesture from those with whom he could hold no religious communion. And he was true to his word ; for in the Meeting he

kept his hat upon his head till the constable removed it, and at the close of the services undertook to exhort the congregation. It is no wonder that such conduct exasperated Justice Bridges, by whose order they had been arrested, and who now compelled the preacher to hold his peace.



The Meeting at Witter's House.

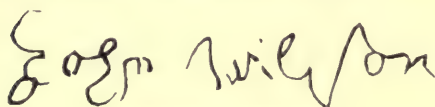
The next morning the three were sent to Boston jail for safe-keeping till the next sitting of the court, the charges against them being that they had held a private religious meeting ; that they had disturbed public worship ; that they had led others astray ; that they

were suspected of rebaptizing of one or more persons, and had failed to give security that they would appear for trial.¹

They lay in jail for ten days before the Court, consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and three assistants, was convened, but there was no delay when they were once before their judges. There were neither accusers nor witnesses summoned against them; no jury to try them, and no law either of God or man cited to their condemnation. It was enough for the irascible Governor Endicott to declare that they were Anabaptists; the formalities of trial evidently were of small moment with regard to criminals of that sort.

Of course they were found guilty. They were Baptists; the commitment said they had held two meetings of worship at Witter's house; and when taken into the meeting-house of the town they had kept on their hats. They were sentenced to be well whipt, or to pay, Clark twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds, and Crandall five pounds. Mr. Clark asked respectfully that he might be told under what law they were condemned. He reminded them that by their Code no man should be molested except under a law of the General Court, or, failing that, the law of God; and neither had been produced against them. He hoped they were not less tender of the rights of the stranger within their gates, than they were of the rights of their own people.

Endicott was equal to the occasion; they denied infant baptism, he shouted; they ought to be put to death, and "he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction." Holmes, more meek, said as he turned to leave the court, "I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."



Signature of John Wilson.

Whereupon he adds, "John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) strook me before the judgment seat and cursed me,

saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee." It was not much that would put John Endicott in a towering passion at any time; but it must have been a lively and exciting occasion that could move John Wilson — though capable of being moved, for we have seen him climbing a tree in a time of popular clamor to harangue a crowd² — that could so move him as to strike and curse even a theological opponent in open court.³

Endicott told Clark that it was only the weak to whom he ventured

¹ *Ill Newses From New-England: or A Narrative of New-Englands Persecution.* By John Clark. London: 1652. Reprinted *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

² Vol. i., p. 554.

³ *Holmes's Narrative* in Backus; and *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi.

to present his doctrines, but that he could not sustain himself in a controversy with the Boston ministers — with brother Wilson, for example, then and there present ready on the instant to pound the obdurate Holmes into a Christian state of mind. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Newport clergyman than such a challenge; but though agreed to and the preliminaries arranged after much negotiation, the proposal came to naught. It was not so much, probably, that Messrs. Wilson and Cotton feared to meet Mr. Clark in debate as that they dreaded the effect on the popular mind, all the more ready to embrace new doctrines which it was unwisely attempted to suppress by the persecution of those who held them.

After some days of imprisonment both Clark and Crandall were released, their fines being paid by some judicious friends without their knowledge. But with Holmes it fared otherwise. His conscience would not permit him to pay for himself, or allow others to pay for him, the sum adjudged as penalty. He struggled hard, he tells us, to resist the temptation to escape a painful punishment, and on the morning of its execution, “in consideration of the weakness of the flesh to bear the strokes though the spirit was willing, I was,” he adds, “caused to pray earnestly unto the Lord that he would be pleased to give me a spirit of courage and boldness, a tongue to speak for Him, and strength of body to suffer for His sake, and not to shrink or yield to the strokes, or shed tears lest the adversaries of the truth should thereupon blaspheme and be hardened, and the weak and feeble-hearted discouraged.”

Fortified with this spirit of resignation and endurance, he was led out of the prison into the presence of the people. He tried to speak that he might bear witness to them that he suffered for “the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.” If the punishment was just it was just that he should be silenced, for it was for preaching that he was punished. “Fellow, do thine office,” said the magistrate to the executioner; “for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people.” To him there was nothing ignominious in his position; rather the glorification of martyrdom. “I dressed myself,” he says, “in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord and Master to serve in this business.” And these comely garments had to be removed from him, for “I made,” he declares, “as much conscience of unbuttoning a button as I did of paying the 30*l.* in reference thereunto.” To this disrobing he submitted gently and unresistingly, as he did to his punishment; “for in truth,” continues his narrative, “as the strokes fell upon me I had such a spiritual manifestation of God’s presence as the like thereto I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshy tongue express, and the outward pain

The punishment of
Holmes.

was so removed from me that, indeed, I am not able to declare it to you; it was so easy to me that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting on his hand three times, as many affirmed), with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes." Such was his spiritual exaltation that when the ghastly spectacle was over and his clothes were restored to him to cover his scored and bloody back,

His narrative concerning it.



Whipping of Obadiah Holmes.

he turned to the magistrates standing by and said, "You have struck me as with roses."

When the scourging was finished a number of the bystanders crowded around the sufferer to avow their pity for his condition, if not their sympathy for his doctrines and their indignation at his persecution. Writs were immediately issued for the arrest of a dozen or more of these persons, but only two were taken. These also would have been publicly punished at the whipping-post, had not their fines, which their consciences forbade their paying, been discharged by their friends.

Whatever were the merits, and they were many, of the early Puri-

tans of Massachusetts, candid and truthful history can neither wink out of sight nor palliate the intolerance and cruelty which they visited upon those who differed from them. Fortunately for her, and for the whole country whose destiny she has done so much to influence, the efforts of her earliest rulers to stamp her character with the indelible impress of their own narrow views and purposes were not successful. In all those years there was among the common people, particularly outside of Boston, a determined purpose, which it was impossible altogether to suppress, not to submit to the arbitrary will and narrow fanaticism with which the magistrates proposed to govern in the name of religion and of law. The struggle was long continued, — continued, indeed, even down to our own time. But that spirit which led some of the most enlightened of her people to build up another colony on a foundation of religious toleration and the equal civil rights of all men, has, in the long run, been triumphant in Massachusetts also. The extravagancies in theological discursiveness which grew out of the intellectual and religious activity of the age came, in the end, to harmless and sometimes rational conclusions; while the intolerant bigotry which knew no better way to meet the vagaries of fanaticism than persecution became at length so intolerable to all sober-minded people as to be looked upon with such abhorrence as to defeat itself.

The spirit of
opposition to
Puritan in-
tolerance.

It is not at all impossible that these outrages in Boston upon two well-known clergymen of Rhode Island may have had some influence upon political events in that colony. Governor Coddington had, by a clever *coup de main*, obtained from the Council of State in England a commission to govern Rhode Island, with a council of six men, during his life. With this commission he returned home about the time of the visit of Clark to Massachusetts; and though there is no evidence of his having repeated his overtures to the Commissioners of the United Colonies that Rhode Island should be admitted to that Confederacy, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of alarm among the people at his success. Roger Williams, as representative of the mainland towns, and John Clark, on behalf of those of the Island, were sent soon after to England, the one to procure the recall of the commission to Coddington, the other to obtain a confirmation of the charter. The latter was probably thought desirable, as since that charter was granted Charles the First had been brought to the block, England had been declared a Commonwealth, and the government of the nation entrusted to the Council of State appointed by parliament. The mission of the commissioners, however, was, in effect, the same — to restore the government of Providence Plantations, which had lapsed through the dis-

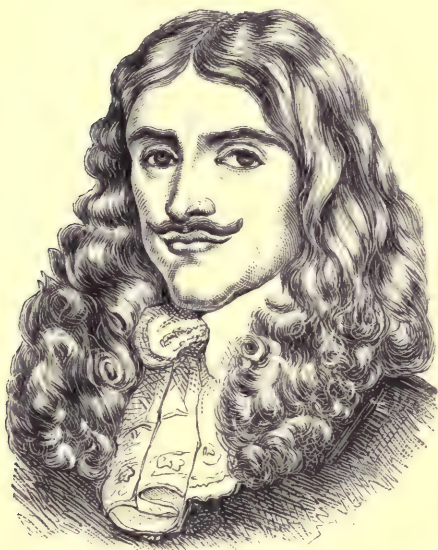
Coddington's Com-
mission for
Rhode Isl-
and.

sensions of the several towns, and the repeal of the appointment of Coddington as governor for life over those of Rhode Island.

The mission was successful. Williams and Clark presented their petition to the Council of State the following spring; in the autumn of 1652 the commission to Coddington was recalled, and a few months later the towns were again united under one government, Williams, who had meanwhile returned from England, being the first governor.

Clark remained in England to watch over, during the next ten momentous years of the Commonwealth, the interests of the Colony. On the restoration of Charles II. he devoted himself to obtaining a royal charter, which was granted in July, 1663, to the Colony under the new name of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." All the rights granted in the earlier patent were confirmed in this; the original title of the native Indians — for affirming which as to the country of New England Roger Williams was, among other reasons, banished from Massachusetts — was recognized; the rights of conscience and of private judgment, for which the people of Rhode Island had suffered so much at the hands of their neighbors, were affirmed by the declaration that "no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be

Rhode Isl-
and charter
of 1663.



Portrait of Charles II.

anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion,

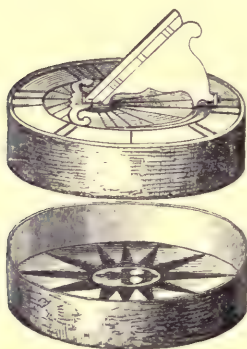
that do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the injury or outward disturbance of others"; it empowered a general assembly "to make, ordain, constitute

or repeal, such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall, inhabit or be within the same; so as such laws, ordinances and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but as near as may, agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there"; that in all matters of public controversy between this and other colonies the appeal should be to the government in England, and that to the inhabitants of Rhode Island there should be perfect freedom to pass and repass without let or molestation into the other colonies, and to hold intercourse and trade with such of their people as were willing, "any act, clause, or sentence in any of the said Colonies, provided, or that shall be provided, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." This, no doubt, referred to the sentence of banishment of Roger Williams and others from Massachusetts which had never been repealed.

No charter so comprehensive and so radical as this had ever before been granted to any English colony. It guaranteed to the people of Rhode Island those great principles of civil and religious liberty for which they had struggled so long and some of them had sacrificed so much; it anticipated in a royal grant the fundamental law of that great republic of which this colony is a part, but which was waited for till more than another century of growth and struggle had passed away; and so broad and free it was that it served as the constitution of that little commonwealth for the next hundred and eighty years. Under it Benedict Arnold was the first governor; among the names of those on whose behalf the king was petitioned that such a patent be granted, were those of Samuel Gorton, John Greene, Randall Holden, and William Coddington;¹ and the man to whom it owed its character and at whose importunity the royal will was chiefly moved, was Dr. John Clark, who two years before barely escaped the whipping-post in Boston, where the magistrates were not ashamed to condemn to a punishment so ignominious a venerable and estimable and learned clergyman whose offence was one that this charter forbade to be called a crime, and maintained as

¹ Those on whose behalf John Clark petitioned the king were: Benjamin Arnold, William Brenton, William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, William Baulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Coggeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre.

a precious right. As an historical document the instrument is full of the gravest interest for the incidents and the men whose memory it preserves ; for the events in the formation of governments of which it was, in a certain measure, a prophecy ; and for the end which awaited it when nearly two centuries later its form though not its spirit was outgrown.



Roger Williams' Compass.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW NETHERLAND UNDER PETER STUYVESANT.

STUYVESANT'S ARRIVAL AT MANHATTAN.—HOPEFUL RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS.—HE BEFRIENDS EX-GOVERNOR KIEFT.—ARREST AND TRIAL OF KUYTER AND MELYN.—THEIR BANISHMENT AND DEPARTURE WITH KIEFT.—WRECK OF THE PRINCESS.—DIFFICULTIES WITH NEW ENGLAND.—SEIZURE OF THE ST. BENINIO.—THE CONSEQUENT QUARREL WITH NEW HAVEN.—CONTROVERSY WITH THE COMMISSARY OF RENSSELAERSWYCK.—DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE.—APPEAL OF THE CITIZENS TO HOLLAND.—MELYN'S RETURN.—REVERSAL OF HIS SENTENCE.—THE REMONSTRANCE FORWARDED TO THE STATES-GENERAL.—VAN DER DONCK AND THE DELEGATES AT THE HAGUE.—STUYVESANT'S CONTINUED ARROGANCE.

ON the 27th of May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant, the new governor who, the New Netherlanders hoped, had come to remedy all the evils which they had suffered under the administration of Kieft, arrived amid "shouting on all sides" and the burning of nearly all the powder in the town in salutes.¹ The rejoicing was universal, and even Kieft himself was glad, probably, to welcome a successor who was to release him from the cares of a vexatious office. As the excited burghers gathered near the fort upon what is now known as the Battery, to look at the fleet anchored in the harbor, they congratulated each other, no doubt, that an era of peace, prosperity, and equitable rule had come at last.

Governor
Stuyvesant's
arrival at
Manhattan,
May, 1647.

The burghers forgot for the moment, if they had ever heard, that the reputation of the new governor was not altogether unsullied. It is said that in Holland he had been detected in robbing the daughter of his host, and that he would have been punished for the act had he not been mercifully forgiven for the sake of his father, who was a clergyman in Vriesland, and greatly esteemed. The famous expedition against St. Martin, where Stuyvesant lost his leg—in place of which he ever after wore a wooden one, bound together with rings of silver, and therefore called his "silver leg,"—this expedition, it was said, was unsuccessful because it was so badly con-

His previous
career.

¹ So extravagant was this demonstration of welcome "that they were obliged to send to another place to buy powder for exercising and in case of need."—*The Breeden Raedt*. Extracts translated in *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iv., p. 69.

ducted; for the commander wasted, in vainglorious salutes at sea, nearly all his powder before he reached the fort; and when he raised the siege, which he had not ammunition enough to go on with, he left behind him; not only his leg but much property, especially cannon. But as the leg was really lost, it seems hardly probable that its owner had acted the part of a coward, and other stories against him on the same authority may be as little likely to be true.¹

At any rate the enthusiastic people of New Amsterdam, when they welcomed with shouts and all their powder this successor to Kieft, were so full of pleasant excitement and hopeful anticipations of a happy and prosperous future, that they failed to call to mind, if they had ever heard of, any moral delinquencies of which the man might have been guilty in far-off Holland, or of military failures which had befallen him in the West Indies.

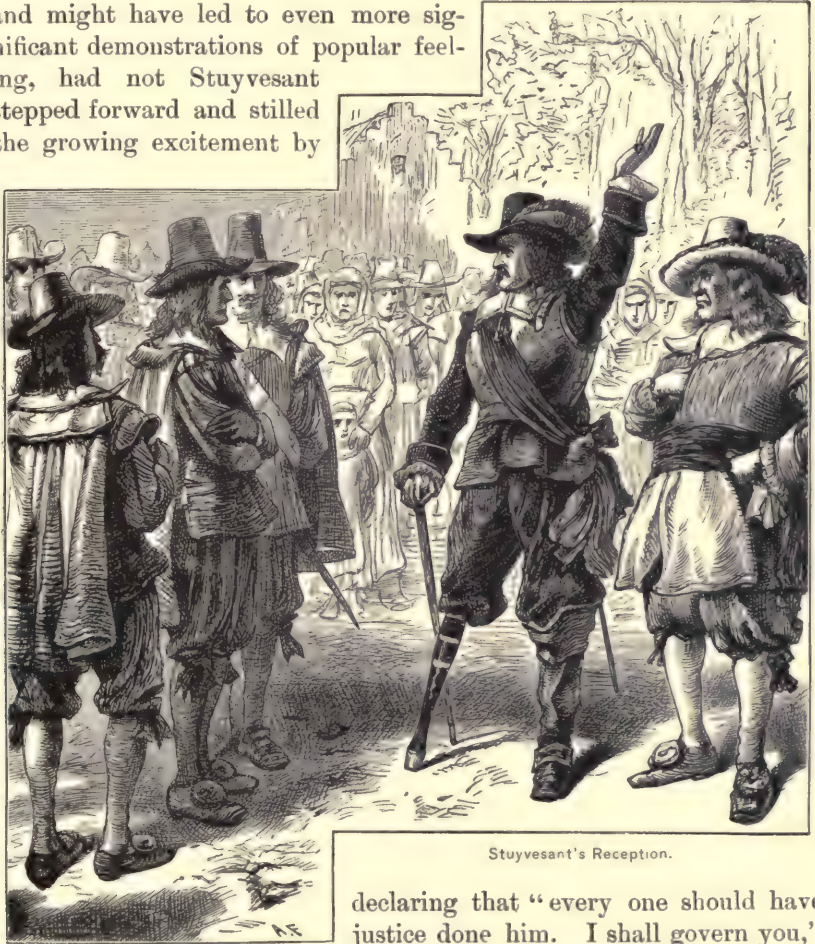
This popular enthusiasm, however, hardly outlasted the ceremony of reception. Stuyvesant was a man of haughty as well as violent temper; more imperious in presence and in manners than Kieft whom he came to displace, he was quite as despotic, and the more to be feared for his ability and strength of purpose. When he landed he marched into the town "like a peacock, with great state and pomp." Some of the principal citizens met him bare-headed, and bare-headed "he let them wait for several hours, he himself keeping his hat on his head as if he was the czar of Muscovy; nobody was offered a chair, while he seated himself very comfortably on a chair, the better to give the welcomers an audience."² The picture is not drawn by friendly hands, but it is not out of keeping with what we know of Peter Stuyvesant.

But he did better presently when Kieft came forward to surrender the government into the hands of his successor. As the retiring governor stood for the last time before his fellow-citizens in his official capacity, he wished, perhaps, to bury the memory of past animosities; at any rate he must have been anxious to step down gracefully from his elevation, as he yielded the place to another. He thanked his fellow-citizens with a natural if not pardonable exaggeration for the fidelity they had shown him during his administration of affairs, hoping, no doubt, that he would be met in a like conciliatory and compliant mood, and his services acknowledged in terms that would be complaisant if insincere. But the sturdy Dutchmen were not to be cheated out of their resentments by any momentary enthusiasm or

¹ Translations from *The Breeden Raedt*, in *Documentary Hist. of New York*.

² *The Representation of New Netherland* (1650). By Adrian van der Donck. Translated by Henry C. Murphy. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii. *The Breeden Raedt. Documentary Hist. N. Y.*

ceremonial proprieties. On all sides went up a shout of loud dissent ; as spokesmen for the rest, Joachim Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, who were of the old Board of "Eight Men," and had otherwise been conspicuous as opponents of Kieft, declared boldly that they had nothing to thank him for and no approval to give. Such unexpected candor marred the harmonies of the occasion, and might have led to even more significant demonstrations of popular feeling, had not Stuyvesant stepped forward and stilled the growing excitement by



Stuyvesant's Reception.

declaring that "every one should have justice done him. I shall govern you," he said, "as a father his children, for

the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers and this land."¹

The crowd dispersed, quieted if not satisfied with these assurances of the paternal intentions of the new governor, and almost forgot how long they had stood bare-headed in the sun.

¹ *Breeden Raedt and Albany Records*, cited by Brodhead, *History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 433.

There was not much delay, however, in testing his sincerity. Before many days had passed Kuyter and Melyn brought a formal complaint against Kieft, and asked that a rigid inquiry be made into the alleged abuses of his government, and especially of his treatment of the Indians which had led to the war.

The citizens' complaint of Kieft.

The answer was as unexpected as it was unwelcome. Was it to be accepted as his opinion that it was treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not? The denials of Kieft, he considered as of more weight than any evidence his antagonists could bring to substantiate their charges. He would not, he declared, recognize them officially as members of the late Board of "Eight Men," nor as representatives of the citizens at large; but only as "private persons." He looked upon them, he said, merely as "perturbators of the public peace," hardly worthy of a hearing. In all this he was mindful of the force of precedent. "If this point be conceded," he said to his council, "will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume, in consequence, even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration do not quadrate in every respect with their whims?"

Policy of Stuyvesant.

His despotism was not without forethought. The council had no will and no opinions of their own; all its members, Van Dincklage, Van Dyck, Keyser, Captain Newton, La Montagne, and Van Tienhoven the provincial secretary, hastened to agree with him, and the petition of Kuyter and Melyn was not granted.¹

The wily Kieft saw his opportunity in this unexpected turn of affairs, and embraced it promptly. The defendant became plaintiff, and brought charges against Kuyter and Melyn, who, he declared, were the authors of that appeal of the "Eight Men" to the chamber of Amsterdam;² that they had induced their colleagues, against their better judgment, to join in that petition, all whose statements, he affirmed, were false. The ex-governor was listened to where the "private persons" had no standing in court. They were ordered to answer the accusations within twenty-four hours.

Stuyvesant was only the more enraged when that answer was an offer to produce the evidence of the truth of all the charges sent to Amsterdam against Kieft, and to bring forward the four survivors of the Eight Men to testify that they had voluntarily signed the documents containing those charges.³ It was only an aggravation of the

¹ See Stuyvesant's address on this subject in O'Callaghan, vol. ii., pp. 24, 26.

² See vol. i., p. 462.

³ The *Breedon Raedt* says that these survivors were induced by threats and promises to testify that they had been bribed to sign the letters sent to Holland containing the charges against Kieft.

offence, on the part of the accused, to propose thus to show their innocence. The Director General ordered that they be at once indicted; a speedy trial followed, and a prompt conviction waited on the trial.

Both were found guilty. Kuyter was condemned to three years' banishment and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. The sentence of Melyn was more severe. Perhaps there were additional charges against him; perhaps the enmity of Kieft, who, says one authority, had resented Melyn's refusal some time before to give him a share in the manor of Staten Island, was more bitter. The patroon was at any rate declared guilty of treason, of bearing false witness, of libel and defamation; was sentenced to forfeit all benefits of the Company, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and to be banished for seven years. The Director was in favor of severer punishment, but even his pliant council dissented from his judgment, though he supported it by a violent speech, in which he appealed to Scripture and the authority of the learned in civil and criminal law with many a text and quotation.

Arbitrary
treatment of
the popular
leaders.

When it was suggested to the triumphant Kieft that the result of the trial might have been different in Holland, "Why should we," said he, exultingly, "alarm each other with justice in Holland? In this case I consider it only a scarecrow." Stuyvesant was even more emphatic. Melyn,

he thought, deserved death, and was threatened with it by the Director. "If I was



Signature of Cornelis Melyn.

persuaded," he said, "you would appeal from my sentences or divulge them, I would have your head cut off, or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." To another person he said, "If any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way."

These servants of the West India Company had little fear, probably, of their masters, who cared little and did less for New Netherland, and who, already in a condition of bankruptcy, had neither the power nor the will to regulate the affairs of the distant colony.¹ Had it been otherwise, however, Stuyvesant would not have been likely to put a bridle upon his tongue, for so transported was he with rage at these daring attacks upon prerogative, that "the foam hung on his beard" as he roared and raged against their perpetrators. "These

¹ *The West India Company: in Bibliographical and Historical Essays on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland.* By G. M. Asher.

brutes," he said, "may hereafter endeavor to knock me down also, but I will manage it so now, that they will have their bellies full for the future." The people of New Amsterdam had good reason to be amazed and alarmed at the words of this impetuous and irascible gentleman, as well as at these first acts of the administration of a governor who not long before, had declared "under the canopy of heaven," that justice should be done in all New Netherland, and that he was to rule over them as a father over his children.

But there was one man, at least, who was thankful for such a Director; and that was Kieft. Had he been the benefactor instead of the oppressor of New Netherland he could hardly have retired from its government with more triumphant complacency than that with which he now hugged himself. On the 17th of August, less than three months after the coming of Stuyvesant, Kieft embarked for Holland in the ship *Princess*, carrying with him an ample fortune, and taking on board with him, "like criminals torn away from their goods, their wives, and their children,"¹ the "two faithful patriots," Kuyter and Melyn, who had ventured to impeach his administration, and who for their temerity were thus punished by banishment, with the added humiliation of going as the prisoners of the man they had hoped to humble.

But their humiliation and his triumph were not to last long. It was on this voyage there came that "observable hand of God," of which Winthrop speaks, and which he interpreted as "against the Dutch at New Netherlands," and showing "so much of God in favor of his poor people here [in New England] and displeasure toward such as have opposed and injured them." For Kieft, he adds, "had continually molested the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, and used menacings and protests against them upon all occasions, and had burnt down a trading-house which New Haven had built upon Delaware River."

Therefore it was that the hand of God was heavy upon him; so that when the *Princess* approached the English coast she lost her reckoning, ran upon the coast of Wales, near Swansea, instead of up the English Channel, and was lost. Many saw in it a judgment, who did not agree with the Massachusetts governor that Kieft was "a sober and prudent man," and who believed that the providence of God sometimes had other purposes than the punishment of the enemies of the Puritans of New England. "I told Wilhelm Kieft," — De Vries had written four years before, — "that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood which

Wreck of
the *Prin-
cess*.

¹ This is the testimony of the *Breedon Raedt*, a little colored, perhaps, by partisanship, as it is certain that Melyn took a son with him.

he had shed in his murderings, would, sooner or later, come on his head." Kuyter and Melyn, and their friends, also, had, no doubt, their reflections. To Kieft himself, whose life had been one of so much turbulence and injustice, there came a sort of death-bed repentance, as his ship lay pounding to pieces on the Welsh rocks; for calling his prisoners to his side, he said: "Friends, I have been unjust towards you, — can you forgive me?"

So he perished, and with him eighty others — among them Melyn's son, and Bogardus,¹ the minister of the church of New Amsterdam, who had been one of Kieft's most determined opponents. Twenty only



View on the Coast of Wales near Swansea.

were saved, and of these one was Kuyter, who was washed ashore in a surf so heavy that it threw, at the same time, a cannon upon the beach; and another was Melyn, who escaped upon a raft. Perhaps their hardships aroused some sympathy for them in Holland; at any rate their grievances were listened to, the

Kuyter
and Melyn
in Holland.

¹ The farm of Dominie Bogardus — called first the "Dominie's Bowery," afterward "the Duke's Farm," "the King's Farm," "the Queen's Farm," as it was conveyed, in the progress of events, from one proprietor to another — became at length the property of Trinity Church, New York, by letters-patent under the seal of the province. It is still, for the most part, in the hands of that corporation, and produces an immense revenue. To the conveyance of this farm to Governor Lovelace, in 1671, by the children of Annetje Jans, — the widow of Dominie Bogardus, who had been twice married, — one of the sons was not a party, and the property is claimed by his descendants — *O'Callaghan*.

sentences against them reversed by the States-General, and Stuyvesant had reason subsequently to regret that he had begun his administration of the affairs of New Netherland by their persecution.

In the spirit and temper, however, with which he had come to the defence of Kieft, the Director-general continued to administer the affairs of the colony after the departure of the *Princess*. He began at once to enforce some burdensome taxes, particularly upon wine and beer, which aroused the most bitter opposition; and he showed it to be clearly his policy to make the colony profitable to the Company rather than that the rights of the colonists should be protected. If his laws and their rigid enforcement were sometimes beneficial to the citizens, as they sometimes unquestionably were, it was not so much that Stuyvesant was anxious for their welfare, as because the laws were in themselves judicious and wholesome for them as well as favorable to the interests of the Company. He was accused of imposing restrictions upon trade that he might have a monopoly in smuggling some particular article of commerce; when the truth was that he was honestly aiming to repress some illegal and injurious practice, the repression of which would deprive his accusers of the monopoly which, they said, he was prostituting his power to get into his own hands. Undoubtedly he was very much of a despot, had very little faith in popular government, and very little respect for popular rights; but he was personally honest; he conducted the affairs of the colony in a way which he sincerely believed was for the benefit of the Company; and he ruled with a strong hand because he thought that was the only way the people could be governed. As a natural consequence he had almost as little popular support in acts that were judicious and for the good of the community, as in those which were unwise and clearly against its best interests.

Features of
Stuyvesant's
administra-
tion.

But he could not carry on the administration of affairs without some sort of popular coöperation. Taxes were paid, if paid at all, with reluctance and much grumbling; the Indians were threatening the fort, and the palisades around the town were in need of repairs; the church was only half finished; trade languished, and there was a general condition of danger, depression, and discontent. Stuyvesant listened at last, though very unwillingly, to the advice of his council, to admit the people to such share in the government as they were accustomed to at home. A general election was ordered in the autumn, at which the burghers of New Amsterdam, of Breuckelen, on the other side of the East River, of Pavonia, and Amersfoort or Flatlands on Long Island, were to choose eighteen delegates, from whom the governor and council were to select a board of Nine Men as the popular representatives of the colony.

By proclamation in September, the powers of this body were defined. That the colony "and principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence, might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity, and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading-place, harbor, and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements;" that "the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the Company, and the prosperity of our good citizens" be promoted; that "the pure reformed religion, as it is here and in the churches of the Netherlands," be preserved and inculcated, this Board of Nine Men was established.

Concessions
to the
burghers.

These were to convene when called by the governor and council, but were not to hold private meetings, the governor, whenever he pleased, sitting with them as the presiding officer. Their duty and powers were advisory, not legislative, as they were only to give advice on such propositions as the governor and council thought fit to submit to them. Three of them were to sit in turn at the council-board each week, and to act as arbitrators in civil suits, the parties to which, however, had the right of appeal to the council on payment of a fee. Six of the nine were to retire annually, and six new members to be appointed from twelve of "the most notable citizens."¹ Thus the Nine Men were to nominate their successors, with the Director's help, without recurrence again to a popular election; and the Board was to "continue until lawfully repealed," — continue, that is, until the Director and council saw fit to dispense with it. Its creation, nevertheless, was a concession, on the part of Stuyvesant, to the popular will,² and its members sometimes were enabled to withstand and defeat the arbitrary acts of the Director and his Council.

Besides his difficulties at home the Director was soon involved in trouble with his neighbors of New England. Kieft had left, as he could hardly help doing, the questions of boundaries and jurisdiction in the valley of the Connecticut in an unsatisfactory condition, and an effort to come to some equitable settlement with the commissioners of the United Colonies was among the earlier acts of Stuyvesant's administration. He entered into correspondence with the several colonies with a sincere desire, no doubt, to reach an amicable understanding; but the policy of New England was to come to no understanding whatever. There was no lack of

Difficulties
with New
England.

¹ The proclamation — or charter, as it is sometimes called — is given in full from Albany Records (vii. 72–84), by O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, ii. 37–39.

² The Nine Men first appointed were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenburg, and Govert Loockermans, merchants; Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, and Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, citizens; and Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall, farmers.

courteous words, and on his side an earnest purpose; on the other, fair words only covered up the determination to "keep crowding the Dutch." Stuyvesant's proposition of a friendly conference Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts accepted in vague terms; that it might take place at some proper time and place when his health permitted; but no conference followed. Stuyvesant suggested as the basis of any settlement the right of the West India Company "to all that land betwixt that river called Connecticutt, and that by the English named Delaware." The New England commissioners, on their side met the suggestion by complaints of the restrictions on trade established by the Dutch, and of the selling of arms to the Indians to the great danger of the English settlements. Energetic action, however, suited the temper of the Dutch Director better than this sort of diplomatic correspondence which led to nothing.

What he would do when a practical case of disputed jurisdiction presented itself he soon had opportunities of showing. Some years before, as we have related in another chapter,¹ a company from Massachusetts, under Captain How, had made a settlement within the territory of New Netherland, not only without the permission of the Dutch, but in such evident contempt of their assumed proprietorship as to pull down the Dutch escutcheon, and to carve in its place a mocking effigy. These Englishmen had bought the lands of the Indian owners by an agreement with one James Farrett, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, who claimed the island of Matowack, or Long Island, under a grant from the council of New England.²

In September one Andrew Forrester appeared on Long Island and at New Amsterdam, claiming to be — as he no doubt really was — the agent of Lady Stirling, the widow of the earl, and asserting her right of proprietorship.³ As Kieft, in his time, had dispersed the people who claimed the right of settlement near Cow Neck by virtue of an agreement with Farrett, act-

Claims of
Lord Stir-
ling's estate
to Long
Island.

¹ See Chapter ii., p. 34.

² Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 204.

³ Some confusion has crept into the books in relation to these two agents, Farrett and Forrester, which is explained in a note to Murphy's translation of *The Representation of New Netherland*. Wood, in the first edition of his *Sketch of Long Island*, confounded Forrester with Farrett, and this led Savage [*Winthrop's Journal*, note, vol. ii., p. 6] to assert that there was no such agent as Forrester. In the second edition [Furman Club] of Wood's *Sketch* the error of the first is corrected, and the agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1640, is properly named as James Farrett. Hubbard, in his *History of New England*, calls him Forhead. As all that is of much value in Hubbard is copied from Winthrop, it is difficult to account for his change of spelling on any other supposition than that Hubbard assumed to correct Winthrop, who, he may have supposed, had written *forehead*, as the vulgar pronounced it — *forrett* — which supposition, if correct, settled Hubbard's pronunciation rather than Winthrop's spelling. The fact is that Farrett was the Earl's agent in 1640, and Forrester in 1647.

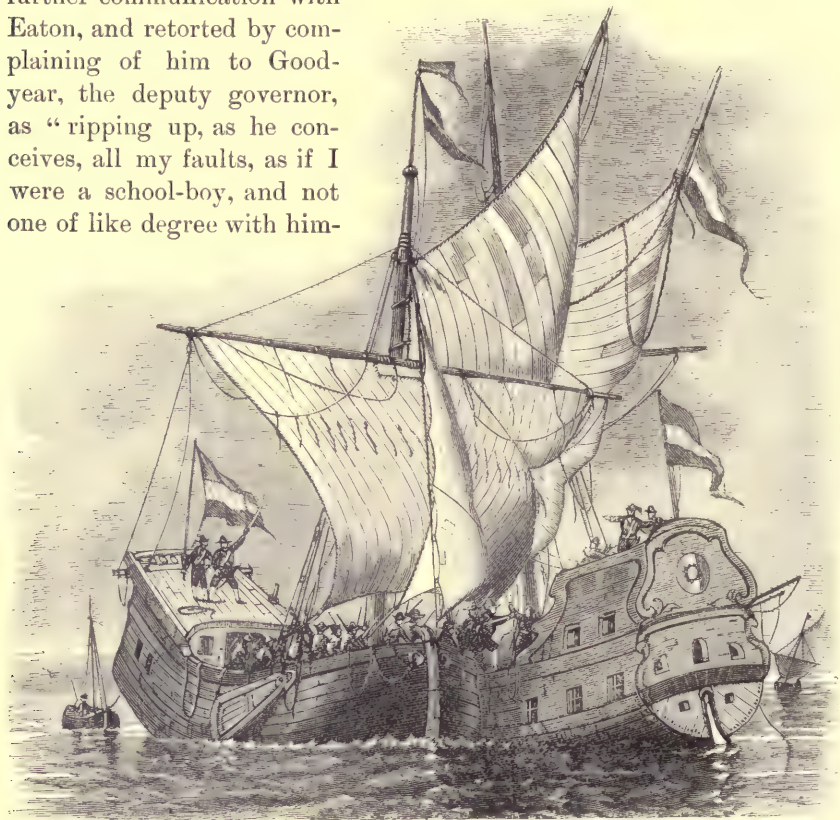
ing for the Earl of Stirling, so Stuyvesant now disposed of Forrester when claiming to represent the widow of the earl as the owner of the whole island. Forrester was arrested, and, though consideration enough was shown him to permit him to present Arrest of Forrester. the grounds on which, on behalf of his principal, he claimed the ownership of Long Island, he was kept in close confinement till he could be put on board ship for Holland. He left the vessel, however, at an English port, not without, perhaps, the consent of those who had charge of him, and who cared little where he was so he was not in New Netherland; for it is plain the Dutch did not feel quite easy about this Stirling patent.

The next case of disputed jurisdiction was not so easily disposed of, but Stuyvesant had as little hesitation in dealing with it as Contest with New Haven. with Lady Stirling's agent. He learned that a Dutch ship was at New Haven taking in a cargo without a permit from the government at New Amsterdam, or paying the legal duties. She was pronounced a smuggler, and her seizure was determined upon, for the Director claimed that New Haven was within the territory of New Netherland. It happened that Mr. Goodyear, the Deputy Governor of New Haven, had just purchased the Company's ship, the *Zwol*, at New Amsterdam, to be delivered at New Haven, and the Director took advantage of this transaction for a strategical movement against the other ship. The *Zwol* sailed in due course from New Amsterdam to New Haven for delivery to her purchaser, but beneath her hatches were concealed a company of soldiers under the command of one Captain Van der Grist, with orders to take the *St. Beninio*, the offending vessel, and bring her to Amsterdam. The expedition was eminently successful. Suddenly, "on the Lord's day," Van der Grist, with his men, boarded the *St. Beninio*, made prisoners of one of the owners, of her officers and crew, and before the astonished Englishmen had time to come to the rescue, sailed out of the harbor.

Against this high-handed act Governor Eaton of New Haven protested, promptly and indignantly. "We have protested," he wrote, "and by these presents do protest against you, Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch at Manhattans, for disturbing the peace between the English and Dutch in these parts . . . by making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbor, without our license, by your agents and commission; and we hereby profess that whatever inconveniences may hereafter grow, you are the cause and author of it, as we hope to show and prove before our superiors in Europe." But Stuyvesant confiscated the ship and cargo, nevertheless, having asserted — with some considerable extension of his former claim — that New Nether-

land embraced the whole country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen,¹ and that the *St. Beninio* was legally seized within New Netherland boundaries.

The correspondence was hot and furious. You write me neither in Latin nor in English, "but in Low Dutch, whereof I understand little, nor would your messenger, though desired, interpret anything," wrote the angry Englishman. Stuyvesant refused at length to hold further communication with Eaton, and retorted by complaining of him to Good-year, the deputy governor, as "ripping up, as he conceives, all my faults, as if I were a school-boy, and not one of like degree with him-



Capture of the *St. Beninio*.

self." The New Haven governor was sufficiently revenged for the Low Dutch, in exciting the Director to this childish display of anger.

And not only this; Eaton was presently able to retaliate in acts as well as words. Three of the servants of the Dutch governor escaped from New Amsterdam and fled to New Haven. Stuyvesant demanded their rendition, addressing his letter, Winthrop says, to "New Haven

¹ Stuyvesant afterward explained that by Cape Cod he meant Point Judith.

in New Netherlands." It was not wise to ask a favor with the air of a sovereign. Eaton refused to return the fugitives, contrary to the advice of Winthrop, who considered that such an act of courtesy, though asked for in a way that was objectionable, could be assented to without prejudice to the territorial title of the English.

Progress of
the contro-
versy.

On receiving this reply Stuyvesant's conduct was characteristic. It was of no little importance to all the colonies that fugitives from justice or from labor in any one of them should not find an asylum in another. To retaliate in kind upon Governor Eaton was a most unpopular proceeding even in New Netherland; nevertheless, the Director issued a proclamation when Eaton's refusal reached him, every word of which flashed with indignation, declaring that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." It was, at least, a bold act, if not a masterly stroke of policy. Governor Winthrop lamented the more that New Haven had not followed the advice of Massachusetts instead of obstinately adhering to its own judgment, "in pursuit whereof this damage and reproach befell them."

But it was as easy to recapture a prisoner as to cut out a ship, and Stuyvesant was not a man to satisfy himself with proclamations, or to let his actions lag behind his wrath. However loud he barked, his bite was always worse than his bark. He contrived to get letters conveyed to the refugees in New Haven, both from himself and from the dominie of New Amsterdam; they were assured of a full pardon for offences in the past, and plied with promises of good treatment in the future. The Director was as successful in his strategy as he was vigorous in his proclamation. The men were persuaded by his assurances and returned to New Netherland. It was easy enough then to recall with dignity his offer of protection of offenders against the laws of New Haven, which he had already explained to Massachusetts and Virginia was only meant to apply to that colony.

Stuyvesant's
New Haven
policy suc-
cessful.

These quarrels with the New Englanders were neither forgotten nor forgiven, and the New Netherlanders had occasion a few years later to regret, and the Director, possibly, to repent of them. Meanwhile his administration of the affairs of his own colony was no less vigorous, sometimes judiciously so, and sometimes injudiciously and oppressively. It was not that he disdained to take counsel of prudence, but that his prudential measures were often carried out with a passion and vehemence that defeated his most cher-

His govern-
ment at
home.


ished purposes. The selling of arms to the savages, who might on the smallest provocation, or with none at all, turn them against the whites, was an evil so obvious, that the complaints of other colonies were not needed to convince him of the necessity of its suppression. He issued stringent orders upon the subject, and when certain persons in New Amsterdam were suspected of disregarding this prohibition, he brought them to trial, and they were sentenced to death. The penalty was too severe, and so shocked the community that it was commuted to milder punishment, and especially when it appeared that there were grave doubts of the guilt of some of the accused.

The intention of the governor was certainly praiseworthy, and for the real good of every citizen of the colony. But men are free-traders by nature, and restrictions even upon a traffic so dangerous as to put arms in the hands of those who may at any time become enemies, may be made unpopular by undue severity. Stuyvesant's energy, in the right direction, was almost sure to make itself offensive by harshness and arrogance, and his zeal made the recrimination all the more bitter, when later it was suspected that nobody violated his own prohibition in this matter so flagrantly as himself. The truth really was that he only sparingly distributed arms and ammunition among the Indians, by order of the directors in Holland, to bribe the savages to keep the peace; but either the distinction was not understood, or was wilfully misinterpreted. The result, at any rate, was to unjustly aggravate the unpopularity of the governor, which he was justly earning in other ways.

This question of trade with the Indians was probably one cause of a conflict which soon arose between Stuyvesant and Brandt van Slechtenhorst, the commissary of the young patroon of Rensselaerswyck at Beverswyck, Albany. The old patroon was dead and Van Slechtenhorst was sent out by the guardians of the son and heir, Johan van Rensselaer, as his representa-

The Governor's conflict with Van Slechtenhorst.

tative, about the time that Stuyvesant arrived at New Amsterdam. The commissary was



Signature of Johan van Rensselaer.

quite as jealous of the prerogatives of the young patroon as the Director was of the rights of the Company. An opportunity soon arose of testing the question, for when Stuyvesant proclaimed a fast Van Slechtenhorst refused to keep it, on the ground that the Director General of New Netherland had no jurisdiction within the domain of the Patroon.

Such a defiance of authority was certain to exasperate Stuyvesant, and he unwisely determined to assert his authority in a more positive way. He visited Fort Orange, about which the hamlet of Beverswyck had clustered, and which certainly belonged to the West India Company, and ordered, on a survey of the place, that certain houses should be pulled down to permit of a better defence of the fort in case of an attack from the Indians; he commanded also that stone and timbers should be taken from the Patroon's lands for the purpose of repairing and adding to its fortifications. Van Slechtenhorst refused to permit the houses to be destroyed, and forbade that depredations should be made upon the Patroon's property.

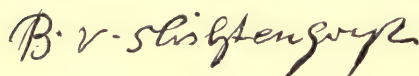


Stuyvesant at Fort Orange.

The Director sent a squad of soldiers from New Amsterdam to enforce his orders; the commissary defied them to interfere with his authority on his lordship's manor, and though they derided and almost assaulted him, the commander of Fort Orange was too prudent to try the temper of the people of Beverswyck by any attempt to enforce the Director's commands. Even the Indians shared in the excitement, and wondered why "Wooden Leg" wanted to pull down the houses of his own countrymen, and were evidently ready if a struggle ensued to take sides with those whom they looked upon as their friends and who sold them guns and ammunition. The conflict of authority between the Company and a patroon was one that was inevitable whenever an occasion for it should

Van Slechtenhorst the victor.

arise, and this occasion was an unfortunate one. The commissary stoutly and successfully maintained the rights of his lord; the Director was powerless to maintain those of the Company. Proclamations



Signature of Brandt van Slechtenhorst.

were loud and long from both parties; but the commissary carried his point, while the Director gained nothing, except, perhaps,

some loss of prestige for asserting a right which he had not the power to maintain.

So far Stuyvesant had not proved a successful governor, nor been to the people as he had promised, "as a father to his children." Discontent had followed increased taxation; prosperity had diminished rather than grown; the vexed question of colonial boundaries remained as unsettled and vexatious as ever, and in the confused condition of affairs in England seemed likely to remain so; trade was driven from the port of New Amsterdam, for New England and Virginia vessels were afraid to venture into a harbor where, as in the case of the *St. Beninio*, seized at New Haven, the governor did not hesitate to confiscate ship and cargo if his demands were not complied with; and the fear of such acts was said to have been a loss of the trade of twenty-five ships a year to New Netherland. Within two years the first board of Nine Men became dissatisfied and uncompliant, and another was appointed. This second board proved as unmanageable as the first, and succeeded in doing what the first had attempted to do without success, — in sending a deputation to

Appeal of
the citizens
to Holland

the Hague to present to the States-General a statement of the grievances of the colonists, and to complain of the general mismanagement of the affairs of New Netherland by the West India Company and its servants. Of this commission Adrian van der



Signature of Adrian van der Donck.

Donck was the head, as he was probably the author of the *Vertoogh*, or Representation, presented to their High Mightinesses.¹

This important measure, however, was not carried without a struggle with the imperious Director. When the Nine Men proposed it they asked permission of Stuyvesant that they might confer with their constituents in a popular meeting to be called to consider the

¹ *The Representation of New Netherland*. Translated by Henry C. Murphy, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

condition of the colony, whether it would approve of sending a delegation to Holland, and to provide means to defray the expenses. The Director refused permission, saying that any such communication with the people must be made through him, and his directions followed. The next best thing the Nine Men could do was to go from house to house to consult with their constituents privately, and Van der Donck was appointed to keep a record of the result of these private conferences. Stuyvesant, exasperated at this defiance of his authority, went to Van der Donck's chamber, in his absence, seized all his papers, and the next day arrested and imprisoned their author. That he might not be, however, without some show of popular support he called a meeting of delegates of the militia and the burghers. From these he secured an approval of his course, and Van der Donck was expelled from the board of Nine Men, and the demand that his papers be returned to him refused.

Stuyvesant's
treatment of
the matter.

While this struggle was going on between the Director and the party opposed to him, Melyn returned from Holland, not only with the sentence, pronounced against him by the Council of New Amsterdam, reversed by their High Mightinesses, but bringing with him a mandamus requiring the Director to appear at the Hague, either in person or by attorney, to answer to the charges which Melyn and Kuyter had brought against him. The Patroon was by no means disposed to carry his triumph meekly. He declared that the decision in his favor ought to be pronounced as publicly in New Amsterdam as, two years before, he had been publicly condemned. This he demanded in a public meeting in the church soon after his arrival. At this bold step the whole assembly was ablaze with excitement. An excited and vehement debate followed; but the motion to read the mandamus was carried, and Van Hardenburg, one of the board, was about to obey, when Stuyvesant, declaring that a copy ought first to be served upon him, snatched the document from the hands of the councilman.

Melyn re-
turns from
Holland.

All dignity and reserve were thrown aside at this violence of the governor. The disputants forgot where they were and who they were; an unseemly struggle followed, in which, if the burghers did not knock each other down, they showered hard and angry words upon each other. One party tried to retain, the other to regain possession of the paper, and in the snatching and re-snatching the seal was torn from it. The tumult was at length quelled by the intercession of some of the cooler and wiser bystanders, and the Director was persuaded to return the document, on Melyn's promise that a copy should be given him. When the manda-

Excitement
at the States-
General's
orders.

mus was read, Stuyvesant said in answer, "I honor the States, and shall obey their commands. I shall send an attorney to sustain the sentence that was pronounced." Melyn demanded that a written reply should be given, but this Stuyvesant refused.

The popular feeling was evidently in Melyn's favor, but that was of no personal advantage to him, as Stuyvesant let no chance escape him which could be used to annoy his enemy. But the governor's conduct in this affair, his imprisonment of Van der Donck, and the strong suspicion that he used his office to promote his own interests, in shops which he owned and others kept for him, in farms cultivated, in breweries carried on, in ships sailed wholly or in part on his account, and in a monopoly of the sale of arms to the Indians, — all these charges, true or untrue, combined at this time to so arouse the public indignation, that he did not venture to continue to throw obstacles in the way of a popular delegation to Holland.

A memorial was prepared and signed by eleven persons who were members of the second, or had been members of the first Board of Nine Men, asking that the States-General would take the colony under its own care; that they would establish in it a Burgher Government, as much as possible like that of Holland; that there should be free trade, colonial commerce, with the encouragement of the fisheries; that the boundaries of New Netherland should be definitely and definitively determined, all for the "peace and quietness," and the "liberty" of the people. In the Remonstrance, or *Vertoogh*, which

accompanied the memorial and which was signed by the same men, the gravest charges were brought against the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, and it was declared that the colony could never flourish if left longer in the hands of the West India Company. And this was not done in a corner, but in the light of day. The haughty and irascible Director was brought by the popular clamor to unwonted submission. He permitted the departure of three of the signers of these documents, — Van der Donck, Couwenhoven, and Bout, — as delegates to the States-General, one of whom he had, not long before, imprisoned, partly because he was the author of this very Remonstrance. He dispatched Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, however, to Holland, to meet his accusers.

Van der Donck was zealous and able, and his efforts on behalf of his constituents were well supported not only by his colleagues, but by Melyn, who went out to Holland with them, and the Dominie Back-
 erus, the clergyman of New Amsterdam, who left the colony not long before. A strong popular feeling was soon aroused in favor of the colony, for Van der Donck appealed to the people of

The Remonstrance finally dispatched.

Efforts of its supporters.

Holland by publishing the Remonstrance, as well as to the States General by his earnest representations. "The name of New Netherland," wrote the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant, "was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it."

Van Tienhoven, the secretary, on the other side, was not less busy nor less in earnest. He put in a long reply to the Remonstrance, defending the Company, up-



The Delegates before the States-General.

holding the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, denying, and, if he spoke the truth, sometimes disproving the charges brought against them, but resorting to the common line of defence, where the defendant's cause is a weak one, of abusing the plaintiff's attorney. And this he did with a good deal of bitterness and some humor. "Those," he said, "who complained about the haughtiness of Stuyvesant are such as seek to live without law or rule;" those indebted

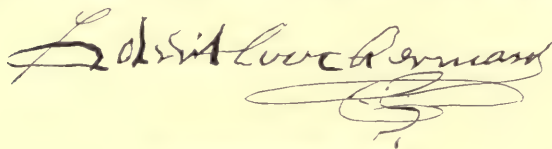
to the Company were "angry and insolent" if payment was demanded, and "would be right glad to see that the Company dunned nobody, nor demanded their own, yet paid their creditors;" many of them had been provided with provisions and clothing on arriving

from Holland, and "now when some of them have a little more than they can eat up in a day, they wish to be released from the authority of their benefactors, and without paying if they could; a sign of gross ingratitude;" the place of

Opposition
of Van Tien-
hoven.

Dominie Backerus was now "supplied by a learned and godly minister who has no interpreter when he defends the reformed religion against any minister of our neighbors, the English Brownists;" Van der Donck had been in the service of the proprietors of Rensselaerwyck, and there is the sting of an insinuation in the comment that he did not remain long in that service; Stevensen, another signer of the Remonstrance, had "profited in the service of the Company, and endeavored to give his benefactor the world's pay, that is, to recompense good with evil;" Elbertsen was indebted to the company, and "would be very glad to get rid of paying;" Loockermans, who from a "cook's

mate" had become a prosperous trader, "owed gratitude to the Company, next God, for his elevation, and ought not



Signature of Govert Loockermans.

advise its removal from the country;" Kip was a tailor who had never lost anything, which was only another way of saying he had nothing to lose; and Evertsen's grievance was that he had lost a house and barn in the war with the Indians, though the land on which they stood, and which cost him nothing, he had sold for a great price.

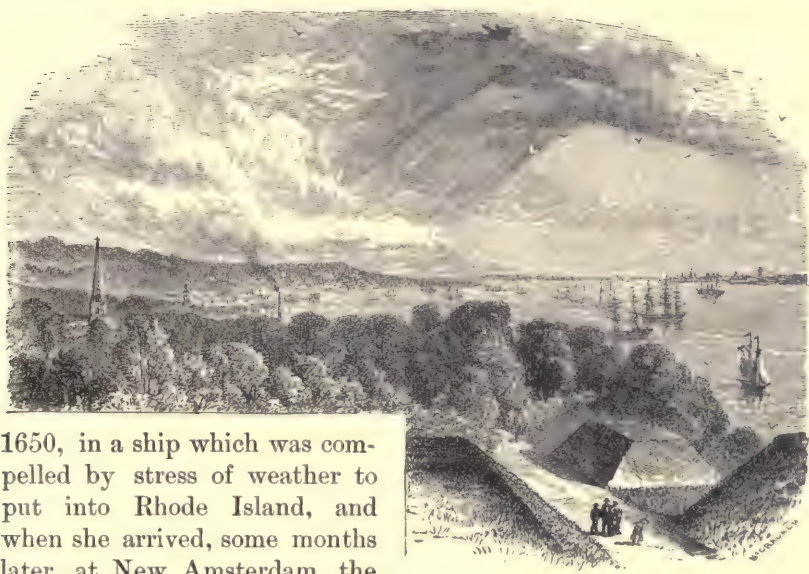
In short, the secretary, though he undertook to show that the indictment of the Company and its servants could not be sustained, hoped to strengthen his arguments and his assertions by showing or insinuating that those who brought the charges were either interested witnesses or not worthy of belief. It was unfortunate for his own case that he proposed to test the truth of alleged facts by the character of those who stated them, for soon after making this appeal he was brought to trial in Amsterdam and found guilty of seducing a young woman under promise of marriage, he having a wife and children residing in New Netherland.

Redress did not come immediately for the grievances complained of, though some promise of relief was given in a provisional order of their High Mightinesses containing some wise measures for the government of the colony, and commanding

Provisional
order of the
States.

Stuyvesant's return to Holland. It was not accepted, however, by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, and, when sent to New Netherland, Stuyvesant refused to obey it. "He should do as he pleased," he said, and in all such matters he was quite as good as his word. In two successive years the board of Nine Men added fresh delegates to their deputation in Holland, moved thereto, the second year, by the Director's refusal to nominate new members to the board, thus virtually dissolving it. In nothing would Stuyvesant abate the arrogance of his temper, the rigor of his rule, or the bitterness of his resentments.

No sooner, for example, was Melyn again within his reach than the Director subjected him to new persecution. The Patroon returned in



Melyn's Manor at Staten Island.

1650, in a ship which was compelled by stress of weather to put into Rhode Island, and when she arrived, some months later, at New Amsterdam, the Director ordered her to be seized for violation of a regulation of the company in trading without a license, and brought Melyn to trial as her owner. He was only so far interested in her voyage that she brought a number of settlers for his manor of Staten Island, and though the ship and cargo were confiscated, there was no evidence that could hold him responsible.¹ Failing in this Stuyvesant brought new charges against the patroon, confiscated his property in New Amsterdam, and compelled him to confine himself to his manor of Staten Island. Melyn surrounded himself with defences, and establishing a sort of baronial

Stuyvesant's
action.

¹ The Company was subsequently compelled to pay heavy damages to the owners of this vessel for this arbitrary act of the Director. — *O'Callaghan*, vol. ii., p. 157.

court contrived for a while to live till Stuyvesant's persecutions drove him, at length, out of the colony.

With Melyn, on Staten Island, Van Dincklage, the vice-director, also found a refuge from the violence of Stuyvesant. The vice-director busied himself in preparing a new protest to the States-General on behalf of the colony, when Stuyvesant ordered that he be expelled from the council. Van Dincklage refused to be thus disposed of, on the plea that he held his commission not from the Director but from Holland. Stuyvesant arrested and imprisoned him for some days, and he felt that his life was not safe on Manhattan Island.

Other leaders of the popular party were subjected to treatment hardly less vindictive and arbitrary. "Our great Muscovy Duke (*noster magnus Muscovi Dux*)," Van Dincklage wrote to Van der Donck, "goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf,—the older he gets the worse he bites. He proceeds no longer by words or letters, but by arrests and stripes." Van Dyck, the fiscal, or attorney-general, who, with Van Dincklage, was detected in drawing up the protest, **was excluded from the council, and his duty reduced to that of a mere scrivener.** Sometimes he was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort, a duty which a negro could very well perform;" and if he objected the Director "got as angry as if he would swallow him up;" or if he disobeyed, "put him in confinement or bastinadoed him with his rattan."¹ Finally he was charged with drunkenness, and removed from office. The secretary, Tienhoven, was appointed in his place;—the "perjured secretary," wrote Van Dyck, "who returned here contrary to their High Mightinesses' prohibition; a public, notorious, and convicted whore-monger and oath-breaker; a reproach to this country, and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens, with whose sensualities the Director has been always acquainted." "The fault of drunkenness," he adds, "could easily be noticed in me, but not in Van Tienhoven, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full that he could go no further, and was forced to lie down in the gutter."¹ While the Director was thus making life a burden to his enemies, he had, under the pretext that his own person was in danger, four halberdiers to attend him whenever he walked abroad.

Persecution
of the pop-
ular leaders.

¹ *Albany Records and Holland Documents*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

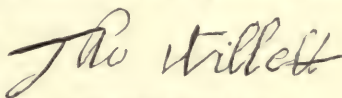
CHAPTER VII.

THE DUTCH AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

THE HARTFORD BOUNDARY TREATY OF 1650. — ACTION OF THE STATES-GENERAL ON THE NEW NETHERLAND REMONSTRANCE. — NEW ENGLAND TROUBLES. — STUYVESANT ACCUSED OF CONSPIRING WITH THE INDIANS AGAINST THE ENGLISH. — JOHN UNDERHILL IN THE FIELD. — POPULAR DISCONTENTS AT NEW AMSTERDAM AND ON LONG ISLAND. — CONVENTION OF THE TOWNS. — A RENEWED APPEAL TO HOLLAND. — ENGLISH FEELING ON LONG ISLAND. — HOSTILE PREPARATIONS IN CONNECTICUT. — NEW ENGLAND ASKS AID FROM THE PROTECTOR AGAINST THE DUTCH. — AN APPROACHING CONFLICT PREVENTED BY THE TREATY OF PEACE IN EUROPE. — UNFAVORABLE REPLY TO THE CONVENTION'S APPEAL. — NEW SWEDEN ON THE DELAWARE. — CONTESTS BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND THE SWEDES. — STUYVESANT VISITS THE SOUTH RIVER. — FORT NASSAU ABANDONED AND FORT CASIMIR BUILT BY THE DUTCH. — GOVERNOR PRINTZ RETIRES. — FORT CASIMIR TAKEN BY THE SWEDES. — RETAKEN BY THE DUTCH. — DIVISION OF THE COLONY BETWEEN THE W. I. COMPANY AND THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM. — LIMITS OF NEW AMSTEL. — DISASTERS AND DISSENSIONS.

STUYVESANT had a leaning toward the English, notwithstanding his quarrels with Governor Eaton, of New Haven, and his altercations with others of the New England colonies. Of all the people of New Netherland, the English on Long Island were treated with the most consideration, and in return they gave him the weight of their support against the opposition party among his countrymen. This was not the smallest among the causes of his unpopularity, and it gained new intensity and bitterness when in the midst of all these other troubles the Director concluded an agreement with New England in regard to the boundary. The two commissioners appointed by him to conduct the negotiation were both Englishmen, Thomas Willett, a merchant of Plymouth, and George Baxter, employed by Stuyvesant as his secretary. His opponents exclaimed at this loudly and vehemently, as treacherous to the colony and an insult to the Dutch.

Negotiation
of the
boundary
treaty of
1650.



Signature of Thomas Willett.

The articles of agreement between the contracting parties left the question of jurisdiction on the South River, the Delaware, undetermined ; but the boundary line on Long Island was fixed to run from

the westernmost part of Oyster Bay straight to the sea, east of that line to belong to the English, and west of it to the Dutch; on the mainland the point of departure was on the west side of Greenwich Bay, about four miles from Stamford, the line to run thence up into the country twenty miles, provided it did not come within ten miles of the Hudson River, the Dutch agreeing not to build within six miles of such line. The inhabitants of Greenwich were to remain under the Dutch till some other arrangement was agreed upon — which agreement by a subsequent article of the treaty was modified by transferring them to the jurisdiction of New Haven, — and the Dutch were to retain only such lands in Hartford as they were in actual possession of.¹

Here was ground for fresh complaints with the popular party of New Amsterdam, inasmuch as the Director had first outraged his own countrymen by intrusting so important a negotiation to Englishmen on his behalf, and then by consenting to give away enough territory, which the Dutch claimed as theirs, to make fifty plantations each four miles square. It was the resignation of more than half of Long Island, and nearly the whole of the present States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, even if the Dutch claim was limited to Point Judith. Stuyvesant reported to his masters in Holland that he had made this treaty with the English, and it did not meet with their approval; but as he sent no copy its precise terms were probably unknown there.

It was plain at last to the States-General that temporizing measures with a man of Stuyvesant's despotic temper, unscrupulous will, and fearless disposition, were altogether useless, — they only made him worse. Hitherto all the complaints of the colonists, backed by the energetic efforts of Van der Donck and his colleagues, were incapable of overcoming the influence of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. But the Chamber yielded in the spring of 1652, when it was evident that if the desired reforms in New Netherland were not made with their consent, they would be made without.

After three years of delay the prayer of the people was listened to in earnest. It was decreed that a "burgher government" should be established; that the citizens of New Amsterdam should have the right to elect their own municipal officers; that those officers should constitute a court of justice, with appeal to the supreme court of the Director and Council; that the export duty on tobacco should be abolished; that emigration should be encouraged by a reduction in passage-money; that the importation of negro slaves, hitherto a monopoly of the Company, should be now free to all citi-

The States-General act on the New Netherland appeal.

Their order.

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii.

zens ; and Stuyvesant was ordered to return home to give an account of his administration of affairs in answer to the numerous complaints that had been made against him. This last order, however, was presently revoked, for war was declared between England and Holland ; Tromp and Blake were sweeping up and down the English Channel, and it was thought not wise to remove a governor who was, at any rate, bold and energetic, in the probable contingency of an outbreak of hostilities among the American colonies.

These long-delayed concessions were taken to New Amsterdam by Van der Donck himself, and in accordance therewith Stuyvesant pub-

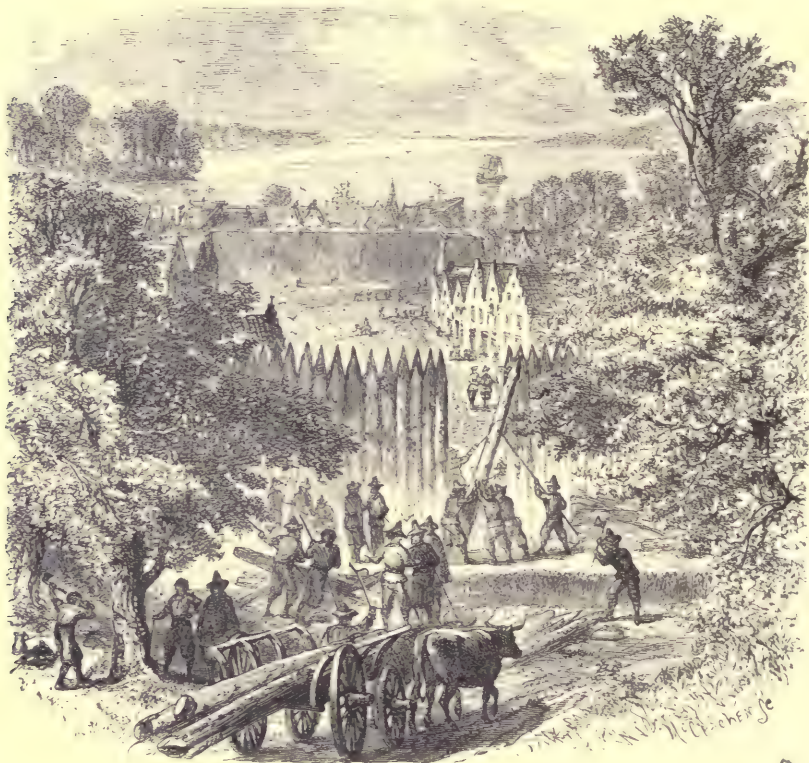
lished a proclamation on the day of the Feast of Candlemas, the 2d of February, 1653. But none knew better than he how to keep a promise to the ear and break it to the hope. The States-General meant to bestow upon New Amsterdam the right of self-government as it existed in their own city of Amsterdam ; — in the election by the people of a schout or sheriff ; of two burgomasters, who were, in effect, the chief magistrates of the town ; and of five schepens, who constituted a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Van der Donck might well come home in triumph with this grant of municipal government, as the fruit of his three years' incessant labor in Holland, and the people might well rejoice that they were at last to govern themselves. It was, indeed, the beginning of popular government in New Netherland ; for in the years to come new concessions to the will and rights of the people followed as the inevitable consequence of this first success. But even this first success the Director defeated for a time, by assuming the right to appoint where election was ordered. Such appointments he at once made, and they were all



The Old Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam.

acceded to without objection, except that of Van Tienhoven as schout. Against him there was loud protest, but the rest were accepted, perhaps, because they were unexceptionable, and the people were weary of contest; perhaps, because the fear that the war between England and Holland might involve the colonies in serious difficulties overshadowed, for the present, all internal dissension.

The apprehension, real or feigned, of coming trouble, existed on all sides. Stuyvesant endeavored, and no doubt with sincerity, to avert the danger, by assuring Virginia and the New England colonies of



The Building of the Palisades.

the continued good feeling of the Company and of the colony, notwithstanding the war at home, and expressing the hope that their friendly relations would not be interrupted. At the same time he did not neglect prudent preparations for defence, for New England he heard was arming. The people of New Amsterdam for once agreed with him, and submitted cheerfully to a tax for the digging of a ditch from the North to the East River, and the erection of a breastwork and palisades to secure the town from attack.

On the other hand the belief — or at least the assertion — among the English, was that it was they who had cause for dread, and that Stuyvesant was secretly preparing for their destruction. Uncas, the cunning Mohegan chief, alarmed the New England colonists along the Sound, with a story that the Dutch had persuaded the Indians of that part of the country to conspire for the massacre of the English people, and that the Sachems, Ninigret, Pessicus, and Mixam, were the leaders in this plot. Stuyvesant had, indeed, said that he should avail himself, if possible, of an alliance with the Indians in the event of hostilities between the Dutch and the English, and this may have been the origin of the report of Uncas; or, perhaps, the wily chief hoped to benefit himself and his tribe by stirring up strife among the whites.

Further
trouble with
the English.

But the story, no doubt, was untrue. Stuyvesant, when he heard of it, promptly and indignantly denied that he had any hostile intentions against his neighbors; and the Indians whom the story of Uncas implicated, when carefully cross-questioned by order of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, denied any knowledge of

Stuyvesant
denies con-
spiring with
the Indians.

such a plot. "Do you think we are mad?" they said. They knew well enough how much stronger the English were than the Dutch. "Do not we know," they declared, "the English are not a sleepy people? Do they think we are mad to sell our lives and the lives of our wives and children and all our kindred, and to have our country destroyed for a few guns, powder, shot, and swords? What will they do us good when we are dead?" Why, Ninigret asked, was he treated even with indignity by the Dutch governor, if he had made a league with him against the English, his friends? He had made a visit recently to New Netherland. "I stood," he said, "a great part of a winter day knocking at the governor's door, and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it to let me in. I was not wont to find such carriage from the English my friends."¹



Portrait of Ninigret.

Some of the Long Island Indians, nevertheless, confirmed the story of Uncas, and consternation spread through the towns along the

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 207-209.

Sound and among the English of Long Island. A delegation from the United Colonies sent to New Netherland, returned with this unfavorable report, and the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven proposed that a force be raised at once and war declared against the Dutch. But the Massachusetts magistrates were wiser and more moderate. Perhaps it was because they were so far removed from the scene of any possible danger that they could better sift the character and weigh the value of Indian testimony; at any rate they did not believe in the existence of any plot, or that the Dutch were so rash as to provoke hostilities from their stronger neighbors. Massachusetts, therefore, refused to contribute her quota of troops for such a war, maintaining the right of independent action, in such a case, on the part of any one of the United Colonies. She was strong enough to stand alone if need be, and the rest were not strong enough to act without her. The fear of the Dutch was not, after all, so great as the fear of a dissolution of the New England Confederacy.

In troubled waters no head was so sure to come to the surface as that of John Underhill. He is soon heard of as being lodged in jail in New Amsterdam, for asserting within their own towns, that the Dutch were in league with the Indians against the English. He was soon released, however, without trial, perhaps because his conduct had a kind of official sanction, inasmuch as Governor Eaton and the agents of the New England Confederacy had sent him to Long Island to gather evidence of this alleged conspiracy. The captain was not a man to waste his time in searching for facts to justify violent measures when such measures could be provoked just as well without the facts. If New England was not ready for a war with the Dutch, that was no reason why John Underhill should not declare it on his own account. He hoisted the colors of the Parliament at Flushing and Heemstede; issued a manifesto in which great crimes, such as the unlawful imposition of taxes, the appointment of magistrates over the people without election, the violation of conscience, the conspiring with the Indians to murder the English, the hampering of trade, and other acts of tyranny, even to the striking an old gentleman of his Council with a cane, were charged upon the administration of Peter Stuyvesant; and both Dutch and English were called upon "to throw off this tyrannical yoke." It shows how far Stuyvesant was from wishing to provoke a collision with the English, that instead of hanging Underhill for this second offence, he only banished him.¹

As the other New England colonies had not admitted the Provi-

¹ Underhill's Manifesto may be found in full in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. ii., pp. 225 *et seq.*

Part played
by John
Underhill.

dence Plantations into their confederacy, that colony was, perhaps, the more willing to show its zeal for the Parliament in its war with Holland. It was not, however, without some opposition Action of Rhode Island. from the mainland towns, that the people of the island of Rhode Island, whose interests were more commercial than maritime, carried in the General Assembly a declaration of war against New Netherland. In consideration of "the servile condition" which the English on Long Island were "subjected to by the cruell tirannie of the Dutch power at the Manathoes," and the danger, should they "be cutt off and murdered," that would fall upon Providence Plantations, the General Assembly issued commissions to Captain John Underhill, to be commander on land, and to Captain William Dyre and Edward Hull, to be commanders at sea, "to bring the Dutch to conformitie to the Commonwealth of England." Some cannon and small arms and twenty volunteers were provided to carry on the war, and a court of admiralty was appointed for the trial of prizes which were to be taken into Newport.¹

Underhill took the field. Marching to Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, once held by the Dutch, but now empty, he posted upon the door a notice that he, "Io. Underhill [did] seaze upon this hous and lands thereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claymed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies of the Commonweal of England." Having done this much for the Commonwealth and the conquest of New Netherland, the commander-in-chief of the land forces of Rhode Island disbanded his army of twenty volunteers. The conquered territory — being about thirty acres — he sold, on his own account, first to one man for twenty pounds sterling, and two months' later to another, giving a deed to each.²

Operations at sea were, at least, less farcical, but not much more damaging to the enemy. Captain Hull captured a Frenchman, which certainly did no harm to the Dutch, and served to aggravate The conflict at sea. the difficulties already existing between Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The latter complained, with some reflection upon Parliament, that the act was illegal; Rhode Island retorted by using the reflection as lending strength to her other charges against Massachusetts.³ One Thomas Baxter,⁴ however, did better service. He sailed under a letter of marque from Rhode Island, and actually took

¹ O'Callaghan. Hazard. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

² *Hartford Records*.

³ Arnold's *Rhode Island*.

⁴ Arnold — *History of Rhode Island* — confounds him with George Baxter, who took another way, as will appear presently, to show his enmity to the administration of Stuyvesant.

two or three Dutch vessels. But as he also captured English vessels, under an expansive rule of his own making as to what constituted contraband of war, it is questionable to which side he did the most damage.

Perhaps it would have been better for Stuyvesant if the threatened trouble from without had not been so easily and speedily dispelled. The fortifications of New Amsterdam were not half completed when the citizens, no longer afraid of an attack from the English, refused to be further taxed to finish the work. The new officers, whom Stuyvesant had appointed, refusing to submit their selection to a popular



Underhill at Fort Good Hope.

election, arrayed themselves on the side of the citizens, and constrained the Director to share his power in some respects — particularly with regard to the excise upon wine and beer — with the city.

The discontent on Long Island, both among Dutch and English, took a more formidable shape. In the contest with Van der Donck, Stuyvesant had had no more useful or zealous partisans than the English settlers of that portion of New Netherland. But now, alarmed at the continuance of Indian hostilities, and disgusted at the want of

prosperity generally, which they attributed to the arbitrary and unwise rule of the Director, they united with the popular party in opposition to his administration. A meeting of delegates Affairs on Long Island under the leadership of two Englishmen, George Baxter and James Hubbard, assembled at the Stadt Huys in New Amsterdam, in November. On the plea of the necessity of devising some means for the general welfare, Stuyvesant had been consulted with regard to this meeting, and two of his council, La Montagne and Van Werckhoven, took seats in it, as the representatives of that body and the Director General. But the presence of Van Werckhoven especially was objected to. The delegates from the towns declared they would have nothing to do with him, and that neither the Director-general nor any of his council would be permitted to preside Convention of the towns. over the convention. As the object of the meeting was to provide for the common defence, they were willing to unite with the municipal government of New Amsterdam — which was also represented in the body — and to continue under the rule of the States-General and the Company; but they would not submit to the Director and Council who could not protect them. “We are compelled,” they said, “to provide against our own ruin and destruction, and therefore we will not pay any more taxes.”

All this, Stuyvesant said, “smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission,” which certainly was true. Not that he objected to an alliance of the towns for their mutual protection, but in such an alliance all the towns, Dutch as well as English, should, he thought, be included. To such a proposition there could be no reasonable objection; indeed, it seems to have come first from the delegates themselves, and they determined, therefore, “that they should meet on the tenth of next month; he might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could.”

At the appointed time another convention assembled. There were present representatives from the four Dutch towns, New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Amersfoort or Flatlands, and Midwout or Flatbush; and the four English towns, Flushing, Middleburgh or Newtown, Heemstede, and Gravesend. Ten of these delegates were Dutchmen, and nine were Englishmen; but they were of one mind. A second meeting.

The memorial in which they set forth their grievances was drawn up by Baxter. Six years before he was the English secretary to the colony, and it fell upon him to do that which he, better than anybody else, was fitted to do. It was a good point, nevertheless, for Stuyvesant. “Is there,” he asked in his reply, “no one among the Netherlands nation expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the Director and

Council that a foreigner or an Englishman is required to dictate what ye have to say?" The Director was not wanting in skill to play upon the prejudices of his countrymen. But it was useless; the burghers were too much in earnest to be moved by any such appeal. To the memorial, which complained of the government as both arbitrary and incompetent, Stuyvesant could make no satisfactory answer, and the end of the discussion that followed between him and the convention was a denial, on his part, of the right of the people to self-government, or even to hold a public meeting; on the part of the convention a sturdy and persistent assertion of their rights, and the dispatch of an agent to Holland with an appeal to the West India Company for protection and redress.

Renewed appeal to Holland.

The colonies of Southern New England, meanwhile, were living in a state of perpetual agitation and dread of the Indians, persisting in the assertion that the Dutch were at the bottom of these troubles, and that the safety of the English lay in the conquest of New Netherland. There was, at least, this much ground for their fears, that Ninigret and his band were all the while on the war-path against the Indians of Long Island, who were in alliance with the English. The savage thirst for blood might easily enough take a new direction, and the frontiersmen, whether living in their isolated clearings in the forest, or gathered into small and feeble hamlets, could feel no certainty that the appalling war-whoop of the Indian might not at any moment come as the swift warning of sudden death to all their households. The terrible suspense in which these people lived is enough to explain the intense feeling toward the Dutch. As reports of Indian outrages on Long Island spread through the Connecticut towns, it was almost inevitable that they should be supposed to be instigated by the Dutch, and that the Connecticut colonies were safe from such calamities only so long as Ninigret was prevented from re-crossing the Sound. That safety, it was obvious, would be permanent and absolute, if the Dutch themselves could be brought into subjection to English rule.

English feeling in Connecticut.

So intense was this feeling in the border towns of Stamford and Fairfield, that their people accused their own government of want of courage and energy, and were almost at the point of open rebellion. The general court at New Haven, — although it had resolved that "the Massachusetts had broken their covenant with them in acting directly contrary to the articles of confederation," in the refusal to declare war — knew better, perhaps, than the affrighted people of the border towns, how little real reason there was to apprehend any alliance between the Dutch and the Indians. It is quite possible that the dread of a savage massacre was used to inflame animosity against

the Dutch, and as a pretext for the invasion of New Netherland; and the real grievance on the part of the other colonies against Massachusetts was that she would not be led into a war of annexation under a false pretence.

But Stamford and Fairfield were in deadly and earnest fear of the Indians, to whose hostility they were more exposed than any of the other towns along the Sound, and they firmly believed the Dutch were as dangerous as the savages. Fairfield especially had been alarmed by the appearance of two Dutch vessels sent out by Stuyvesant in pursuit of Baxter during his cruise in the Sound, though they were deterred from venturing within the harbor by a proclamation of the New England Commissioners, prohibiting any Dutch vessels from entering the ports of the English colonies. In the autumn that town determined that there must be war, and that the way to bring it about was to begin. One of the principal magistrates

Hostile preparations at Fairfield.



The Gathering at Fairfield.

of the colony, Mr. Ludlow, was appointed commander in chief, and volunteers were called for. The step was a bold one, and might have been successful but for the lateness of the season; for the governments of Connecticut and New Haven were compelled by this insubordination in the border towns to consider seriously whether they would not declare war against the Dutch even without Massachusetts.

But the coming winter settled the question for the present, and in the meantime they awaited an answer to an appeal that had been

made to the Protector and to Parliament for aid. A special agent was sent to England on this errand, but Governor Hopkins of Connecticut was then in London, and great reliance was properly placed upon his diligence and ability as the representative of New England interests.¹

Had the New Netherland been a Puritan colony, the Puritans would have rejoiced to see how, in the events of the year, she was the evident object of the protection of a special Providence. In the beginning of these troubles, had not Massachusetts so firmly refused to unite with the other members of the confederacy in a declaration of war, the province would probably have been thus early annexed to New England, for the Dutch were altogether too weak to have successfully resisted an attack from the combined power of the English colonies. Had Fairfield and Stamford moved a little earlier, New Haven and Connecticut would have been unable to resist the popular hostility to the Dutch and the popular determination to acquire their territory, aggravated and intensified now by an Indian panic. That New England was dilatory was the salvation of New Netherland thus far, when delay again averted a danger more threatening than any that had yet menaced her.

The prayers of New Haven and Connecticut were listened to by Cromwell, and he wrote to the governors of the colonies urging them to zeal and activity, and promising the help of four well-manned ships. All the colonies, except Massachusetts, responded. Connecticut was to raise two hundred men, to be increased, if necessary, to five hundred; New Haven promised a hundred and thirty-three; Plymouth promised fifty, to be under the command of the old soldier, Miles Standish, and that Captain Willetts, who was one of Stuyvesant's commissioners on the boundary question four years before. But Massachusetts declined to furnish her quota, though she permitted a force of volunteers to be recruited in Boston. The ships sent by Cromwell were to be under the command of one Major Sedgwick and a Captain Leverett, and in good season they sailed from England. Three of the four, however, consumed four months in a voyage by way of the Western Islands, and news of the peace between England and Holland, concluded in May, 1654, received soon after their arrival in New England, put an end to the proposed expedition. Its only result was the seizure of Fort Good Hope — in spite of Underhill's former capture, — which was the final dispossession of the Dutch of any territory on the Connecticut River.

Great were the rejoicings at the reception of this news at New Amsterdam, where the formidable preparations in New England for

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

New Eng-
land pre-
pares for
war.

an invasion of the Dutch colony had aroused such alarm as to bring about some temporary harmony between Stuyvesant and his opponents, and had united them in some preparations for defence. The Director appointed a day of public thanksgiving. "Praise the Lord," he said in his proclamation, "praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Sion, praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates, and blessed your possessions with peace, even here, where the threatened torch of war was lighted; where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty!"¹



Arrest of Baxter.

There came at the same time other tidings hardly less gratifying to the Director. The agent, Le Bleeuw, who was the bearer of the remonstrance to the West India Company, had been received with great coldness and severity, and he was forbidden to return to New Netherland. The directors wrote to Stuyvesant that the complaints of the citizens were unreasonable, and that they had nothing to object to in his administration of affairs, except, indeed, that he was too lenient in his dealings with these seditious persons; that he "ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang, and not

¹ *Albany and New Amsterdam Records*, cited by O'Callaghan.

have condescended to answer protests with protests." They commanded him now to punish them as they deserved, and especially those delegates from Gravesend, the Englishmen Baxter and Hubbard. The only concession made by the chamber at Amsterdam to the popular party was that the offices of city schout and provincial fiscal should not be held by the same person, and a commission for the former office was sent to Kuyter, who, more fortunate than his old companion, Melyn, had long before been forgiven for his past offences. He had, however, been recently murdered by the Indians somewhere on Long Island, and Stuyvesant permitted his friend, Van Tienhoven, to still remain both schout and fiscal without regard to the orders of the directors of the Company. The other injunction for the punishment of ringleaders he observed more faithfully, for he visited Gravesend and ejected Baxter and Hubbard from the magistracy. Baxter fled to New England, but returned again within two months, and not long after he and Hubbard were arrested in the act of raising the English flag and reading a proclamation declaring Gravesend to be subject to the laws of the Republic of England. Van Tienhoven, who had gone from New Amsterdam to quell the disturbance, arrested both and threw them into prison, where they remained for months.

During all these busy and turbulent years the Director-general had had little leisure to bestow upon affairs on the South River. It was not till 1651 that he took any decisive steps to exercise his power as governor of New Netherland over the Company's territory on the Delaware. Printz's Hall on Tinicum Island, at that time still knew its lord and master; its timbers still creaked under his massive tread, and its windows rattled at his stentorian voice. But Printz returned soon after to Sweden. There might have been some lively and entertaining passages of history had the two hot-headed and imperious governors known each other earlier; but it was only when peace between England and Holland released Stuyvesant, for a season, from internal dissensions and perils from without, that events on the South River demanded his active interference.

For years the few Dutch settlers of that region were left to an almost hopeless contest with their neighbors. Their fort — Fort Nassau — about four miles below the present city of Philadelphia, and a little more above the mouth of the Schuylkill,¹ was too far up the river to be of any practical use, even had its garrison been larger than the usual number of about half a dozen men. The only Indians whose trade was of much value were the Minquas, and they were on the Schuylkill. But that river was com-

The Swedes
on the
Schuylkill.

¹ A Dutch word signifying Hidden-creek or Skulk-creek.

manded by the Swedes by a fort built by Printz on an island near its mouth, as well as by Fort Gottenburg on Tinicum Island, — the present quarantine station of Philadelphia, — whence vessels could sail to the Schuylkill by a short passage over meadows, then under water, extending southward from the point now known as Bartram's Botanical Garden. The fort on the Schuylkill was on a cluster of rocks, at that time an island, near where a deep cut is made through the bluff in front of Bartram's Garden for the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.¹ The Dutch commissioner Hudde, who commanded at Fort Nassau, complained that the Swedes had obtained "command over the whole creek." For, he adds, "this kill or creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river (*i. e.* the Delaware) is of little value."²



Mouth of the Schuylkill.

The Dutch were not numerous enough to dispute the possession of the river with the Swedes with any success; they were not even strong enough to maintain the dignity of being held as enemies. The Swedes treated them as trespassers rather than as foes; as troublesome neighbors rather than as the representatives of another nationality. Hudde put up a house near the banks of the Schuylkill, which he called Fort Beversrede, that he

Contentions
between the
Dutch and
Swedes.

¹ Ferris's *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 70, 71.

² Hudde's Report. From the Dutch Colonial Records, republished in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i.

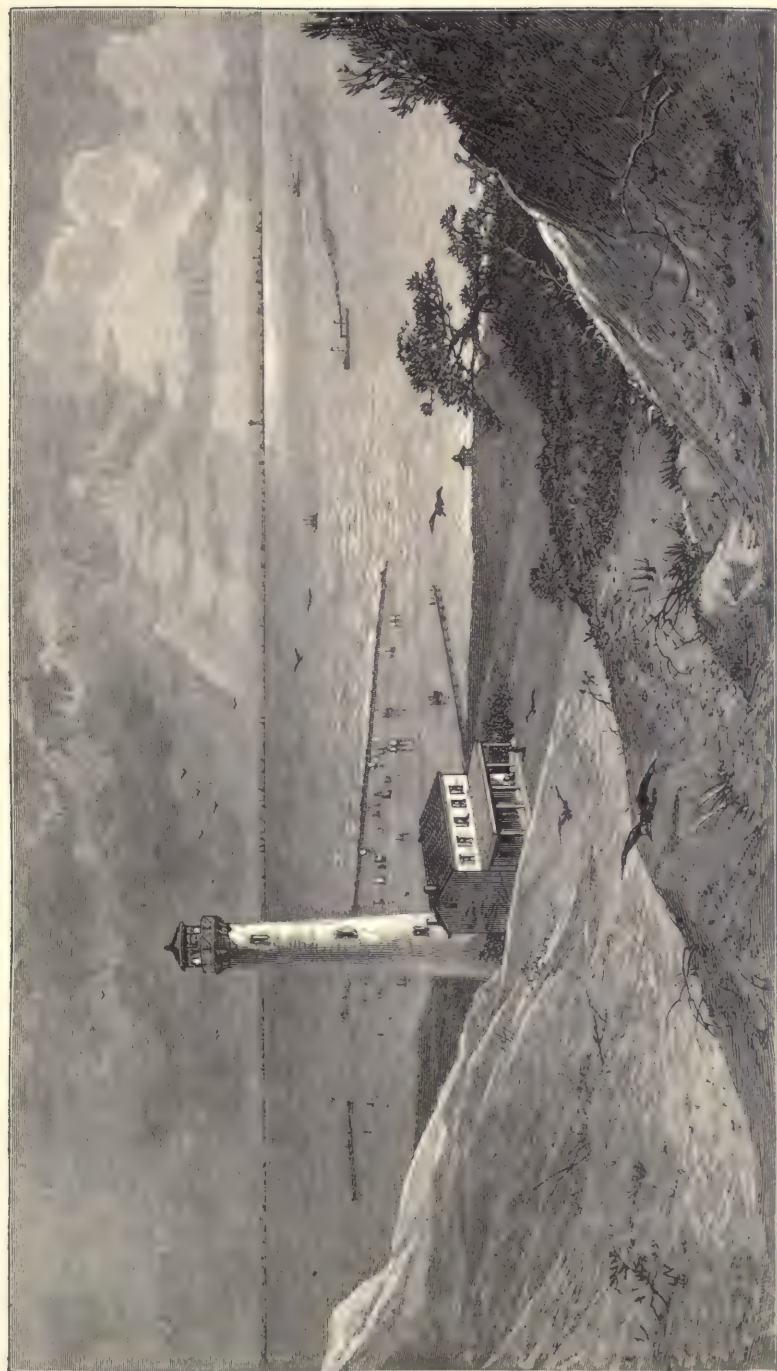
might share in the trade with the Minquas; the Swedes contented themselves with cutting down the trees around it, including the fruit trees which Hudde had planted, and built another house directly in its front between it and the river. All such assertions of sovereignty were treated with like contempt. Any attempt to erect a building by the Dutch, the Swedes met by sending upon the ground sufficient force to destroy the material, threatening the repetition of the offence with "a sound drubbing." It was the power of the constable rather than of the military arm, that was relied upon to sustain the right of the Swedes to the territory. No severer measures than these threats of personal chastisement were needed to keep the Dutch in subjection.

Among all the early colonial governors none held more undisputed sway than was exercised by Printz over the broad waters of the Delaware, from the muddy banks at the mouth of the Schuylkill to the low capes of Henlopen and May, where the vexed and shifting sands contend in endless strife with the winds and waves of the Atlantic. It

Extent of Swedish possessions. was all New Sweden for a hundred miles along both banks of the noble river — a rich and lovely country, its broad, round hills covered with forests of great trees, the growth of many centuries, sweeping down with gentle undulations to the green meadows through which the quiet streams of many creeks wound gracefully in tortuous channels on their way to the wide waters of the Bay. "Printz's Hall" on Tinicum Island, was the capital of this noble principality. Besides the fort — New Gottenburg — on that island; another, not far off, at the mouth of the Schuylkill; another — Elfsborg, or Elsingborg — at the mouth of Salem Creek; and still another, Fort Christina, were the strongholds whereby the Swedish governor overawed the natives of the country, and kept out intruders.

The Dutch, however, never forgot their claims, by right of prior discovery, to the South River and the beautiful region watered by its many affluents. Hudde, from his fort a mile below Gloucester Point, could only watch the growth and progress of the Swedes, and by his presence bear witness against their occupation of territory belonging to the Company. If Stuyvesant could do little else for several years than support his subordinate by protest, with such aid, at least, he was always ready to sustain the title of the Dutch. But when, in

Visit of Stuyvesant to South River. 1651, he found leisure for a visit southward, his quick intelligence and the eye of the soldier detected at once an error in the policy of the past, and where an advantage could be gained in the future. Fort Nassau, he saw, was too far up the Delaware, and was powerless against the Swedes, who, with wise forethought, had taken possession of the mouth of the Schuylkill.



THE CAPES OF THE DELAWARE.

The trade of the country, even at that day, found its natural centre at this confluence of the rivers. Printz was shrewd enough to see this. To command and absorb this trade he built his forts on the river and at Tinicum, and barred the approach to that point by his forts further down the Delaware. The wisdom of the Swedish governor has been justified by modern commerce, which concentrates at Girard Point, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, the shipping trade of Philadelphia, loading for all parts of the world from its elevators and warehouses, the corn and wheat of the West, and the petroleum from the central counties of Pennsylvania, while the products of her mines are turned into iron ships in the yards of Newcastle, a little further down the Bay.

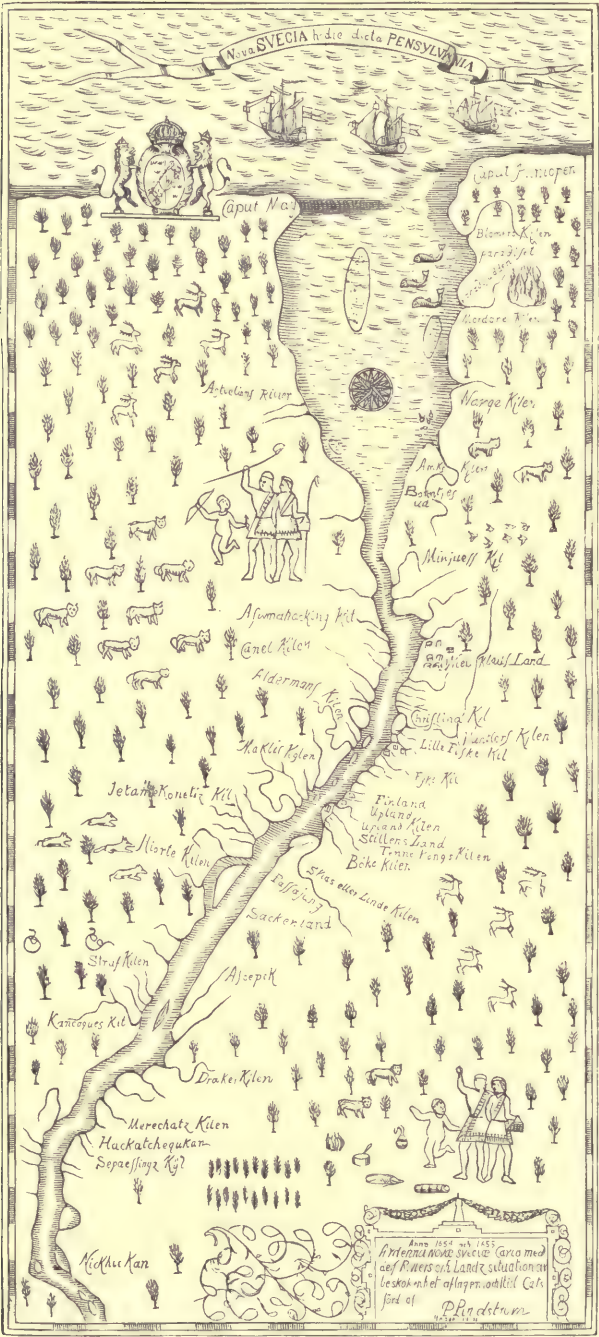
Fort Nassau — as too far out of the way for defence, where there was nothing to protect, and too far out of the way for offence, where nobody came to be attacked — Stuyvesant ordered to be destroyed and abandoned. From the Indians, who were always friendly to the Dutch, he easily purchased all the land from the Christina to Boomtje's or Bambo Hoeck, — now corrupted into Bombay Hook. Within this territory, about four miles below the mouth of the Christina, is a bold promontory, commanding a wide view of the Delaware, both above and below, then named Sandhuken. On this point, where now stands the town of Newcastle, the Dutch built a fort which they called Fort Casimir.

Fort Nassau abandoned, and building of Fort Casimir by the Dutch.

Printz protested against this act as an invasion of soil belonging to the Swedes. But Stuyvesant apparently had brought force enough with him to defy interference, otherwise it is not likely that the uniform policy of past years, — the prompt suppression of any attempt of the Dutch to gain some vantage-ground for offence and defence on or below the Schuylkill, — would have been pretermitted. Printz certainly was not unmindful of the advantage he was losing. He no longer commanded the Delaware, and his fort at the mouth of Salem Creek (Elsingborg) was abandoned as useless. It was pretended that it had become uninhabitable because of the mosquitoes, and that it was named therefore Myggenborg (Mosquito Fort); but the real reason was, no doubt, the absurdity of attempting to blockade a river of which the Swedes were not strong enough to hold possession. Both parties, moreover, dreaded the occupation of the disputed territory by the English more than they feared each other; and it was agreed, therefore, between Stuyvesant and Printz, that they should not indulge themselves in hostilities, but that they would "keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."

The Swedes abandon Fort Elsingborg.

Both, no doubt, meant to keep this compact till they were strong



Map of the Lower Delaware (after Campanius).

enough to break it. This fear of the English on the South River, was not without reason, for the New Haven people had not forgotten the pleasant lands on the South River,—the genial climate, the rounded hills and noble forests, the rich meadows on the winding creeks, the broad bay of a hundred miles in length, where all the ships in the world could ride in safety,—from which in Kieft's time, a few years before, the Dutch and Swedes had united to drive them away. Only the autumn preceding the building of Fort Casimir a company of fifty persons had left New Haven determined to renew the attempt at an English settlement on

the Delaware. But stopping at New Amsterdam, to inform Stuyvesant in a friendly way of their purpose, and to secure his acquiescence, he arrested them without ceremony,¹ and would only release them on condition of their immediate return whence they came.

Printz, nevertheless, sent messengers to Sweden to complain of the intrusion of the Dutch, and had he waited long enough would have received the aid he asked for. But either tired of waiting, or impelled by a growing unpopularity which his arbitrary rule had provoked, he sailed himself for home late in 1653, before his messengers could be heard from. Their mission, however, was not unsuccessful. Before Printz reached Sweden a ship was dispatched with a deputy governor on board, John Rysingh, with a force of about three hundred men, whose first act was the capture of Fort Casimir.

Printz
leaves New
Sweden.

Rysingh was to supersede Printz in case Printz should wish to retire, as he had asked leave to do. Having already gone to Sweden there was no question of Rysingh's position, though Printz had left his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, as his representative at Tinicum. It seems, however, that Rysingh did not wait to communicate with his countrymen before exercising his power; for he found none of them below Fort Casimir, as Elsingborg, on Salem Creek, had been abandoned. His instructions from the government at home were pacific; he was not to break the peace with the Dutch; as to Fort Casimir—he was to leave it in their hands, unless there was danger of its falling into the hands of the English—a danger not imminent, as there was hardly an Englishman then on the banks of the South River.

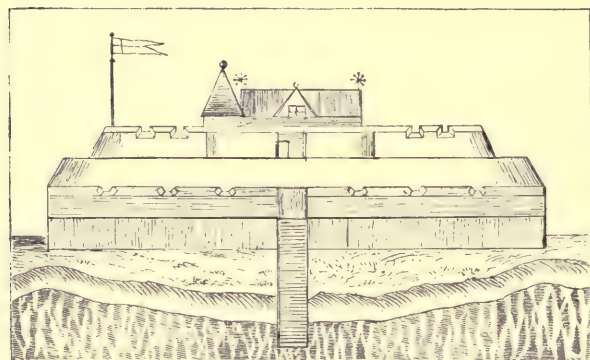
He paid no regard, however, to his instructions, not waiting even, apparently, to learn the situation of affairs on shore, or that his superior, Printz, had gone to Sweden. "On the last day of May," wrote Gerrit Bikker, the commandant of Fort Casimir, to Stuyvesant, "we perceived a sail, not knowing who she was or where from." On the 27th of May, 1654, Rysingh himself wrote to Stuyvesant: "I cannot refrain giving you notice that a few days ago I arrived here safe in the government ship the *Aren*, with a considerable number of people from the kingdom of Sweden;" and in his report to his own government² he fixes the date of his arrival as "a few days before the 27th of May."

Whatever the date of his arrival, which is thus left uncertain, the fort was taken without resistance. Bikker sent messengers to the ship to ask who she was and what was her purpose. Adrian van Tien-

¹ See the petition for redress for this outrage of "Jasper Graine, William Tuttill, and many other the inhabitants of New Haven and Sotocket." Hazard, vol. ii., pp. 192 *et seq.*

² *Holland Doc.* cited in Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*.

hoven — a brother of the New Amsterdam fiscal — reported on his return that she was Swedish, and that a new governor was on board who demanded the surrender of the fort. Van Tienhoven and others counselled defence. "What can I do?" said Bikker, "there is no powder." There was no time for deliberation. The captain of the ship immediately landed at the head of twenty or thirty men, marched into the fort and, at the points of their swords, compelled submission. Bikker "welcomed them as friends," he says, and asked a parley; but, he adds, "the soldiers were immediately chased out of the fort, and their goods taken in possession, as likewise my property, and I could hardly by entreaties bring it so far to bear that I, with my wife and children, were not likewise shut out almost naked." Van Tienhoven hurried back to the ship to ask of Rysingh his commission and the reasons for this summary proceeding. It was by order of the Queen, the governor said, whose ambassadors at the



Fort Trinity (fac-simile from Campanius).

Hague had been told by the States-General and the directors of the West India Company that they had not authorized the erection of this fort on Swedish territory, the directors adding, "If our people are in your Excellency's way, drive them off." It

was all a lie, no doubt; but Rysingh slapped Van Tienhoven on the breast, and said, with a hearty and confident familiarity, "Go, tell your Governor that!"¹

The Swedes were again in undisputed possession on the South River. All the Dutch in and about the fort were required either to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden or to leave that part of the country. To make the event the more significant the name of the fort was changed to Trefalldigheet (Trinity fort) because it was taken on Trinity Sunday, or more probably, because that festival of the church was within a week of its capture.²

When the news reached New Amsterdam the town rocked with

¹ *Hol. Doc.* cited in O'Callaghan and Hazard's *Annals*.

² It is usually said that the fort was so named because the capture was on Trinity Sunday. It was probably taken two or three days before Trinity Sunday.

excitement and indignation from the Battery to Wall Street. Stuyvesant seized an opportunity that occurred presently to retaliate, though it produced no other result than private injury. A Swedish ship, bound for the South River, ran into the Kill behind Staten Island, and sent a messenger to New Amsterdam for a pilot. Stuyvesant imprisoned the messengers and dispatched a file of soldiers to the vessel to seize her and her crew, to be detained till Fort Casimir was restored. The captain lost ship and cargo, but Rysingh was not moved thereby to give up his capture. He disregarded all the messages from Stuyvesant, who invited him to New Amsterdam, with the assurance of a safe conduct, that they might come to terms in regard to the fort and the question of jurisdiction on the Delaware. The Swedish governor preferred possession to negotiation, and declined to discuss the subject, either in person or by deputy. Stuyvesant had nothing to do but wait, and his anger was not of a kind that cooled by waiting.

Indignation
of Stuyvesant.

But his indignation was no greater than that of the Company's directors in Holland. In their letters to Stuyvesant they denounced the surrender of Casimir as "infamous," as "scandalous," and as "cowardly;" the conduct of the commandant, Bikker, was declared to be in that "shameful transaction," "unfaithful, yea, treacherous," and his apprehension was earnestly insisted on; and it was, they urged, the Director's duty, "to exert every nerve to revenge that injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river as they did with us." They were much in earnest, and meant to put it in the Director's power to obey their orders.

Communication between the colonies and Europe was so slow and infrequent that winter was near before Stuyvesant could hear from Amsterdam, and all action was necessarily delayed. The Director availed himself of this interval of quiet in the affairs of his government to visit the West Indies, where he remained some months in the hope of advancing the interests of the colony. But in this he was thwarted by Cromwell's expedition under Sir William Penn. "We have mett the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, with three ships under his command," wrote the commissioner, Edward Winslow, from Barbadoes. "This man's business was to settle a faire trade between the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport." In this project Stuyvesant spent more than half a year, and had hoped great things. So serious a disappointment, we may be sure, did not make him the less inclined for another expedition in another direction, when soon after his return a ship of war arrived from Holland with orders that he should move against the Swedes on the South River.

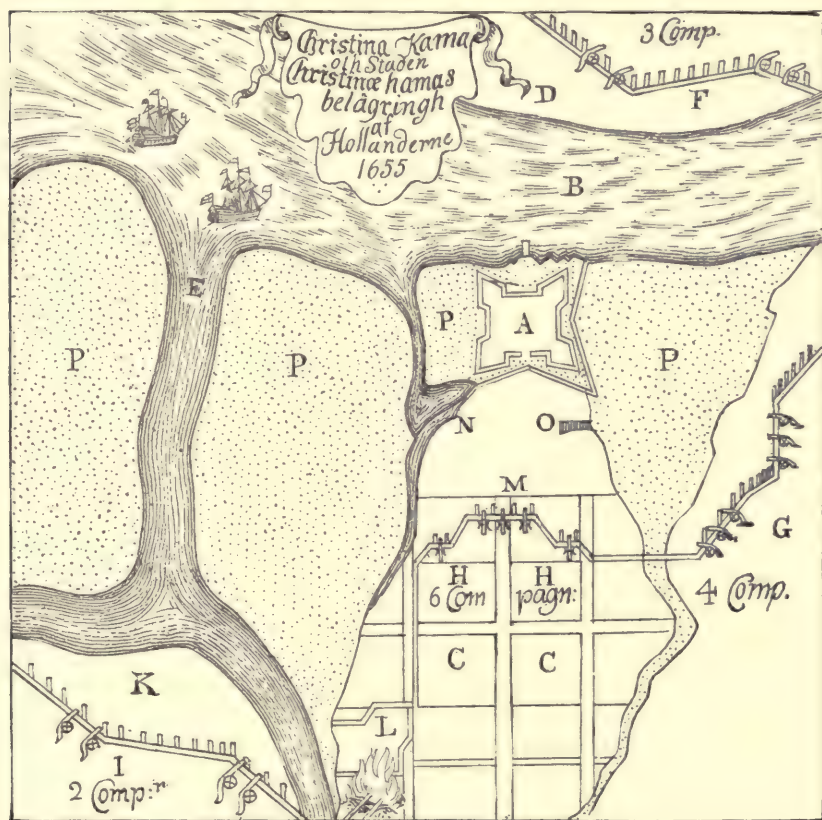
New Sweden was to be reconquered, and the Director set on foot the most active preparations. The company had sent from Holland a single ship, the *Balance*, a man of war; such other vessels as were needed were chartered, or impressed without the consent of the owners; and patriotic volunteers were invited to join the expedition. Measures were taken to keep it secret, that the enemy might be taken by surprise. The fleet numbered seven vessels, and they were manned by a force of from six to seven hundred men. It is not unlikely that many of these were volunteers attracted by the alluring aspects of an expedition which might, after a pleasant voyage of four-and-twenty hours, appear before the stronghold of an enemy unprepared for their coming, and whom they outnumbered probably by ten to one. If there was no fighting, there might at least be a chance of plunder, and there was the prospect of a charming excursion. There was certainly nothing to fear, for all the people of the South River country, both Swedes and Dutch, scattered about in the different forts and the neighborhoods, from the Schuylkill to the capes, were not more than half the invading force.

It was, therefore, only a handful of men that on the 10th of September saw Stuyvesant's formidable fleet of seven vessels with six or seven hundred men on board come to anchor just above Fort Trinity. A force was landed; an earthwork was thrown up; a detachment was sent forward to command the road from Fort Christina four miles above; and then a surrender was demanded. Resistance, of course, was useless, but the Swedish commandant, Swen Schute, nevertheless, contrived to protract the parley through the day and delay capitulation till the next morning. Then he evacuated the fort with all the honors of war, and the Dutch marched in. Such of the garrison as chose to take the oath of allegiance to "the high and mighty lords and patrons of this New Netherland province" were permitted to remain as "Freemen on South River." Twenty, two thirds of the whole number, accepted these terms. "About noon," wrote Stuyvesant to the magistrates at New Amsterdam, "our troops with flying colors marched into the fort;" Domine Megapolensis, the New Amsterdam minister, who had come as the chaplain of the expedition, preached a sermon "with our imperfect thanksgivings," continues the Director, "as God's hand and blessing was so remarkably visible with us as well in the weather and prosperous success, as in the discouragement of our enemies." And as a day of fasting had been held in New Amsterdam before the fleet had sailed, so now he directed that there should be a day of thanksgiving set apart that "the all-wise and good God should be openly thanked and praised" for granting him the victory.

Preparations
to reconquer
New Swe-
den.

Fort Trinity
taken by
the Dutch.

Rysingh, who was in command at Christina, could see the Dutch ships at anchor between his fort and Trinity, and knew what he had to expect. He had sent ten men to reinforce Schute, before he had heard of the surrender, but these were met by the Dutch and all but two taken prisoners. It was a serious loss, as it reduced the garrison of Fort Christina to only about thirty men. Stuyvesant pushed forward to its investment the day after Trinity capitulated.



Map of the Siege of Ft. Christina (from Campanius).

The fort was at the confluence of the Fishkill (now Brandywine) and Christina Creek, on low land overlooked by all the neighboring heights. Its builder had evidently thought that no enemy would ever be so ungenerous as to take advantage of its situation and approach it on the land side from the rear, when the clear intent was that it should only be attacked in front from the river. Stuyvesant paid only so much deference to this confidence in the probable mode of attack as to erect his first battery on the opposite bank of the

Christina; then moving his vessels up the Brandywine he landed his men and threw up four other batteries, one on Timber Island, another directly in the rear of the fort, two more to the west of it, and all commanding it. On each of these and on Rysingh's shallop, which the Dutch had captured, they hoisted the flag of the States-General, "all which hostile acts, injuries, and insults," says the indignant Swedish commander, "we were to our great mortification compelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supplies scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns."

The siege lasted, nevertheless, for twelve days. Shots were once or twice exchanged, one from the Swedes doing no other damage than to frighten some of the Dutchmen into the woods, while those from the batteries went wide over the fort. The time was consumed not in fighting but in negotiation, though the invaders destroyed the little village of Christinaham, where they planted a battery in the rear of the fort, despoiled and razed to the ground the houses of the Swedes, killed their cattle and swine, and abused their women. These depredations were carried on as far up the river as New Gotenburg, where, among those robbed of their possessions was Printz's daughter, the wife of the ex-governor, Pappegoya. Stuyvesant, perhaps, was unwilling to shed blood; Rysingh, evidently, could only delay the inevitable result by protest and expostulation. When at last, as he says, his "few and hastily collected people were getting worn out, partly sick, and partly ill-disposed, and some had deserted," and all who were left were inclined to mutiny, then he surrendered.

By the articles of capitulation the garrison was permitted to march out of the fort "with beating of drums, fifes, and flying colors, firing matches, balls in their mouths, with their hand and side-arms;" the property belonging to the Swedish crown, the Swedish company, and to individuals was to be unmolested; and the Governor, Rysingh, and all who chose to go with him, were to be transported, free of expense, to Europe.¹ Not that there was any wish to expel the Swedes from the country, but only to give facilities to those who chose to go. It was the order of the Company that they should be permitted to retain possession of Christina on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the States-General; Stuyvesant made the offer to Rysingh, but he declined it.

This was the end of Swedish rule in America. Though the events

Taking of
Fort Chris-
tina.

¹ *Albany Records* cited in Hazard and O'Callaghan; Ferris's *Original Settlement on the Delaware*; Campanius' *Description of New Sweden*; Rysingh's *Report* in *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., and Hazard's *Annals*.

we have related continued to be the subject of diplomatic correspondence between Sweden and Holland for years afterward, and Rysingh labored long and zealously to induce his government to reinstate him in the possession of the South River, no measures were ever taken to that end.¹ Some Swedes remained along the banks of the Delaware; and being devoted to agriculture, while the Dutch cared more for trade with the Indians, they did much by their industry and thrift to develop the best resources of that fertile region.

At the fall of Christina Stuyvesant returned to New Amsterdam, and soon after appointed Johan Paul Jaquet as governor over the southern territory of the West India Company. The undisputed possession of that territory, however, was rather a burden than a benefit to a corporation already embarrassed with enormous debts.

A portion of it, therefore, was conveyed to the city of Amsterdam in consideration of advances its burgomasters had made the Company. This Colony of the City, as it was called, extended from the west side of Christina Creek to Bombay Hook on the Delaware; the remainder of the territory belonging to New Netherland was known as the Colony of the Company.²

New Amstel,
the colony
of the city of
Amsterdam.

The new colony was to be called Nieuwer Amstel (New Amstel)

¹ In removing a portion of the foundation wall of the old Fort Christina in March, 1755, a hundred years after its capture by the Dutch, there was found buried a quantity of cannon-balls, grenades, and other articles, which it was supposed were concealed there by Rysingh with reference to his possible return. *Acrelius. Ferris.*

² *Acrelius (New Sweden, or the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware; New York Hist. Soc. Coll., New Series, vol. ii.)* reverses these boundaries, giving to the Colony of the Company the territory from Christina Creek to Bombay Hook, and to the Colony of the City that extending from the creek to the extent of the Dutch settlement northward. *Ferris* accepts this as correct notwithstanding it would include Fort Casimir, — which was unquestionably ceded to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, — within the bounds of the Colony of the Company. It is undoubtedly wrong, strange as it is that *Acrelius*, usually so accurate, should have made such a mistake, and that *Ferris*, who is always careful, should have followed him. *O'Callaghan, Brodhead, Bancroft*, and others give the division we have adopted in the text. There can be no question of its accuracy. *Smith (History of New York)* quotes from the commission to Jacob Alricks — who was sent out by the burgomasters of Amsterdam as director-general of their colony — the limits of his jurisdiction as “beginning at the west side of the Minqua or Christina Kill, in the Indian language Suspecough, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called Bompt Hook (now Duck Creek or Little Duck Creek), in the Indian language Cannaresse; and so far inland as the bounds and limits of the Minquaas land with all the streams, etc., appurtenances and dependencies.” In the “transfer and cession” of the colony from Stuyvesant to Alricks (cited in full from *Albany Records*, vol. xv., in *Hazard's Annals*) the boundaries are defined in almost the same terms as “beginning at the west side of the Minqua or Christinakil, named in their language Suspencough, to the mouth of the bay or river included, named Bompjeshock, (Trees Corner), in the Indian language Cannareses,” etc., etc. The northern boundary of New Amstel, then, was Christina Creek, and its southern at the island which has been called Bompt Hook, Bompjeshoeck, Boontes Hook, Bambo Hook, but is now known as Bombay Hook Island.

from a suburb of the city of Amsterdam;¹ and Casimir, where a town began to grow, to be known in later times as Newcastle, took the name of the colony. Fort Christina became Altona, and New Gottenberg the Island Kattenberg. The burgomasters of Amsterdam were warmly interested in their new possession, and offered large inducements to all who would emigrate thither. The directors of the Company were full of confidence, and evidently looked upon the establishment of a new colony under such favorable auspices as the



Newcastle, Delaware.

assurance of fresh prosperity to themselves. The exiled Waldenses, then numerous in Holland, it was thought, would be a large and valuable accession to New Netherland, and that there might be room enough for the expected increase in population the directors ordered Stuyvesant to "endeavor to purchase, before it can be accomplished by any other nation, all that tract of land situated between the South River and the corner of the North River," by which was meant, all that portion of the present State of New Jersey whose coast line extends from Cape May to Sandy Hook.

But these sanguine anticipations were never to be fulfilled under Dutch rule on the South River. The first company of emigrants sent out from Amsterdam for the city colony, with Jacob Alricks at their

¹ Brodhead.

head as director-general of New Amstel, were wrecked on the south side of Long Island near Fire Island inlet—a neighborhood where so many good ships have since laid their bones. Though no lives were lost, and the people, more than a hundred in number, were sent forward, with others from other ships that arrived safely, to their new homes, the misfortune was only the first of many to follow.

The first two years were years of sickness, privation, and discontent. The pleasant climate tempted the ignorant emigrants to carelessness and exposure, while the virgin soil was as rank with miasm as it was rich in fertility. The crops were full of promise, but before the time of harvest came worms and other insects devoured the ripening grains, and what they left the enfeebled settlers, stricken with fevers and with agues, were too weak to gather. Nature resented, as she always does, the intrusion upon her savage solitude; to the ploughing of every field, to every encroachment of the clearing upon the forest, she attached a penalty, and for every seed that was sowed she provided an enemy; if she could not destroy the intruders by disease, she would drive them away by depriving them of the fruits of their labor. In this inevitable strife of the pioneer with the forces of nature the unhappy settlers were reduced to extremity. Many died, among them the surgeon of the colony, the wife of Director Alricks, and later the Director himself; but the greatest mortality was among the children.

To add to their other misfortunes it was announced, the second year, when the sickness was at its worst, and the failure of the harvest had compelled them to use their seed-corn for food, that the Amsterdam Company would no longer supply provisions, as it was originally agreed they should, for a certain length of time, to all the emigrants; taxes on their lands, from which it was promised they should be free, were exacted; and restrictions upon trade, from which they were to be exempt, for a term of years, were to be enforced at an earlier period. The stimulus of hope for the future, which might have sustained them in their present distress, was taken away; discontent made hunger the harder to bear, and to sickness was added despair.

William Beeckman, one of the schepens of New Amsterdam, was appointed vice-director over the colony of the Company. Perhaps it was impossible that any administration of affairs should be satisfactory with a people reduced to a condition so wretched; at any rate, between the governors there was no harmony, each accusing the other of a want of wisdom, and the colonists sustaining the charges that were made against each. Those who could returned to New Nether-

land or to Holland; those who by their contracts with the companies were bound to remain fled from evils they could bear no longer to Maryland and Virginia, or wherever else they could find a refuge. The burgomasters of Amsterdam more than once proposed to reconvey to the Company their interest in a colony which had become a burden and a reproach, for it was said of New Amstel that it gained "such a bad name that the whole river would not wash it out."



Animals of New Netherland (fac-simile from Van der Donck's "Vertoogh.")

CHAPTER VIII.

QUAKERISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.—GEORGE FOX.—HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND TEACHINGS.—BELIEFS OF THE FRIENDS.—THEIR MANNER OF LIFE AND SPEECH.—THE FRIENDS AND THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.—ORIGIN OF NAME “QUAKERS.”—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST FRIENDS AT BOSTON.—ACTION OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES.—THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS BEGUN.—ACCESSIONS TO THEIR NUMBER.—THE FIRST GENERAL LAWS AGAINST THEM.—REFUSAL OF RHODE ISLAND TO JOIN IN THIS LEGISLATION.—MARY DYER.—BANISHED FRIENDS RETURN TO BOSTON.—INCREASED STRINGENCY OF THE LAWS.—PROCEEDINGS AT NEW HAVEN AND ELSEWHERE.—THE DEATH PENALTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.—CASES OF PERSECUTION.—MARY DYER AND HER COMPANIONS AT BOSTON.—THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT.—OTHER TRIALS.—INTERFERENCE OF THE KING.—END OF THE PERSECUTIONS.

AFTER the Rev. John Clark and his companion Crandall had been punished in 1651, for their visit to Lynn, and the Rev. Obadiah Holmes had been whipped for the same offence, the church of Boston enjoyed rest for a season. Perhaps the word enjoyment carries with it a flavor too positive to be associated with the men whose temper tasted a fierce delight in controversy, and who might therefore be imagined as pining while heresy was inactive. At any rate they were not long left without a fresh and peculiarly grateful opportunity. This came with the first appearance of Quakerism in Massachusetts; and the facts must be prefaced by a brief account of the origin and purport of that form of religion.

A lull in the religious controversies.

Quakerism appears in Massachusetts.—Its origin.

In the summer of 1651 Cromwell was getting ready to win the battle of Worcester against Scotch Presbyterians, royalists, and Charles Stuart. George Fox was lying in the House of Correction at Derby, committed, as Justices Bennet and Barton said, for the “avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to a late act of Parliament.” While there in durance he was pestered by Justice Bennett to enlist and take part in the coming campaign. There seems always to have been a great opinion of his steadiness, power of command, and sway over men. The Parliament soldiers were once very angry with him because he

George Fox.

declined their offer of a colonelcy; and it led to his being thrown into a vile hole in a jail. But he would not purchase his liberty of Justice Bennett on those terms. "I told him that I was brought off from outward wars. After a while the constables fetched me up again, and brought me before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier." Probably a general jail-delivery was going on at this time of all promising subjects, debtors and otherwise, not absolute malefactors, to recruit the army. "But I told them that I was dead to it. They said I was alive." Truly, never was any man more so, and more valiant with all the essential qualities of a soldier. We shall see that disciples of his brought over his stiffness and heroic patience to America.



Village Church at Drayton, Leicestershire.

George Fox was born at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, in 1624. His father's name was Christopher, and the neighbors

Fox's life
and char-
acter.

for good reason called him "Righteous Christer." The son George described himself as a grave and staid child, rather disliking that lightness and gayety of demeanor which he was always disposed to consider wanton. His youth was pure and righteous. They tried to make a minister of him, but, like Jacob Behmen, he became a cobbler. It was a habit of his to say "Verily" in all his dealings; so that people said, "If George says Verily, there is no al-

tering him.”¹ At nineteen he was, with a cousin, drinking beer in a company which insisted that he who refused to drink healths should pay the whole score. Fox refused the wanton drinking, and retired, and from that day he broke off all familiarity with his relations, old and young, and fell into great despondency and spiritual trouble which lasted for some time. “I went,” he said, His doubts and despondency. “to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.” One of them advised him to get rid of his megrims by singing psalms and smoking tobacco. But Fox had neither ear nor voice, and took no pleasure in “drinking the shameful,” as the Wahabees style the custom which Raleigh imported into England. He went to see a very experienced adviser in spiritual matters, and “found him only like an empty hollow cask.” Walking in the garden with another minister, imparting the secret ailment to him, he happened to put his foot into a flower-bed, whereupon the man of God fell into a great rage, and dispensed with the use of consolatory phrases. Another minister thought he needed physic and blood-letting, but Fox says that no blood could come out of him, so dried up was his body with sorrow. He avoided Christmas gayeties and marriage feasts, and began to seek out the company of widows and poor persons, to minister to their low estate.

Walking in a field on a Sunday morning the Lord opened to him that a man need not be bred at the University in order to be a minister of Christ. It was a new idea to him; as new as The dawn of his new belief. it was to the great majority of Englishmen. It struck at the whole hierarchy of ministers. At another time he was impressed that God dwelt in people’s hearts and not in the “steeple-houses.” From that time forward the sound of the Sunday bells struck at his life “at the very hearing of it,” and he obeyed its summons to go to church for the purpose of clearing his conscience to the priest and the parish. He fasted, wandered in solitary places, sat with his Bible in hollow trees where it was too lonesome for mankind; walked at night, and gave himself up to the workings of that mingled imagination and spiritual feeling which he perceived to be the direct working of the Lord. “I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration at the infinitude of it.” “When at any time my condition was veiled” — as it frequently was by the conflict between his old conventional beliefs and this new spontaneity — “my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are.”

¹ *Journal of George Fox*, edited by Wilson Armistead.

Then everything that was carnal and unrighteous was manifested to him in this inner light which dawned beyond his ordinary mornings. And he saw the mountains burning up, "and the rubbish, the rough and crooked ways and places, made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle." People soon began to come from far and near to listen to his prophecy. He dealt largely in symbols, and seemed to be endowed with an imagination like that of William Blake, the poet and artist, who earned, in our time, the reputation of insanity by believing in the external reality of his inward visions. Like Blake, Fox had an eye which translated into instantaneous solidity the imagery of his feeling. Sitting in a friend's house, he saw there was a great crack about to split the earth, and "a great smoke to go as the crack went," and a great shaking to follow the path of the crack. It was the earth in people's hearts. Walking through the main street of Litchfield he saw a channel of blood running down, and the market-place a pool of blood. Once he met Cromwell riding into Hampton Court, and before he came to him he saw a waft of death go forth against him, "and when I came to him he looked like a dead man." No doubt the Protector did so look, about a fortnight before his death in 1658, when George Fox met him.

So John Woolman saw one day "a mass of matter of a dull, gloomy color, between the south and the east," and was informed that it was the misery of all human beings, and that he formed a part of it. Afterward he heard a pure and ravishing voice, as of an angel speaking to other angels, and saying, "John Woolman is dead;" but knowing perfectly well that he was alive, he greatly wondered what the heavenly voice could mean. But it meant, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." It was the death and surrender of his own will.

No mystics of the Middle Ages ever believed more profoundly than the early Quakers in that absolute self-abnegation and annihilation of the individual which secured to the Divine will a free course through their souls. This was a prime doctrine of Quakerism. In the strength of it they abjured all personal preferences, hazarded the prejudice and wrath of their opponents, breathed sweet air in the foulness of dungeons, where they had to lie with the mouth close to the crack beneath their cell door, to keep the beatified life in their bodies; the doctrine dulled the smart of the lash, made the hangman's noose sit lightly, and soothed the bruises of stonings and cudgellings.

With this lively outwardness of George Fox's imagination there was combined a sense of inward discernment, a spiritual touch for the

Beginning
of his
preaching.

The Quaker
doctrine of
self-abnega-
tion

moral condition of the people whom he met, which could hardly fail in his times to be regarded as having a supernatural origin. He perceived that some persons in his congregations were possessed by unclean spirits. He told them so; sometimes they left the room, sometimes they were converted to a cleaner life. He said that the Lord had given him a spirit of discerning. It is certain that, as in the case of Heinrich Zschokke, the Swiss novelist and historian, who could recall, without effort, and very much to the astonishment of the persons implicated, their words and sometimes the incidents of their lives, never having seen or heard of them before, but never laying claim in consequence to any preternatural gift, — so Fox felt the veiled presence of irregular dispositions. “As I was going to a meeting,” said Fox, “I saw some women in a field, and I discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions.”

Character
of Fox's
teaching.



Fox reproves the Women.

“There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, ‘Thou hast been an harlot,’ for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman.” This is the test of a soul which is so chastely separated from all evil that it detects the lines which evil etches upon the face and person, and also feels an unwholesome effluence. It is not at all strange that, in those days of witchcraft, and of delusion concerning special providences, the people should accredit miracu-

lous power to Fox, of whom certain stories of healing are also reported.

Fox's journal, like Winthrop's, abounds with cases of judgments that befell their enemies and withstanders. For it was a mental fashion of the times, belonging to the established church as well as to all the sectaries, though specially to the Boston Puritans. A rude butcher had sworn to kill Fox, and was accustomed to thrust out his tongue whenever a Friend passed him. So it fell out that one day his tongue swelled, he never could draw it in again, and died so. The judgments against Fox's enemies were so many that they would "be too large to declare. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the bloodthirsty, who sought after blood; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them to him to deal with them, who is stronger than all." This is not more sombre and inconsequent than the ordinary Puritan spirit of the times.

But the truly characteristic doctrine of the Friends exalts the intuitive feelings, and all spontaneous movements of the mind, above scholarship, instruction, Scriptures, and ordinances. This is the true Light which lighteth every man: if so, it anticipates all forms and texts, tries them all, interprets the divine Word, and tests the customs of society. When this doctrine was so consistently held, as by Fox, it became hostile to the sacraments of the church, and to the church itself with its hierarchical scale of paid clergy; hostile to governments which rested upon force, hostile to the application of force in any form. It is not at all wonderful that Fox's courageous and persistent logic should have involved his life in difficulties, and made it an almost unbroken career of imprisonment and contumely. Hireling priests did not like to be withstood in their own "steeple-houses;" justices of the peace could hardly relish Fox's superb disdain for their authority, and the cool equanimity of his answers as he stood before them with his hat on till it was knocked off his head. Many a term in jail did he serve to gratify the anger of judges excited by a demeanor which was all the more aggressive because it was so imperturbable. And he did not mince his English: his invective could assume all the power and authority of Scripture.

Fox mentions that when he went to Whitehall to speak to Cromwell, the Protector did not object to his hat. The early Friends loved to use symbolic gestures and fashions. Even modest women would sometimes violate their natural feeling and appear in a state more or less like that of Godiva when she rode through Coventry, because it was so borne in upon them from the Lord, that they must protest against the nakedness of ordinances. But these were occur-

rences of rare fanaticism belonging rather to individuals than representing the whole body of Friends. There were only two or three such cases in Massachusetts, while, on the other hand, women when publicly whipped were stripped naked to the waist — “shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped until his or her body shall be bloody;” were the words of the English law. The wearing of the hat was a symbol of human equality with principalities and powers. Even the Almighty could not be honored by uncovering the head. Penn wrote,¹ “The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was that savor, sight and sense that God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world’s apostasy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection.”

The resistance of the Friends to outward ordinances.

That is the moral ground of the first protest of the Friends, and the just explanation of those habits and manners for the sake of which they endured with humility such scorn and ill-treatment. Said Penn, “honor was from the beginning but hat-respects, and most titles are of hate.” George Keith, a contemporary of Fox, and for a time a disciple, till he lapsed and took orders, ridiculing the fashion of uncovering the head, wrote, “The preachers in Germany, and especially at Hamburg — which I have seen with my eyes — use such gross partiality in their salutations, that commonly they have two caps under their hat; and the poor, except extraordinarily, they pass by without any notice; to others they doff the hat; others more rich in the world, they salute with doffing the hat and one of the caps; and to those whom they most honor, or rather flatter, they doff the hat and both caps. What degrees of partiality are here!” George Fox said, “Do not the very Turks mock at the Christians in their proverb, saying that ‘the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads to each other.’”

Their belief as to wearing the hat.

The plain garb and the plain speech well became the righteous dissent of plain livers and spiritual thinkers from the world’s hypocrisies. The Quakers assumed the plain garb of a uniform color in order to be clothed in a daily protest against the gayly slashed doublet, the ribbon-knots, rapier, and trunk-hose which, as it all went ruffling through the streets of England, seemed to them to be an anti-symbol to their own, and to express the folly, dissoluteness, and subservience of the times. Samuel Fothergill wrote to a

Their dress and life.

¹ *No Cross No Crown*, Am ed., pp. 83, 85, 91, 92.

young man “who had laid aside the dress of the Society, and with it some of the moral restrictions which it imposed: ‘If thou hadst appeared like a religious, sober Friend, those companions who have exceedingly wounded thee, durst not have attempted to frequent thy company. If thou hadst no other inducement to alter thy dress, I beseech thee to do it to keep the distinction our principles lead to, and to separate thee from fools and fops. At the same time that by a prudent distinction in appearance thou scatterest away those that are the bane of youth, thou wilt engage the attention of those whose company will be profitable and honorable to thee.’”

Plainness of speech — theeing and thouing — was as tenaciously held to as the plainness of apparel.¹ But Fox’s suit of leather, which subjected him to so much ridicule, seems to have been assumed by him in no spirit of ostentatious meanness, but because he found it more convenient on those incessant journeys which he took from place to place to deliver his message. It was also a protection against the foulness and dampness of the numerous cells which he tenanted; for if there was one hole in the jail more loathsome than the rest, the jailer might be depended upon to put Fox in it, and not only Fox, but many a brave, protesting woman, who had been delicately reared, to whom foul air was as poisonous as hireling doctrine.

The Friends did not subject themselves to persecution merely because they insisted upon speaking in the established churches. It was not unusual at that time, and the minister would sometimes accord the favor even to women who signified a desire to address his congregation after the close of service.² Nor was an interruption of the sermon by some remark

Their manner of speech.

Reasons for the Quakers’ dissent from the Established Church.

¹ This mode of address seemed to have some peculiar aggravation in it. People hated it worse than the doctrine. They would cry, “*Thou me! thou my dog! If thou thouest me, I’ll thou thy teeth down thy throat.*” (*Penn’s Preface to Fox’s Journal.*) And Fox wrote, “Oh, the storm, heat, and fury that arose; oh, the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent, for not putting off our hats to men! Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to be expressed; besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter.”

² “But have there not been women among the Presbyterians, who have spoke in the presence of many, both men and women, of their experiences of the things of God? I suppose T. M. may have heard of Margaret Mitchelson, who spoke to the admiration of many hearers at Edinburgh as concerning her experience, in the time of Henry Rogue, preacher there, who is said to have come and heard her himself, and to have given her this testimony (being desired to speak himself), that he was to be silent when his Master was silent (meaning Christ in that Presbyterian woman). There is a relation of her speeches going about from hand to hand among professors at this day; and I myself have heard a Presbyterian woman speak in a meeting of Presbyterians, which were a church or convention of men and women. Yea, hath not T. M. in such meetings, and consequently in assemblies of churches, invited some woman to speak and pray, and declared solemnly (whether he did it merely

of dissent unprecedented in those heated times when all men's minds were so occupied with the discussion of religious matters; and for this an arrest was seldom made. The Puritan in America could not consistently prevent that custom of speaking in meeting which he used to indulge in the old country. But the trouble lay less in the desire of the Quaker to free his conscience in the "steeple-houses" than in the substance of the message. It was also frequently couched in Anglo-



Swarthmore Hall. Residence of George Fox.

Saxon of terrific emphasis. Ministers could hardly brook the invective, particularly when it was directed against the paying of tithes. George Fox held a meeting of his own at Carlisle one day, the Abbey having been granted to him for the purpose. After the meeting, a Baptist pastor, "a high notionist, and a flashy man, came to me, and asked me, 'what must be damned.' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth."

The Quakers
and the
Established
Clergy.

A vigorous episode to divine service occurred in a Yorkshire steeplehouse. The preacher had chosen a most unfortunate text for himself,

in his ordinary customary way of complimenting, (that is best known to himself) that he was edified thereby? And if some of those women formerly in that respect so much applauded by T. M. be of those that now open their mouths in the Quakers' meetings, how comes it now to be Popish and heretical, more than in the days of old when T. M. did use to frequent the chamber conventicles, unless that he now hath forgotten these, because fear hath made them out of fashion with him?" — George Keith's *Quakerism no Popery*. Excerpt in Southey's *Common-Place Book*.

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat ; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price." Fox could not wait to hear the sermon through. "Come down, thou deceiver ! Dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them ? Mayest thou not blush for shame, etc." The preacher was so confounded at the closeness of this message that he left the pulpit, went out, and Fox spoke to the people. Such primitive evangelism touched the pocket too closely to be long tolerated.

There was a meeting at Leicester for a dispute in the church, attended by all kinds of sectaries, the minister of the parish being in the pulpit. When he checked a woman who desired to speak, Fox was wrapped up, "as in a rapture, in the Lord's power, and I stepped up and asked the priest, 'Dost thou call this a church ? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church ?' For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was ? I told him, the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of ; but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire ; the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred." That sentence furnishes us at once with the pith and the offence of Quakerism. And here is one more paragraph to illustrate the interior states and processes of the early Friends. "One morning as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me ; but I sat still. And it was said, 'all things come by nature ;' and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I sat still, and silent, the people of the house perceived nothing ; and as I sat still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, 'there *is* a living God who made all things.' And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all ; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God."

How pure and sweet is the tone, and so different from that of the Ranters of that period with whom the Quakers were unjustly identified. Of them but short notice need be given. Probably the reports of their extravagant and indecent doings found their way over to Boston, and helped to confirm the minds of elders and magistrates against the Quakers when they appeared.¹

Fox's definition of the Church.

The Ranters not allied with the Quakers.

¹ "I have a collection of several Ranters' books in a thick quarto," says Leslie, "and

But the Quakers disowned the Ranters. Fox said that he heard of persons who were imprisoned on account of their religion. Fox and the Ranters. Of course he went to visit them. "And as I walked toward the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'My Love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but we (the Quakers) could not bear such things. After I had reprov'd them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters."

Speaking at another time of some noted Ranters, he shows the true sobriety of his own spiritual motions. "I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's account; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company, had true openings at first, but getting into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth."

And here is his first notice of the notorious James Naylor, who revived in England some of the worst extravagances of Munzer and the German Anabaptists. "The night we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Naylor, for I saw he was out and wrong, and so was his company." "The next day I spoke with James Naylor again; and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, 'since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness.'" Alluding to another set of people who had been cast into jail, he said, "though they were Ranters, *great opposers of Friends*, and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some people that did not know them, would be apt to say they were Quakers."

Fox's dealings with the deluded Ranters, and the explicit testimony left by him and his closest followers, quite overcome the scandal which migrated to America and set the minds of the chief men against Quakerism. Ann Hutchinson, whose principles sprang from

though I am pretty well versed with the Quaker strain, I took all these authors to be Quakers, and had marked some quotations out of them, to show the agreement of the former Quakers with the doctrine which their later authors do hold forth; till, showing this book to a friend who knew some of them and had heard of the rest, he told me they were Ranters, and that I could not make use of these quotations against the Quakers." This was written frankly enough, by a determined and bitter foe of Quakerism. But, after conceding the point, he hopes to cancel the concession by contradicting himself; "but though I cannot do it" — *i. e.*, make use of the quotations — "in the sense I intended, yet it may serve to better purpose, viz., to show the agreement 'twixt the Ranters and the Quakers."

the same root as Fox's, had a fairer hearing. But the clearness of Fox's tone on this vexed subject reminds us of his experience when he was in jail at Carlisle under a brutal jailer. "While he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power; and that made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I



Fox in Prison.

was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way."

The Friends were first called Quakers by Justice Bennet of Derby, in 1650, because Fox bade the people tremble at the word of the Lord. The first use of the epithet in the records of parliament was made in the Journal of the House of Commons for 1654. Whenever Fox appeared the cry went abroad, "The

Origin of
the name
"Quakers."

man in leather breeches is come ; ” and it was a grievous salute to the ministers.

One of the most interesting notices which we have of Fox is connected with his enforced visit to London in 1654 as a prisoner, when he was lodged at Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's old tavern of the Mermaid, whence he wrote a paper to Cromwell against the drawing of a carnal sword. It was a document of the principle of non-resistance which has always been cherished by the Friends. Soon after he was brought before the Protector at Whitehall, and made a great impression by his speaking, Cromwell, it is said, being moved to tears, and desiring to know him more intimately. Then he was brought into a hall where the gentlemen of the palace were gathered for the noonday meal, and was invited to dine with them. “ I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, ‘ Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honors, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can.’ It was told him again, ‘ that we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him.’ ”¹

This was the style of the people whose sufferings symbolized the same sentiment in New England. Even before they came, New England held them in dread. In May, 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a day of humiliation, “ to seek the face of God ” on behalf of England, “ abounding with errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers,” — whom they thus confounded. Then there came two months later to Boston, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, having shipped for that port at Barbadoes. This easternmost of the West India islands, first colonized by the English in 1625, seems to have been a refuge and starting-point for various opinions. The Quakers were not molested there. Henry Fell, an eminent minister of the Society, writing to Margaret Fell, who afterwards married George Fox, mentions the refreshing meetings that were held freely over the island, and adds, “ Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart and hath been very serviceable here : for here are many

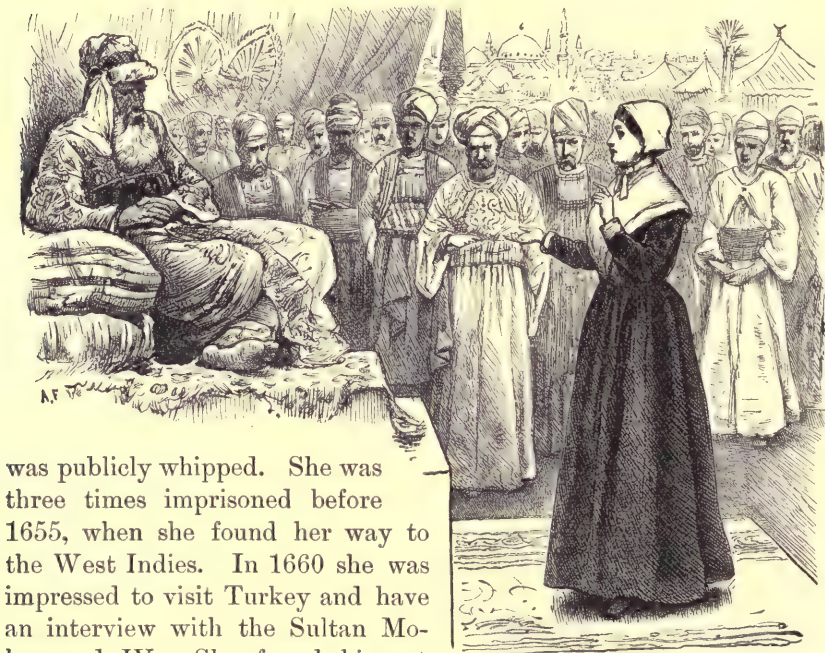
Fox before
Cromwell.

Arrival of
the first
Quakers at
Boston.

¹ Thomas Elwood, the loving friend of John Milton. describes himself as having once been “ free, debonair and courtly.” But he became in habit and discipline a strict convert of Quakerism. He first copied out Fox's journal for the press. Here is his portrait of Fox : “ Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, free from affectation in speech or carriage : a severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners ; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings ; not apt to resent personal wrongs ; easy to forgive injuries, but zealously earnest where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned ; very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction ; the common butt of all apostates' envy ; whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought.”

people convinced of the truth, who meet together in silence, in three several places in the island.”¹

Mary Fisher was born in 1623. We find her convinced of Quakerism, and addressing a congregation after service at Selby, in 1652. For this she underwent imprisonment in York Castle for sixteen months. In the autumn of 1653 she, with a female companion, preached to the Cambridge students “at Sidney College gate.” The mayor interfered, and they were taken to the market-cross and soundly whipped, because they despised the sacraments and the ministry. Mary Fisher was the first member of the Society who



Mary Fisher before the Sultan.

was publicly whipped. She was three times imprisoned before 1655, when she found her way to the West Indies. In 1660 she was impressed to visit Turkey and have an interview with the Sultan Mohammed IV. She found him at Adrianople, and was kindly received by him, and was everywhere through the East well treated. Of her numerous toilsome journeys by sea and land to bear her testimony we need not speak. She was unmarried at the time of her arrival in Boston; but Anne Austin was the mother of five children, and well advanced in years.

When it was known that Simon Kempthorn, master, had these two pestilent women on board his vessel, Bellingham, the Deputy Governor, Endicott being absent, refused to let them land; their baggage was searched and all their books and tracts confiscated. And at a council which was held July 11, 1656,

Action of
the Boston
magistrates.

¹ Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 37.

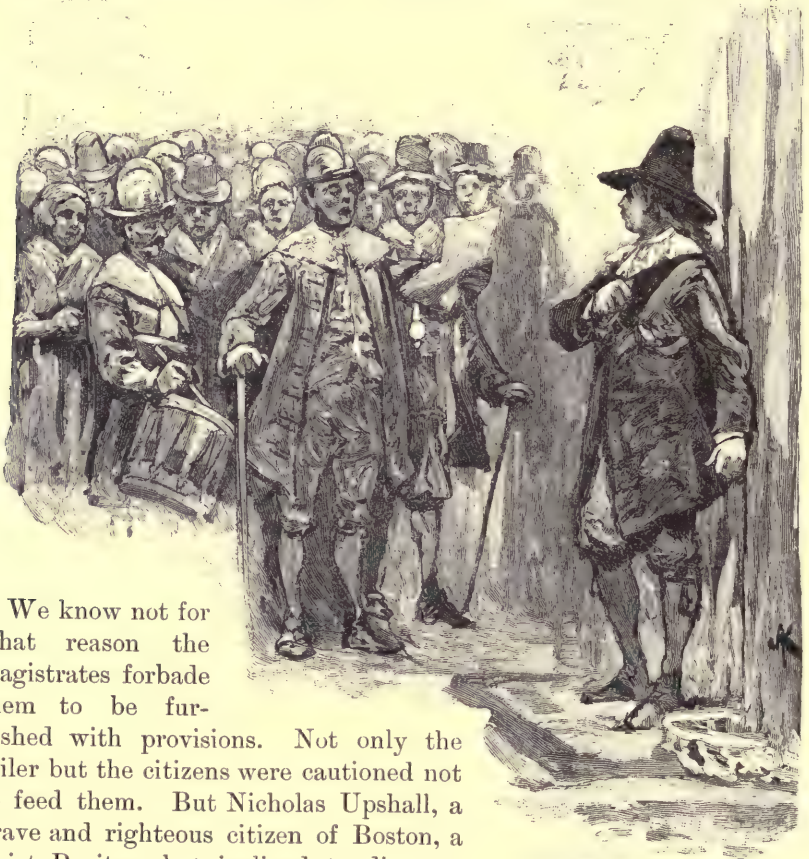
the following order was issued, which deserves to be put upon the historical record :—

“ Whereas, there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons ; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow* of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers, who upon examination are found to be not only transgressors of the former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical and blasphemous opinions ; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed among us. The Council, therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace and truth, enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order : First, that all such corrupt books as shall be found upon search to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner. Secondly, that the said Anne and Mary be kept in close prison, and none admitted communication with them without leave from the Governor, Deputy Governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard some vessel, to be transported out of the country. Thirdly, the said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment ; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of £100 sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it.”

This is the first legislation of Massachusetts against the first Quakers who ever reached the colony. The root of heresy was the same in all sectaries : it was an assertion of the individual conscience and the right of private interpretation. Since the days of Ann Hutchinson of the nimble tongue and distracting wit, the magistrates instinctively felt that any setting up of private reason was likely to turn out so far irrational as to defy their politics as well as their religion. But it was rather hard upon Simon Kempthorn, who innocently gave passage to these two formidable women, and had to pay their expenses in jail and carry them back again. It was a judicious hint to all shipmasters to be more cautious in assorting their cargoes for the future.

The two women were transferred to Boston jail, and the window of their cell was boarded up to prevent intercourse with the inhabitants; for the same reason they were deprived of writing materials. Their persons were stripped and examined for the supposed signs of witchcraft, but fortunately there was not a birth-mark, scar, or mole to be discovered, otherwise they might have gone the way of Governor Bellingham's own sister-in-law.

Anne Austin
and Mary
Fisher im-
prisoned.



Upshall's Protest.

We know not for what reason the magistrates forbade them to be furnished with provisions. Not only the jailer but the citizens were cautioned not to feed them. But Nicholas Upshall, a grave and righteous citizen of Boston, a strict Puritan, but inclined to dispense with the ceremonies of his own church, was much attracted by the arrival of these women. When the new law was proclaimed by beat of drum before his door, he uttered a protest, desiring to wash his hands of such a transaction. The magistrates cited him to appear before them. He warned them to take heed lest they be found fighting against God. For a conclusive reply to that they fined him £20, imprisoned him four days, ordered him out of the

Upshall's
punishment
for befriend-
ing them.

colony in thirty, and fined him £3 additional for each absence from worship during that time. His real offence was in giving the jailer privily five shillings a week to provide food for the prisoners. He was a weakly and delicate old man. Late in the autumn he took wife and children and proceeded on his exile, first to Sandwich in the Plymouth colony, whose magistrates, hoping to emulate the zeal of Boston, forbade any one from receiving him. But the prescript of nature proved stronger than the one that was issued by warrant, and for awhile he found shelter and succor. The governor at Plymouth tried to get him within his power, and issued a warrant for his appearance there. Upshall pleaded ill health; the inhabitants would not permit the constable to take him on the warrant. When, however, the next year opened, the Governor's pressure was so great that the good people of Plymouth were forced to send him forth into the wilderness. At last he found his way to Newport. While wandering the Indians fed and sheltered him: one of them said "Come and live with me and I will make you a good warm house." Another chief reflected, "What a God have these English, who deal so with one another about their God!"

The Indians naturally pitied the men who were the victims of a system which also encroached upon themselves. Apart from that, they always appear to have found some temper in the Quaker which enlisted their native sense of justice and drew forth a feeling of brotherhood. When, for instance, Christopher Holder and a companion "felt it required of them" to leave Rhode Island for Martha's Vineyard, the Governor of that island hired an Indian to take them away, to be paid for the service by the Friends themselves. The Friends not having a clear call to do this, refused to go. The Governor insisted that the Indians should remove them. The natives declined this office of the constable, and kept the Friends for several days during stormy weather, treating them with the utmost hospitality. The Friends offered to pay them, but they refused, saying, "You are strangers — we are taught to love strangers." So John Taylor travelled alone among Indians, holding meetings with them in the woods, exhorting and teaching, always welcomed with kindness, and finding the best in the wigwams at his disposal. And John Woolman, also, many years afterward, preaching to Indians in Pennsylvania through interpreters, received kindly treatment and hearing; one of the chief men said, "I love to feel where words come from."¹

The Friends
and the In-
dians.

After five weeks' imprisonment Mary Fisher and her companion were put on board the *Swallow* to be returned to Barbadoes, the

¹ Fox's *Journal*, ii., 115, 169. Woolman's *Journal*, 112.

jailer confiscating their beds and Bibles for his fees. On the whole this was good fortune for the women; for Endicott, who was absent, hearing of this comparative lenity, avowed, "If I had been there I would have had them well whipped."¹

Hardly was the *Swallow* out of sight when a vessel from London came into the harbor, with eight Friends aboard: "four from London and four from Bristol; pretty hearts; the blessing of the Lord is with them, and his dread goes before them."² When, as usual, the captain submitted a list of his passengers to the Governor, and it was learned that eight of them were Friends, officers went on board with a warrant, "to search the boxes, chests, and trunks of the Quakers for erroneous books and hellish pamphlets," and to bring the Quakers before the court. Four of them were women. After a long examination upon their belief in God and the Scriptures, they were sent to jail. The examination was renewed the next day, the Friends declining to reply, and simply asking for the reason of their arrest. Endicott only deigned to say, "Take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." They were sentenced to be returned by the same vessel which brought them, and to be kept in jail till it was ready to sail. The jailer received an order to search their baggage as often as he saw fit. The master of the vessel was ordered to give bond in the sum of £500 to take them to England at his own cost! This at first he refused to do, not being conscious of any infraction of law; but he thought better of it after a few days in prison. After lying in jail for eleven weeks, during which their bedding and most of their effects were seized, to discharge the jailer's fees, they were put thus stripped and unprovided for on board the vessel. Some of the inhabitants, touched with pity and indignation, redeemed their goods, so that they reached London in comparative comfort.

All these proceedings were so clearly arbitrary and illegal, and the discontent of the people was so marked, and even threatening, that the magistrates took measures to procure the sanction of law for future proceedings. So in July a letter was addressed to the commissioners of the four Confederate Colonies, who were about to meet at Plymouth, asking that they would grant authority for framing a particular law against Quakers and heretics. Procuring this, a law was passed at a General Court in Boston, October 14, 1656, enacting that any master of any kind of craft who should bring Quakers to New England should be fined

Arrival of
other
Quakers.

Their treat-
ment.

The first
general law
against Qua-
kers in New
England.

¹ Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 36.

² Caton's collection of MS, quoted by Bowden.

£100, in default of payment to be imprisoned till the money was forthcoming: that he should carry them back, or upon refusing be imprisoned till he consent; that any Quaker who might arrive should be committed to the house of correction, be severely whipped, kept at constant labor, and forbidden from communication and discourse with any one; that whoever should import Quaker books, or "writings concerning their devilish opinions," shall be fined £5 for each book or pamphlet; that whoever should undertake to defend those writings and opinions shall be fined for the first offence forty shillings, for the second, £4; if they continue in that way they shall be put into jail till there be an opportunity to convey them into banishment; and that whoever should revile the persons of magistrates and ministers, after the fashion of the Quakers, shall be whipped, or pay £5.

This law was adopted by the four federate colonies, and Rhode Isl-
and was urged to do the same; but the Assembly replied that they
could not undertake to punish any man for declaring his
mind with regard to religion; that no doubt the Quakers Rhode Isl-
and refused
to adopt it.
were very inconvenient, and their doctrines disorganizing;
but that they seemed to court controversy, and persecution, and that
the better policy would be to let them alone. "These people," they
said, begin to loathe this place for that they are not opposed by the
civil authority," — a psychological law which was beyond the compre-
hension of the Massachusetts Puritans. Roger Williams afterwards
endeavored to get rid of Quakerism by challenging their Society to a
public disputation. It lasted several days, and ended to the satisfac-
tion of both parties, each being convinced of a triumphant refutation.
Williams wrote "George Fox digged out of his Burrow," and Fox
replied with "A New-England Firebrand quenched, being an An-
swer to a lying, slanderous Book by one Roger Williams, confuting
his blasphemous Assertions."

But the bit of parchment on which the law was engrossed could not
keep Quakers out of New England. Early in 1657, Mary
Dyer and Anne Burden sailed into the Bay. Mary Dyer Mary Dyer
and Anne
Burden.
— a woman "of a comely and grave countenance, of a good
family and estate, and a mother of several children" — belonged to
Rhode Island, but came this time from England. So also did Anne
Burden, to collect some debts contracted in Boston to her husband
now deceased. They had both been disciples of Ann Hutchinson, and
banished on that account. Of course they were immediately arrested
and strictly confined. Anne Burden pleaded lawful business, but only
received for reply that she was a plain Quaker and must abide the
law. After three months of suffering she was transferred to ship-
board. Some pitying citizens collected a portion of the money due to

her, and invested it in goods that would find a market in Barbadoes, hoping that she might be carried thither. The magistrates refused this, and sent her to England, advising the reluctant master to get his pay out of her goods. He was bold enough to decline; whereupon the magistrates distrained her goods to cover her passage money, and ordered that the remainder should not be shipped. This act of delicate consideration robbed the widow of everything but six shillings,

which a debtor slipped into her hand. Mary Dyer's husband, William Dyer, the secretary of Rhode Island, came to take his wife home; and the magistrates held him in a heavy sum not to stop with her in any town of the colony, and not to allow any person to speak with her on the way. Nothing but intense bigotry could inspire such abject

dread.

While Anne Burden was thus sailing back to England, six of the eight Friends who had been banished were fully impressed that their duty was to return. At the same



Departure of Anne Burden.

time five others agreed to join them. Of these eleven persons four were women. What conviction, deep as the human heart, must have rested in these persons, who knew to a certainty the reception they would meet. No vulgar love of notoriety, or itch to invite persecution, sent them bearing their testimony across stormy seas. "They were," wrote William Dewsbury to Judge Fell's wife Margaret, "in their measure, bold in the power of God: the life did arise in them." The little, uncomfortable vessel sailed from London in April, 1657,

and in consequence of rude weather put into Southampton, whence William Robinson also wrote to Margaret Fell: "Dear Sister, my dear love salutes thee in that which thinks not ill, which was before words were, in which I stand faithful to him who hath called us, and doth arm us against the fiery darts of the enemy, even in the fear and dread of the Almighty. I know thee and have union with thee though absent from thee."

Robert Fowler, who built the little vessel and proposed to carry its cargo of Quakerism across, has left an interesting account, entitled, "A True Relation of the Voyage undertaken by me Robert Fowler, with my small vessel called the 'Woodhouse'; but performed by the Lord, like as he did Noah's Ark, wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe, even at the hill Ararat." His crew, besides himself, consisted of two men and three boys. While he waited in Southampton for a fair wind, he says, "the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning." He was, of course, all through the voyage in the mood to attribute his own tact and seamanship to the Lord. Several escapes were due to divine intervention. "The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands." "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head." In two months the little vessel landed its passengers at New Amsterdam, five of them waiting there, while the rest, taking passage again, reached Rhode Island. Of these, Mary Clark felt impelled to go to Boston. It is singular what keenness on the trail of Quakerism the magistrates possessed. She was arrested, and imprisoned after a severe whipping, inflicted with a three corded whip, "laid on with fury."

Return of
the banished
Friends.

We have already mentioned Christopher Holder, who went to Martha's Vineyard. He was one of Fowler's passengers. The Indians put him ashore at Sandwich, much to the confusion and dismay of that settlement. Thence he and a companion found their way to Plymouth. A warrant was issued against them "as extravagant persons and vagabonds." A man at whose house they held a meeting was fined ten shillings, and they were reconveyed to Rhode Island.

Now Boston became seriously alarmed at the influx of Quakers into Rhode Island, which became a kind of port for repairing and refitting, whence Quakerism could sally out to desolate the land. Commissioners sent a remonstrance to the Governor of that colony, dated September 12, 1657. It contained a vague menace in these words: "We apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider what provision God may call us to make

Alarm in
Boston at
the increase
of Quaker
immigration.

to prevent the aforesaid mischief." The General Assembly of Rhode Island, meeting in January, 1658, returned a prudent reply, but it was based upon the statement that "freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter" — "which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world," and more noble words of like import, em-

bedded in which was the politic proposition to refer all difficulties that might arise from the presence of Quakers to the supreme authority of England. A letter was also dispatched to the agent of the colony in England, stating that "for the present we have no just cause to charge them (Quakers) with the breach of the civil peace." The agent was instructed "to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted to us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty." Sweet and solid words, showing that the Rhode Islanders were capable of appreciating Friends, and fit to protect and entertain them.

In the mean time Holder and Copeland felt a call to go to Salem, where they arrived in July, 1657. They made converts there, though when Holder attempted to speak after service in the meeting house, he was held violently down by the hair and a glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth. A man, Samuel Shattock, whose feelings were shocked into a conviction of the truth of Quakerism, interfered. He was arrested with the two Friends and sent to Boston. After the usual subtle and protracted examination, the Friends were sentenced to receive thirty lashes each. The executioner, with that notorious three-corded and knotted knout which was used on these religious occasions, "measured his ground and fetched his strokes with all his might." Then with lacerated flesh they were sent to jail, without even straw to lie upon, and kept for three days without food. There they remained nine weeks. Shattock was released on bail to answer afterward. Two other sympathizers, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, were also arrested; Cassandra was kept seven weeks in jail. Another member of the party of eleven was discovered in Dedham: he received thirty lashes and was sent to prison to join his friends.

During Holder's confinement he wrote a Declaration of Faith, and also a paper setting forth the unscriptural nature of the persecution against Friends. This so enraged the magistrates that, at the instance

Rhode Isl-
and and the
Commis-
sioners' pro-
test.

Holder and
Copeland go
to Salem.

They are
sent to Bos-
ton and pun-
ished.

of Endicott, they resolved that all Quakers who were then in prison should be soundly thrashed twice a week, to begin with fifteen lashes and add three each time !

But all this starving, this compendious brutality and flourishing of whips, availed nothing. Already there were many secret converts. It was plain that the first law of 1656 failed to keep foreign Quakers out of New England, and threatened to create native ones. Then, with curious short-sightedness, the men — whose historical vista was crowded with images of the pillory, the branding-iron, the whipping-post, the ear-shears, from whose expansive cruelties they had escaped beyond the sea — concluded to repeat the experiment which they had proved to be a failure by outliving and subduing it. Another law was passed in August, 1657, in effect as follows: that whoever A new law passed. shall bring into the jurisdiction, or cause to be brought, any member of the “cursed sect” of Quakers, shall forfeit £100, and be put in jail till the money is paid: that whoever shall entertain or conceal a Quaker, or other blasphemous heretic, shall forfeit forty shillings for every hour of such entertainment, and be imprisoned till all the reckoned forfeitures are paid; that every male Quaker who shall presume after commitment by the previous law to come into the jurisdiction shall have one ear cut off and be kept in jail till a chance occurs to get rid him; that for a second offence the other ear shall be cut off, and he “kept at the house of correction as aforesaid;” that every woman Quaker, previously committed, who shall appear again, shall be severely whipped, and kept in the house of correction till she can be sent away “at her own charge;” that every Quaker, “he or she,” who shall offend for the third time shall have the tongue bored with a hot iron and then be kept at hard labor in the house of correction until they can be got rid of “at their own charge.” And furthermore it is ordered, “that all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer the like punishment as the law provides against foreign Quakers.” “You are to take with you the executioner” — runs a warrant to the marshal, signed Edward Rawson, Secretary, in pursuance of this law — “and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers.”

Endicott's private and illegal luxury of having the imprisoned Quakers whipped twice a week so shocked and excited the inhabitants that the heretics had to be discharged. The new law was read to them, and they were exiled from the colony.

A growing popular sympathy for the Friends appeared also in Plymouth, and drove the magistrates into an imitation of the Boston method. A law was passed that no person should entertain a Quaker

under a penalty of five pounds for each offence, or to be whipped for it. If he could declare on oath that the person entertained was not known by him to be a Quaker, he would be free of the penalty.

It would be superfluous to mention each individual case of suffering and persecution of members of the Society, and to dwell upon its features. In fact the cases were too numerous for that.

In New Haven a key was tied in Humphrey Norton's mouth to prevent his speaking; he was sentenced to be whipped in the stocks,

Proceedings
at New
Haven.



Norton's Punishment.

to be branded in the hand with the letter H for heretic, to be fined ten pounds, and to be banished. Every detail of this sentence was carried out with an alacrity and heartiness that disgusted the bystanders. Norton had no money, but a Dutch settler paid his fine and prison fees. Afterwards Norton and a companion venturing to visit Plymouth, the authorities, baffled in their efforts to convict them on

the charge of heresy, laid a trap by demanding of them to take the oath of allegiance. This, George Fox would never do; and no Friend after him could be induced to recognize thus a carnal authority. Norton and Rous were both severely whipped. The barbarous action made converts among the spectators.

And so the ineffectual work of the colonial authorities went on. Women were stripped for a whipping; one of them was whipped with a lately born babe clinging to her breast; the record of fining, starving, imprisoning, banishing, and miscellaneous cruelty becomes monotonous. The whole spirit and disposition of the sufferers were so prayerful, so forgiving, so lifted apparently beyond the reach of pain, yet so resolved to endure unto the end, that a profound impression was made upon the people. But the magistrates, though secretly alarmed at this, showed no sign of relenting, but rather sought to stamp out the rising sympathy by redoubled severity. Meetings of Friends sprang up in many towns, and notably the largest gatherings were made in places where the application of the law had been severest. And all these people refused henceforth to attend the regular public worship.

Spread of
the Friends'
doctrines.

Something more decisive must be done. The ministers, with John Norton at their head, persuaded the magistrates to pass a law holding the penalty of death over Quakers once banished. The law, however, was only passed by the accident of the absence of a deputy who was ill. He was a deacon, but would have voted against it. Hastening to the Assembly he besought that his vote might still be received. The magistrates, however, had procured what they wanted, and were in no humor to gratify the deacon. This Massachusetts law was passed October 20, 1658. It also included a provision for imprisoning sympathizers, publishers of Quaker opinions, truants from church assemblies, attendants upon Quaker meetings, and also for banishing obstinate recusants upon pain of death.

The death
penalty
enacted
against ban-
ished Qua-
kers in Mas-
sachusetts.
1658.

But what shall we say of the action of the General Court in the case of the two children of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick? Their parents had been banished under penalty of death. The children, who stayed behind in extreme poverty, could not pay the fine levied on them for non-attendance upon regular worship. That fine must somehow be paid; and this was the way that Massachusetts men expected to secure their pound of flesh, — namely, under this order: "Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to

The case of
the South-
wick chil-
dren.

work, the Court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines." This brother and sister, it was hoped, might bring ten pounds each, and the treasury incur no loss. But let it be remembered that there was not a sea-captain in the port of Boston who would turn slave-dealer to suit the General Court. One of them objected that such passengers would spoil the ship's company. Of that the officer assured him he need have no fear, for, he said, "They are poor, harmless creatures, and will not hurt anybody." "And will you" — was the sailor's retort — "offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" So the children lingered in their poverty till a more favorable opportunity might offer.

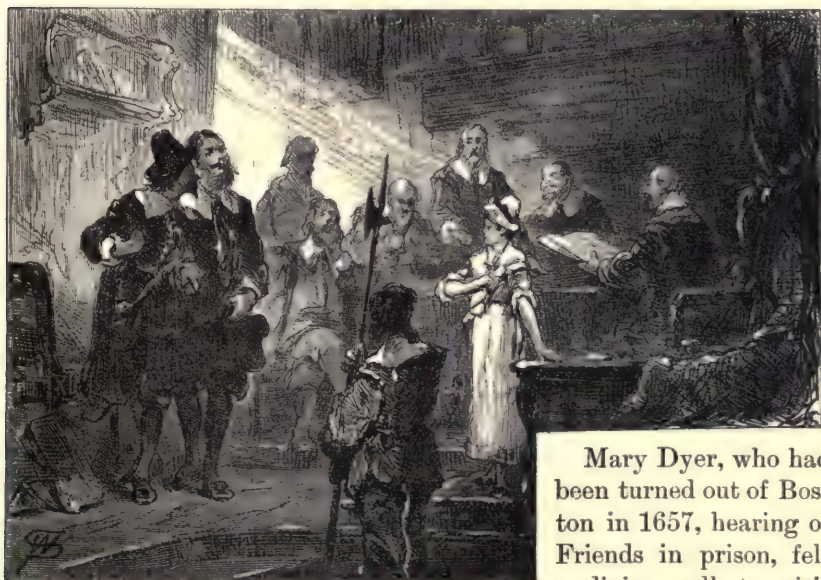
Later an attempt was made to dispose of a mature person in the same way, who was fined for non-attendance on public worship, and was too poor to discharge it. Again no vessel could be found to transport him to a market. Notwithstanding these hints of the popular displeasure, the General Court drafted its intention into a law, as follows: "That all children and servants and others, that for conscience sake cannot come to their meetings to worship, and have not estates in their hands to answer the fines, must be sold for slaves to Barbadoes or Virginia, or other remote parts." Thus the record stands.

But if death be a darker and more piteous fate than slavery we shall now see the record darken. About the middle of April, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson arrived in Boston, under a deep feeling of religious duty, to protest against the intolerance of rulers. It was a day of public fast, and the two Quakers attended church and tried to address the people. They were of course arrested and thrown into prison. Two other Quakers, Nicholas Davis and Patience Scott, who were in Boston at the same time, were also arrested and put in the same prison. Davis came to Boston on business; but Patience Scott, a remarkable child, only eleven years old, had come from Providence where her parents lived, thinking that she had a message of the Spirit to bear. After an imprisonment of three months, at her examination she conducted herself with such discretion, and a wisdom far above her years, as quite to baffle the magistrates, who could not help admiring her. It would not do to banish such a child, so the Court considering that "Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child," ordered her to be sent home.

In the guileless earnestness of children there was an appeal which

Heretics to
be sold as
slaves.

even those stern, hard men could not always resist. Mary Wright, a child of thirteen or fourteen years, whose sister had been banished from Massachusetts, found her way from Long Island to Boston that she might warn the magistrates to desist from the persecution of the innocent. She appeared before the court and delivered her message. "This saying so struck them at first, that they all sate silent."¹ Perhaps some of them were thinking when and where it was said — "of such are the Kingdom of Heaven." But Secretary Rawson was quick to discern this unwonted mood. "What!" he cried out, "shall we be baffled by such a one as this? Come, let us drink a dram!"



Mary Wright in Court.

Mary Dyer, who had been turned out of Boston in 1657, hearing of Friends in prison, felt a divine call to visit them. Very soon, by

a warrant for her arrest, they all met under one roof. Their examination occurred in September, and they were sentenced to banishment under the penalty of death. Robinson rebuked the Court in terms so galling to its pride that he was gagged with a handkerchief; and when he persisted, the Court, in a rage at his astonishing perversity, had him taken out, stripped to the waist, and well whipped.

Return and
arrest of
Mary Dyer
Her banish-
ment.

Davis and Mary Dyer went home. Robinson and Stevenson, under an impression of religious duty, went to Salem, where they held meetings in the woods, which many of the inhabitants attended. Thence they went to Portsmouth. While this was going on, Mary Dyer

¹ Sewel's *History of the Quakers*.

could have no peace of her soul unless she returned to Boston to visit a Friend in prison. She was recognized and arrested. Soon Robinson and Stevenson appeared in Boston; coming through Salem a party of Friends, four of whom were women, joined them, and the sad journey was made. One of the women "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer." The Salem people understood the temper of Endicott. They were all arrested; Robinson and Stevenson were chained in a separate cell. "There were now," says Bowden, "no less than seventeen persons in the jails of Boston for professing Quakerism."

The three banished ones were brought before the General Court.

Final trial
of Robin-
son, Steven-
son, and
Mary Dyer.

Great was the embarrassment of the magistrates, for indeed they shrunk from inflicting the death penalty. The prisoners all said that they returned in obedience to a divine call.

For that day they were remanded to jail. Next day, however, John Norton preached, and gave the magistrates a piece of his cruel and unrelenting mind; and putting the cases of the Quakers on the ground of the public danger and the damnable injury done to the salvation of souls, he so stiffened up the Court that Endicott, still with some misgiving which, it was said, was betrayed in his voice and on his face, managed to pronounce sentence of death on the three. He recovered his tone when the superb tranquillity of Mary Dyer nettled him, and he cried, "Take her away." "Yea, joyfully shall I go," she said.

Preparations
for their
execution.

The 27th of August, the day appointed for the execution, was a sermon day in Boston; and while John Wilson was keeping up the spirits of his hearers to the standard of the gibbet, a great crowd of amazed and sympathizing people gathered at the prison. Robinson exhorted them from a window till an officer came in and thrust all the Quakers down-stairs and locked them into a room. A company of soldiers could not prevail upon the crowd to disperse.

Now the procession starts for Boston Common, with a great force of soldiers; the drummers receive instructions to rattle vigorously if the Quakers should try to speak, which several times they did. Said

Mary Dyer
reprieved

Mary Dyer, "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel." Surely there was nothing feigned or fantastic in her feeling. So lofty was the strain of her soul that when at the last moment she was reprieved, she seemed reluctant to accept the fresh lease of life.

Robinson was the first to suffer; and even that penalty did not

exempt him from insult from Wilson, the minister. "We suffer," he said, "not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth." Wilson interrupted him, "Hold thy tongue—thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." Then came Stevenson, who simply said, "Be it known unto you all, this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." How strange it is that the tone of these men did not remind magistrates of the early apostolic days. No—those lay dead and buried in their Bibles.

Robinson
and Steven-
son hanged.

Mary Dyer stood by and calmly saw these bodies dangle, waiting her turn. The rope was adjusted, her clothes tied around her feet, for the



Mary Dyer led to Execution.

General Court is decent. At the last moment the cry of her reprieve came sounding across the Common, extorted by the pleadings of her son; and Wilson will have to wait awhile. The government would not incur the expense for coffins; the bodies were stripped and thrown into a pit unburied, in spite of the remonstrance of many people.

Mary Dyer was only reprieved for two days. But at the end of that time the magistrates saw that it would be more prudent to banish her again, and she returned alone to Rhode Island.

The usual effect followed of a propagation of Quaker sentiment.

Several people were fined, imprisoned, and whipped in consequence.

The other Quakers in the prison were also whipped and discharged. Some of them refused to pay their prison fees,

but there were plenty of aggrieved and compassionate citizens to undertake that charge.

Then Mary Dyer returned again to Boston, as it was required of her, she said, to finish her sad and heavy experience in that bloody town. She came in March, 1660. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?" asked Endicott. "I am the same Mary Dyer," she answered, "that was here the last General Court." A letter soon followed from her husband, who was not a Quaker, to Governor Endicott. It contained a touching appeal that the life of his wife might be preserved. "If her zeal be so great as thus to adventure, oh, let your pity and favor surmount it, and save her life." "I only say this, yourselves have been, and are, or may be, husbands to wives: so am I, yea, to one most dearly beloved. Oh, do not deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once again. Pity me! I beg it with tears, and rest your humble suppliant."

But Endicott asked — "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" "I own myself to be reproachfully called so," was her answer. Then the Governor pronounced the sentence of death against her before the General Court. "This," said she, "is no more than thou saidst before." "But now it is to be executed: therefore prepare yourself for nine o'clock to-morrow." And as she spake concerning the motives for her return, Endicott impatiently ordered her away. So next day, with a strong body of soldiers, for fear of the people, and with drummers before and behind to drown the dreadful, accusing voice, she reached Boston Common again. There she refused to purchase her life at the expense of not performing her present mission from the Lord. She declined the prayers of any elder; this was offered gratis to her. Wilson called

out to her not to be so deluded by the devil. "Nay, man, I am not now to repent," she answered. Some one taunted her with having said that she had been in Paradise. "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days," Then came the end. "She did hang as a flag," said one of her judges scoffingly, "for others to take example by."

In this year monthly meetings of the Society were set up in many places in New England. Quarterly meetings were established a few years later.

William Leddra was a banished Quaker who dared to return in the same year. Early in 1661 he was brought before the Court, bound with chains to a log which he dragged behind him. His examination

Effect of
these meas-
ures.

Mary Dyer
resentenced
by Endicott.

Her execu-
tion

swarmed with trivial questions and absurd replies to his responses. But the court tried to persuade him to recant his opinions and save his life. "What! join with such murderers as you are! Then let every man that meets me say, Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation." So on a day when a sermon was to be delivered he was sentenced to be executed. After the conclusion of it he too found his way to Boston Common, and died there as tranquilly as his predecessors.

Execution of
Leddra.

This was the last execution in Boston for cause of religious opinion. A great many Quakers were still languishing in prison; among them was Wenlock Christison, a returned banished Quaker, and liable to be hanged. He happened to return on the day that Leddra was sentenced and entered the Court at the moment of pronouncing the sentence. His presence struck dumb the magistrates. But he was soon brought to the bar, briefly questioned, and sent to prison. On the day when Leddra was hanged, he was brought to the bar again, the magistrates hoping to frighten him into a recantation. They offered him that or death. He preferred the latter, in such a style of speech and sweetness of temper as greatly to confuse his persecutors, which being noticed by Endicott much disturbed him. He was remanded until the next General Court, when a strong minority appeared against the death penalty; but Endicott passionately sentenced him. And he prophesied: "If you have power to take my life from me, the which I question, I believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them. Note my words." Sure enough; and they were notable; for about this time the news of the Restoration reached Boston, and there was no Cromwell of any name to countenance the doings of the Puritan. This, coupled with the growing anger of the people, led to a general jail delivery of Quakers, including Christison. A new law was passed, substituting for the death penalty banishment on pain of a whipping from town to town; and several were so treated. Josiah Southwick — an elder brother of the two children who were sentenced to be sold as slaves — said, on hearing his sentence, "Here is my body; if you want a further testimony to the truth I profess, take it and tear it in pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence I matter not. It is no more terrifying to me than if ye had taken a feather and blown it in the air." Then he was whipped through Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham, and cast off into the wilderness.

Trial of
Wenlock
Christison.

The Restora-
tion. The
imprisoned
Friends re-
leased.

It seemed advisable to enlighten Charles II. upon the opinions and practices of the Quakers, to make it appear that they were of such a nature as to justify the General Court in its exercise of the late severities. An address was prepared and sent to the King,

An address
to the King.

setting forth the necessity of extreme measures against those enemies of religion and government. The Friends in London furnished the King with a counter-declaration which took up severally the charges in the address, and showed how unlikely to be true they were, and how contrary to the principles of the Society. A book, entitled "New England Judged, written by a Friend, giving a minute account of the persecutions in the colony," was also put into the hands of the King, who was particularly struck by a passage that reported remarks by a prominent enemy of the Society, to this effect : "This year ye will go



Shattock's Commission.

and complain to the Parliament ; and the next year they will send to see how it is ; and the third year the government is changed." Whether or not this was accurately repeated, it had a great effect upon the King. "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England, but I will put a stop to them." And when about this time the news of the execution of William Leddra reached England, it was plain to the Quakers that they might count upon the royal interposition.

At the personal solicitation of Edward Burrough, a prominent and

influential member of the Society, the King put into his hands an order "To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations," etc., commanding them to forbear to proceed any further against their prisoners, but to send them over to England, with the charges against them. With excellent policy and fine irony the order was entrusted to Samuel Shattock, a Quaker, banished under penalty of death; the Society hired a vessel and sent him over with dispatch.

Charles interposes to protect the Friends.

It was a pardonable and not unnatural weakness in Shattock if he felt some satisfaction when he came into the presence of Endicott with his hat on and that order in his pocket. The captain of the vessel, also a Quaker, accompanied him. Endicott ordered Shattock's hat to be removed, and was proceeding to make the old brutal interrogations preparatory to sending him to prison, when Samuel presented his credentials and the order. A sight of the Governor's face at that moment might have atoned for a good deal of persecution. In his amazement he handed back Shattock's hat to him, and took off his own in deference to the presence of the King's authority, then slowly read the papers. He withdrew awhile to collect himself, then took Shattock with him to the Deputy Governor, Bellingham. After a brief conference with him, Endicott simply said, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands."

Shattock presents the King's order to Endicott. Its results.

But should the prisoners be sent to England? That would be to send loud and swift witnesses against their own doings. How, then, should the exigency be met? Simply by not having any prisoners! William Salter, keeper of Boston jail, was at once ordered to release and discharge all the Quakers in his custody.

When soon after John Norton, the minister, and Simon Bradstreet were sent as commissioners to England to assure the King of the loyalty of Massachusetts — which there was good reason for doubting — the question of the treatment of the Quakers was one pretty certain to confront and trouble them. They were met in London by Friends, among them John Copeland, whose mutilated ear was a swift witness against them of the trials and persecutions he and his fellows had suffered in Boston. George Fox himself was present at this conference, and questioned the Commissioners so closely that they soon became confused. William Robinson's father, who was not a Friend, might, it was suggested, institute an investigation as to the death of his son. Some there were who proposed that the Commissioners should be held personally responsible for the persecution of Friends in Massachusetts. When the Commissioners returned to Boston and they were received with marked ill-favor because their

Mission of Norton and Bradstreet to England.

mission was less successful than it was hoped it would be, the disappointment and chagrin was supposed to have caused Norton's death. At any rate he soon died suddenly, and this was of course accepted by the Quakers as a judgment.

But when the magistrates found that the feeling against them was abating, and that no warrant would be likely to issue from England, they revived their exercises against the Quakers, so far as to have them whipped whenever they could be found delivering their message. Men and women were tied to the cart's tail and scourged from town to town; and this happened also in New Hampshire, which then belonged to the jurisdiction of the Bay. Three women preaching in Dover were driven thus from constable to constable through several towns, receiving ten lashes in each town. This was in December, 1662, and the season was inclement also. Two bystanders who expressed commiseration were clapped in the stocks. In Cambridge a woman was thrown into the jail without food, and nothing to lie upon. A Friend brought her some milk; he was fined five pounds and put into the same jail. The woman was whipped through three towns. She returned several times to Boston, and was whipped each time. The last occasion happened in 1665, on the day when Endicott was buried. She attended the funeral, and making, probably, some unpalatable remarks, was imprisoned. She was then sixty-five years old.

The cases of these persecutions are too numerous to mention singly, and they all have a revolting sameness. They lasted ten years, and did not come to an end until the King, offended by the prohibition of Episcopacy and of the reading of the Liturgy, issued sharp injunctions. To Massachusetts he said, "It is very scandalous that any person should be debarred the exercise of his religion, according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased." To Connecticut he sent, "All persons of civil lives might freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best." So it came to pass that Quakerism conquered a life in New England.

"We own," wrote Penn from his cell in Newgate, — "we own Civil Government, or Magistracy, as God's Ordinance for the punishment of Evil-doers and the praise of them that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws that prohibit us to worship God according to our Consciences, as believing it to be His alone Prerogative to preside in matters of Faith and Worship, yet we both own and are ready to yield Obedience to every Ordinance of Man relating to Human Affairs and that for Conscience-sake."

Severities
against the
Friends re-
vived.

Further in-
structions
from the
King.

Penn's
statement of
doctrine.

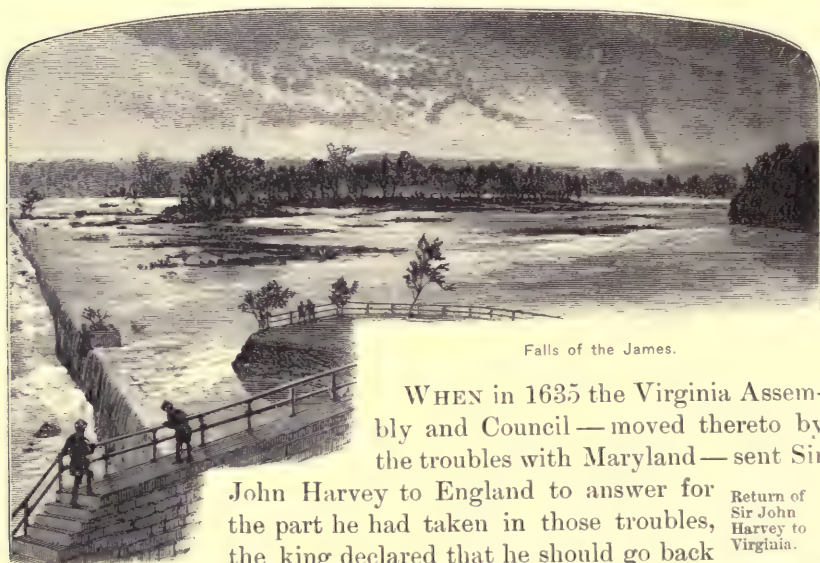
Through long years of suffering and tribulation this was the unvarying rule of the Friends. So even and self-possessed was their temper that it was only in rare instances that outrage and hardship provoked some ill-balanced disciple to extravagance and fanaticism. "To conceit," wrote Penn when a prisoner in the Tower of London, "that men must form their Faith of things proper to Another World by the Prescriptions of mortal Men, or else they can have no right to eat, drink, sleep, walk, trade, be at liberty, or live in This, to me seems both ridiculous and dangerous."¹ Eminent common sense like this was united, in them, with a noble courage and a power of endurance which nothing could overcome. They disobeyed human law only in obedience, as they believed, to the divine law, taking the consequences without resistance. Prisons, loss of worldly estate, scourgings, mutilations, the rage of mobs, ruin and persecution in every form, were visited upon them in the blindness of an intolerant age. But it was only by the Puritans of Massachusetts that they were hanged.

¹ *Select Works of William Penn.*

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

RETURN OF SIR JOHN HARVEY TO VIRGINIA. — HIS NEW ADMINISTRATION. — SUCCEEDED BY WYAT. — SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — THE PURITANS AND ROYALISTS OF VIRGINIA. — LAWS AGAINST THE FORMER. — INDIAN INSURRECTION IN 1643. — DEATH OF OPECHANCANOUGH. — GROWTH OF THE COLONY. — EMIGRATION OF CAVALIERS TO AMERICA. — SURRENDER OF VIRGINIA TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS. — REDUCTION OF MARYLAND. — CHARACTER AND CAREER OF WILLIAM CLAYBORNE. — ATTEMPTS OF LORD BALTIMORE TO RETAIN MARYLAND. — GOVERNOR STONE'S PROCEEDINGS. — FIGHT ON THE SEVERN. — THE CONTROVERSY ENDED. — RESTORATION OF BERKELEY IN VIRGINIA. — NEW LAWS UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT. — SLAVERY. — THE TOBACCO TRADE AND THE NAVIGATION ACT. — NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INTERESTS.



Falls of the James.

WHEN in 1635 the Virginia Assembly and Council — moved thereto by the troubles with Maryland — sent Sir

John Harvey to England to answer for the part he had taken in those troubles, the king declared that he should go back

Return of
Sir John
Harvey to
Virginia.

again to rule over the insolent colonists, if it were only for a day.¹ The threat was made good, and within two years Harvey returned, bringing with him as colonial treasurer, Jerome Hawley, one of Calvert's first councillors, and Richard Kemp as colonial secretary.

¹ Vol. i., p. 504.

Both men were fit coadjutors for Harvey, who showed in his conduct of affairs for the next two years the same overbearing temper which before had made him so obnoxious. The records of his new administration are meagre, for he permitted no assembly to be called, and took all power into his own hands, except so far as he chose to share it with the treasurer and secretary. In the differences between Maryland and Virginia his sympathies were unchanged. Hawley, he permitted, while still treasurer and councillor of Virginia, to sit as a member of the Maryland Assembly of 1637-8, — that Assembly which tried Thomas Smith for piracy and murder, and condemned him to be hanged for acting as second in command to Warren in the fight between him and Cornwallis;¹ and which passed, at the same time, a bill of attainder against Clayborne, and pronounced a forfeiture of all his property in Maryland.

Kemp was also the friend of Lord Baltimore, and soon became equally unpopular with Harvey and Hawley; for there was no abatement of feeling among the Virginia people as to the Maryland controversy. The official acts, however, which made the secretary disliked, are not so well remembered as that he built the best brick mansion-house in the colony, and that it was "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity."

Harvey's administration continued for about two years only, when Sir Francis Wyatt succeeded him for the two years following. The best known of all the Virginia colonial governors, — whose occupation of that office was the longest, and the events of his administration the most important and interesting of that period, — Sir William Berkeley, followed Wyatt, arriving at Jamestown early in 1642.

His appointment was popular and his reception enthusiastic, though there was nothing in his instructions to warrant the hope of any

change for the better in the government of the colony. Indeed, so far as the royal orders differed at all from those which had been given to preceding governors, they were inimical to the best interests of the colony in proposing some new regulations in regard to the trade in tobacco. The Governor, however, seems not to have given offence by any serious attempt to enforce a royal command, which, a few years later, became an imperative law in the far more stringent and injurious measures of the Navigation Act of the Long Parliament.

But no shadow of coming trouble darkened the beginning of Berke-



Signature of Berkeley.

Wyat succeeds Harvey.

¹ Vol. i., p. 507.

ley's administration. The Assembly was soon convened, and entire harmony was assured between the royal governor and the colonial legislature. One of its first acts was to send a protest to England against a project to revive the old charter and reëstablish the old Company. Against so unpopular a measure Governor, Assembly, and councillors were cordially united. The proposition had been urged upon Parliament by George Sandys and others, and a petition in its favor had even been sent forward from Virginia, signed, however, by only a few persons. The Assembly remonstrated with great earnestness, contrasting the condition of the colony when under the rule of the Company, with its condition when delivered from that rule. The king gave a prompt and positive assurance that there should be no change.

Charles was at York when he sent this answer. The remonstrance to which it was a reply was full of assurances of the loyalty of Virginia and of devotion to his own person. He was, at that moment, arming for the struggle which was to cost him his throne and his head, and this interchange of cordial feeling probably helped to confirm that fidelity to the royal cause which Virginia, alone of all the colonies, maintained to the last.

There was, nevertheless, a growing Puritan, as well as a Royalist party in Virginia, and hostility between the two soon made itself manifest. In New England religious zeal had often determined purely political measures; in Virginia the order was reversed; political causes produced the first decided action ever taken in the colony upon the question of religious observance. Up to the time of Berkeley the laws for enforcing conformity to the Church of England were practically a dead letter. But the Puritan was now a political as well as a religious dissenter. A royalist province, ruled by a governor whose devotion to the king had the earnestness of a religious faith, was ready to resort to any measure for the punishment of disloyal citizens.

In March, 1643, the Assembly enacted that "for the preservation of the purity of doctrine and unity of the church," . . . "all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the colony, are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England and the laws therein established; and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach, either publicly or privately; and that the governor and council do take care that all non-conformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience."

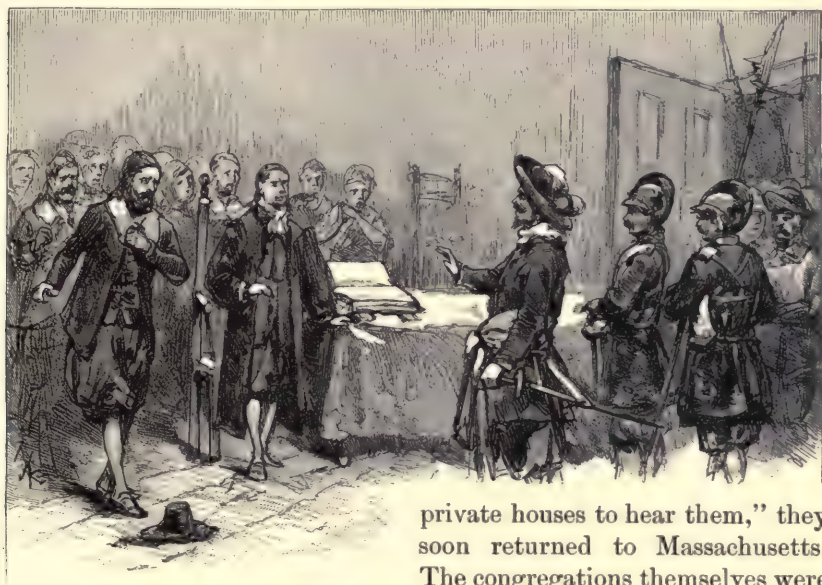
In the preceding year a number of Puritans living in Virginia had begged of the Boston elders that ministers might be sent to them from New England. In accordance with this request three Massachusetts

Sir William
Berkeley
Governor.

The Puritans
persecuted.

clergymen had gone down to Jamestown, and had been settled over goodly congregations in different parts of the province. This was not without objection from the authorities, though they were commended by the government of Massachusetts to that of the sister colony. But it was enough for the preachers that they found "the hearts of the people much inflamed with desire after the ordinances."

It was upon these men and their churches that the Assembly's prohibition, speedily reinforced by a proclamation from the Governor, fell with its first force. Their congregations were broken up; and though for a time (according to Winthrop) "the people resorted to them in



Breaking up of a Puritan Meeting.

private houses to hear them," they soon returned to Massachusetts.

The congregations themselves were soon dispersed, some passing the

Maryland border to become there ere long a cause of serious dissensions; others taking refuge in New Netherland. It was only the most stout hearted that remained, hoping for Parliamentary successes in England to ameliorate their condition. Such successes, indeed, were already near, and Marston Moor was soon to lend new courage to American as well as to English Puritans.

Hardly a twelvemonth had passed, however, after the passage of the Act of March, 1643, when there came upon Virginia that sudden and terrible calamity of which Winthrop says, many, even of Virginia, were forced to give "glory to God in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among

Trouble
with the
Indians.

them." For twenty years the peaceful relations between the English and the natives had been, for the most part, unbroken. But the great massacre of 1622 was remembered as a fearful era in the history of the colony, and the more exposed settlements never forgot to be cautious nor ceased to be anxious at the approach of any large body of savage guests or traders. Not long before the coming of Sir William Berkeley, some Indian outrages upon some of the frontier farms, and an increase of theft and treachery among the natives who hung about the villages, increased the general apprehension and mistrust. The Assembly, at length alarmed, as these signs of coming trouble grew, declared in 1643, that "no peace" should be maintained with the Indians, and that they should be treated as enemies. Thus made an outlaw, a savage might anywhere be shot by the whites with impunity.

It was an ill-judged and cruel measure, certain to give fresh intensity to the longing for vengeance among the Indians, already alarmed and exasperated by the increasing encroachments of the white men upon their hunting-grounds. They knew that a great war was waging among the English at home; they saw that the colonists were divided among themselves; and their venerable chief, Opechancanough — over whose head had passed nearly a hundred winters — summoned them to rid the land of their hated enemies.

On the 18th of April, 1644,¹ an attack planned with all the cunning that had everywhere distinguished Indian massacres, was made upon the outlying settlements, and from three hundred to five hundred of the English slaughtered. For some unexplained reason, but probably the sudden recollection of the sharp vengeance that would be sure to overtake them, the Indians were seized with a panic. The massacre ceased when it had barely begun; the savages hurriedly retreated to the woods before even an attempt at resistance had been made.

The blow was a terrible one; yet in the condition the colony had now reached, it was light as compared with the similar outbreak of twenty-two years before. Such a calamity, in a province of more than thirty years' standing, well-organized for defence and with rulers prepared to act promptly, was a different matter from the annihilation of a great part of a struggling settlement of scattered planters, under the unpopular and inefficient government of a feeble Company. Sir William Berkeley turned upon the savages with all the forces of

¹ The date of the massacre is only guessed at by the older historians — some of them putting it in one year, and some in another; — but it is fixed by Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 165, and Savage's note, and by Hening's *Statutes* for 1645. See also Campbell, 203.

Insurrection
under Ope-
chancanough.

the colony ; and after driving them from one point to another, severely punishing all such as could be actually met in battle, he succeeded, with a troop of mounted men, in capturing Opechancanough himself and bringing him in triumph into Jamestown.

He is taken
prisoner.

The Indian king was altogether broken and enfeebled by his great age. He hardly lived, except in that vigor of will and in that hostility to his English foes which could end only with his life. He could no longer walk ; his captors carried him in a rough litter made of branches. Partial paralysis had robbed him of his strength ; he could not even uncloset his eyes to look about him at the people who came



Death of Opechancanough.

crowding around his bed. Those who attended him were accustomed, when he asked it, to lift up his eyelids so that his rapidly failing sight could show him what was passing ; but, with true savage stoicism, he seldom made the request, and passed the greater part of his time in an apparent stupor. He was imprisoned in the town, and it was said that Berkeley intended taking him to England, to show the English a man who had been for years the terror of their colony. But he had hardly been placed in confinement when one of his guards, perhaps irritated by some remembered injury, wantonly shot the wretched prisoner through the back,¹ giving a wound that soon proved fatal, and saved the dying savage the misery of a death away from his own country. As he lay dying—the tradition runs —

His death.

¹ Beverley, 57. Burk, ii., 53, note.

he asked for the last time that his eyelids should be raised ; and looking dimly at the crowd about him, said indignantly to the Governor, that had it been his fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, "he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to his people."

Opechancanough was the last of the great chiefs who ruled in absolute and undivided sovereignty over the confederation of Virginian tribes which had formerly called Powhatan their king. His successor, Necotowance, after two years of unavailing warfare, made formal submission to the whites by a treaty in the autumn of 1646. From that time Virginia suffered, like other colonies, only from the hostilities of scattered tribes, or from the sudden raids of independent bands, never from a great organized attack of a whole savage nation, aroused, as Opechancanough had aroused them, by the hope of a complete extermination of the strangers.

In the early summer of 1644, Sir William Berkeley sailed for England for a year's visit, and left Richard Kemp as his deputy in charge of the province. It was a time when an Englishman of property and influence at home — a courtier and a soldier, as well as a member of a family which had every interest at stake, — could hardly sit quietly in his colonial governorship, and watch from beyond seas the conflict for life in which his king and his brothers were fighting. The storm of the Civil War was sweeping over his own county of Gloucestershire when Berkeley reached it ; and before he returned again to Virginia — to which he seems to have hurried back with the conviction that he could serve the king better there than in the field, — the battle of Naseby had been fought, and the royal cause was lost. There was little leisure now in the Parliament for any attention to colonial affairs ; in the four years that followed, the American province was left to govern itself in its own way. It could hardly have had a better ruler than the vigorous cavalier Governor.

These four years saw an unusual addition to the population of the colony — unusual both in numbers and in character. At a time when emigration to New England had greatly fallen away, — the English Puritans seeing a better day in their own land and having few of the old motives to leave it, — precisely opposite reasons brought to Virginia companies of royalists whose fortunes the war had wrecked, or who had with difficulty saved a little competence from the impending ruin. They came by hundreds to the one spot in the new world in which their king, their traditions, and their church were still respected ; and they brought with them their old way of life, — the way of court and camp ; the careless luxury and the careless morality which were abominations to their Roundhead adver-

Growth of
the colony.

saries. The death of Charles sent many even of his most persistent adherents to America; "for," — writes one of them, Colonel Norwood, — "if our spirits were somewhat depressed in contemplation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our king in the Isle of Wight, to what horrors and despairs must our minds be reduced at the bloody and bitter stroke of his assassination at his palace of Whitehall? . . . The sad prospect of affairs in this juncture gave such a damp to all the royal party who had resolved to persevere in the principle which engaged them in the war, that a very considerable number of nobility, clergy, and gentry, so circumstanced, did fly from their native country as from a place infected with the plague."¹



Cape Hatteras.

This Colonel Norwood left a narrative of his own and his companions' perilous and eventful voyage away from "so hot a contagion," that is as vivid and as entertaining as the story of the wanderings of a new Ulysses. "The cavaliers changed their clime but not their habits,"² wrote a Virginian historian; and one sees how true this was in reading the adventures of this exiled royalist, with his jollity in the midst of adversity, and his characteristic mixture of bravery, sentiment, and cynicism. How the voyage began merrily enough (after the ship had kept them waiting "until our money was almost spent at Deal"); how they touched at Fayal for water, and caroused there for days together over their Madeira and "handsome plenty of fish and fowl;" how they met with a wonderful Portuguese beauty, whom Norwood describes with glowing eloquence, and with whom they drank the health of their respective kings "with thundering peals of cannon;" how finally they sailed away westward — their ship barely escaping a water-spout which would have "made her do the supersalt;" — all this is probably not unlike many another

The narrative of Colonel Norwood.

¹ Norwood's Voyage, in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, iii., 10th paper, p. 1.

² "*Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*" — Horace.

Virginian voyage. But as they neared the American coast their troubles began. Escaping by a lucky chance from the Shoals off Hatteras, where they were aground for a little time, they beat to sea again, only to be driven far out by "mountainous tow'ring northwest seas" and a furious gale, their ship dismasted, their provisions and water nearly exhausted. For nearly sixty days they beat about, until, after many adventures, they came to anchor off the mouth of a creek in an unknown region.

Here Norwood and a large party going ashore for water, were basely abandoned by their comrades. They were in reality upon an island on the coast of Virginia; though some distance from the main; and for ten days or more they endured the extreme horrors that fall to the lot of shipwrecked men and women. The living devoured the bodies of those who had "the happiness to end their miserable lives;" and "terrible storms of hail and snow at northwest" beat upon their wretched bodies in the bitter January weather. Finally, about the tenth day, Indians came to them from the shore, who proved friendly, took them to the main land, and brought them to an Indian village where they were feasted royally. All manner of strange things happened to them among the savages, no word of whose language they could understand; and they were almost doubting whether this friendliness was not a cover for intended treachery, when suddenly an English trader from Jamestown appeared among them. Norwood, from the beginning the acknowledged leader of the party, who had held them together throughout with his unwearied courage and readiness in expedients, now hurried southward with a guide, to the hospitable settlements along the Chesapeake. He was everywhere received with great hospitality as he went from plantation to plantation, and on arriving at the house of Captain Wormly, not far from York River, he found "feasting and carousing," his old friends Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Henry Chichely, Sir Philip Honeywood, and several more, all recently come from England, but with better luck than he. The next morning, on a good horse, he was on his way to Jamestown, to his kinsman Berkeley.

Apart from the interest of his narrative there is no account of so early a date, that gives so clear a picture of the class of men which, at this time, went to Virginia. Each substantial manor was filled during these years with guests enjoying the liberal hospitality of a time when crops were plenty, and the abundance of fish and game had not been diminished.¹ For a while the little capital of Jamestown was lively with these shabby cavaliers, their pockets as empty, their swords

¹ A Virginia law ordered that "if any inhabitant received any stranger Merchant, or border into their houses, and did not condition in Writing with him or them so entertained

as ready in a brawl, their hands as averse to labor, and their spirits as irrepressible as the most reckless and most worthless of their kind at home. Some at length took up plantations for themselves, waiting the more prosperous days of the Restoration, while others who were altogether as ruined in purse as in reputation became dispersed among the ordinary people of the province.

All the projects for the emigration of distressed cavaliers to America during these years of their adversity, were not conceived

upon a scale so modest as that of Colonel Norwood and his few companions; but the more ambitious plans appear to have miscarried. In or just before the year 1648, that somewhat mysterious character, Beauchamp Plantagenet (whose name is sup-

Plowden's
visit to the
colonies.



The Cavaliers at Wormly's house.

posed to be a pseudonym of Sir Edmund Plowden or Ployden) visited Virginia and Maryland to look for a desirable site whereon the "New Albion Company" could plant a colony; but finding one spot too wet and another too dry, one too exposed to savage attack and another to diseases, he went further north to continue his search.

Widely different was the scheme of the English poet, Sir William on what terms he received them, it should be supposed an invitation, an no satisfaction should be allowed or recorded in any Court of Justice." — *Leah and Rachel*, in *Force's Hist. Tracts*, iii., 14th paper, p. 15.

Davenant, for leading a colony to the one province which seemed to him faithful to the king and cause for which he had suffered and been exiled. This was a true poet's scheme — to take out from France a little company of French artisans, vine-growers, and silk makers, and to plant a new Arcadia, where there should be no more noise of wars and overthrow of thrones, but peace, and pleasant toil, and pastoral simplicity. He had, no doubt, thoughts of a pure and patriarchal government, made up (to take a line from one of his own old poems) from "the assembled souls of all that men held wise." ¹ The exiled royal family and the French government aided him in carrying out his plan; his company was brought together, and the expedition sailed for America with high hope of success. But a short distance off the coast the vessel was discovered by the English fleet, captured, and taken to an English port. Davenant, well known as a prominent and staunch royalist, would, it is said, have been condemned to death by the Puritan rulers, had it not been for the intercession of Milton, who pleaded successfully for the lesser poet's life.

Virginians were by no means calm spectators of the bitter strife among their countrymen at home, but the great body of the older settlers, whose chief interests were in Virginia, did not let political excitements interfere with the steady progress of the colony. Trade was comparatively unrestricted, for there was laxity in enforcing regulations while the rights of conflicting parties were in question. More than thirty vessels annually brought out English goods and took back cargoes of native products. Men did not cease to smoke Virginian tobacco because they were passing through a great political convulsion; and that continued to be the great staple of the colony, though the price had sunk to threepence the pound. As the planters increased in wealth they added to their plantations, and attached themselves to their homes by building spacious mansions, and surrounding them with all the appliances of generous and luxurious living at their command. There was no lack of skilled labor, for among the fifteen thousand English ² who made up the population of the colony in 1648, there were workmen in every branch, and new experiments were making in all directions — in smelting iron, in hemp and flax cul-
Condition of
the colony.
ture, in vine-raising, in the making of indigo, and the manufacture of brick. There are few years in the early colonial history of Virginia more marked by general activity and prosperity than those four during which England was convulsed with civil war, and the province was left practically to its own devices.

The Long Parliament turned, at length, when some signs of tran-

¹ Davenant's *Gondibert*, book ii., Canto v.

² *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, etc., in *Force*, ii.



THE SURRENDER OF JAMESTOWN.

quillity at home permitted, to the subjection of those distant colonies which hitherto had remained faithful to the royal cause. Barbadoes, Bermuda, and Antigua had refused to recognize the government of the Commonwealth; the Assembly of Virginia had openly denounced the execution of the king, and enacted a law, making it treason to asperse his memory or question the lawful succession of his son. The neighboring province of Maryland was looked upon with suspicion, though Lord Baltimore had spared no effort to gain the favor of the party in power. In October, 1650, Parliament had decreed the prohibition of trade with the uncompliant colonies, and appointed commissioners to bring them to obedience.

Sir George Ayscue was sent to the islands with a formidable fleet; soon after, in September 1651, Captain Robert Dennis was ordered to sail with a smaller squadron to the Chesapeake. Parliamentary commissioners sent to Virginia. The expedition carried a regiment of soldiers and a hundred and fifty prisoners from the battle of Worcester, who were to be sold as servants in Virginia. Dennis found Ayscue at Barbadoes, and with his regiment, assisted by the prisoners, enabled him to take the island where for two months his landing had been bravely resisted.

When the fleet arrived in the James River, early in March 1652, it was under the command of Captain Edward Curtis, also a commissioner, for Dennis in his ship the *John* had been Surrender of Berkeley. lost at sea, and with him Stagg, the third commissioner. Jamestown was at once summoned to surrender. Berkeley, it is said, sought to arouse his fellow-officials, but this is improbable, as such resistance would have been useless, though perhaps the sturdy cavalier vented his feelings in some last defiant speech to his more vacillating council. At all events, the colony's submission was not long delayed, and on the twelfth of March the Governor signed articles of capitulation, and handed over the affairs of the province to the Parliamentary Commissioners.

The terms of the surrender were liberal, including an act of amnesty and oblivion for past offences; liberty to the Governor and Council to refrain for a year, if they desired to do so, from swearing allegiance to the Commonwealth; a confirmation of the right of assembly, and a promise that no taxes should be imposed upon the province without its consent; and a provision that all land grants, deeds, debts, and rights in private property, should be unimpaired by the change of government. With a liberality rare in Puritan dealings with religious matters, it was also set forth in the capitulation that "the use of the book of common prayer" should be permitted for one year ensuing, provided that such parts as related to "Kingshipp" and the royal government should not be used in public. To Berkeley and his officers

great courtesy was shown; liberty was granted them to sell their estates and remove from the colony whither they pleased within a year; meanwhile their property was exempted from examination or seizure, and protection and "equal justice" were promised to them under the new government.

Besides the commissioners who sailed from England in the fleet — Dennis, Stagg, and Curtis (or Courteis) were two others — Rich-

ard Bennett, a Virginia Puritan whom persecution, it is said, had driven to England, and William Clayborne, already distinguished in the history of the colony. Curtis probably soon returned in his ship to England, and the power and responsibility therefore devolved upon Bennett and Clayborne, who established a provisional government with Bennett at its head. That both men were highly esteemed by all the colonists seems evident in the ready acquiescence with which their rule was accepted.



Supposed Portrait of William Clayborne.

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No Virginian was more deserving of such esteem, or more fit to be entrusted by Parliament at this time with the conduct of

affairs, than Clayborne. If his career had hitherto been turbulent, it was so in the maintenance of the rights of the colony; if he had been unfortunate, it was because of the injustice of the king. His

Character of
William
Clayborne.

family, of the county of Westmoreland,¹ was an ancient and influential one, and was zealous, perhaps distinguished in the north of England, in upholding the Protestant faith. It is neither improbable nor impossible that there should have been enmity between such a family and that of the Calverts, of the neighboring county of York, so devoted to the church of Rome. Clayborne certainly opposed the settlement of a colony of Catholics on Chesapeake Bay, before any question arose as to the possession of Kent Island. The desire to secure this small portion of his grant seems hardly an adequate motive for the hostility which Baltimore showed to Clayborne.

¹ He was the second son of Sir Edmund — not Edward as Neill says in his *English Colonization of America* — Cleiburne (or Clayborne) of Cleiburne Hall. The portrait is that of William or his son — it is not quite certain which.

They may have simply hated each other with that fervor then thought so becoming to all good Christians travelling different roads to Heaven ; but there is, besides, the suspicion of a tenderer influence in the conduct of Calvert. He had failed in his suit for the hand of Agnes, the lovely daughter of the rich and powerful Sir Richard Lowther of Lowther, where Thomas Clayborne, William's elder brother, was successful.

At any rate Clayborne's ancient grievance was well grounded. Kent Island was within the boundaries of the patent of the Virginia company ; he, who was the secretary of the colony, and its surveyor general, had taken possession of this island and established there a trading-post by virtue of a royal commission for trade and discovery, and a similar permit from the Company. There was not only priority of date in his favor, but he could enforce that plea — afterward used so successfully by the Dutch and the Pennsylvanians in relation to the region on Delaware Bay — that the grant to Lord Baltimore, whatever might be its nominal boundaries, limited him to the possession only of lands hitherto uncultivated — *hactenus inculta*. In the course of that long and bitter controversy the Governor and council of Virginia had declared in 1634 that they were in duty bound to maintain their right to the Isle of Kent, and a royal order had decided in Clayborne's favor and against Lord Baltimore. Whatever may have been his motives, the influence of Baltimore at court was strong enough to procure a reversal of this decision in spite of Clayborne's complaint that the royal order was disregarded, and his offer to pay a large rental for the lands which were his by right of discovery and occupation.¹

It was not in Clayborne's nature to be a lukewarm partisan, even if he had not had the remembrance of such wrongs, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, to influence him. But he was a Parliament man both from religious and political convictions, and not that

W. Clayborne Sen

Signature of William Clayborne.

he might gain his personal ends. That he did not permit his private griefs to shape his public acts is clear from the moderation of his conduct now that Maryland was, in a measure, in his power. It was fortunate for both colonies that the conduct of affairs was entrusted to two such men as he and Bennett, for the latter, as Governor of Virginia, seems never, for his part, to have remembered that under Sir William Berkeley he had been compelled to escape persecution by flight.

¹ MS. notes upon Clayborne, collated in England by Mr. C. J. Hubbard of Portsmouth, N. H. — *English State Papers*.

The commission from Parliament empowered them to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake," and there is nothing in all the negotiations to which the subsequent troubles gave rise to suggest that this commission was not meant to embrace Maryland. The commissioners assumed that it did, and after the submission of Jamestown they sailed on board the *Guinea* for Saint Mary's, the capital of Maryland, and demanded of Governor Stone (the successor of that Thomas Green whom Leonard Calvert had appointed on his death-bed),¹ an oath of conformity to the laws of the Commonwealth. If this were given, they declared, they would not interfere in any way with the government of the Lord Proprietary or disturb his officers. This, at first, Stone refused, and the Commissioners deposed him and his council, and appointed a provisional council in their place. But on a subsequent visit of the Commissioners the Maryland governor reviewed his former decision, and was restored to office on condition that he should issue his writs and other official papers "in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament," while he was still "to reserve and save to himself" his oath to Lord Baltimore as proprietor of the province, till "the pleasure of the state of England be further known."

It would have been impossible for the Commissioners to be more moderate and considerate, and to have obeyed at the same time, in any degree, the instructions, as they understood them, of Parliament. Indeed, the advantage was on Stone's side, so far at least as to gain time, for he held in reservation the right of Lord Baltimore. The expedient, as might have been foreseen, led in due season to inevitable trouble.

Before those troubles came, however, one act of tardy justice was done. At the first sitting of the court after the return of Stone to his office of governor, a commission was appointed — consisting entirely of residents of Maryland with the exception of Governor Bennett of Virginia—to conclude a treaty of peace with the tribe of Susquehannocks. Its first article conveyed to the English the country from the Patuxent to the Susquehanna, on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, and from the Choptank to the Elke on the east side, with the islands, rivers, creeks, etc., etc., "and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island which belong to Captain Clayborne." The acknowledgment may have been an act of political expediency, but it was none the less one of simple justice.

There were grievances and differences enough still remaining. Lord Baltimore, when tidings of events in Maryland reached him, appeared

¹ Vol. i., p. 514.

by petition, in August, 1652, before the Long Parliament, setting forth his claims to the colony and asking for redress.¹ From that body he obtained little consideration, though he urged on his own behalf that while Virginia had adhered faithfully to the king, Maryland, like New England, had not declared against the Parliament. Humble as this submission was from one who had been so devoted a friend to the late king, it availed nothing; for nearly eighteen months later (January, 1654) the Governor and Assembly of Virginia are advised by the Council of State that the Lord Protector, to whom, with successive parliaments, the government of the Commonwealth was now intrusted, had taken upon himself the settlement of the differences between Lord Baltimore and the Virginians.²

It may be that the hope of redress either from Parliament or Cromwell, induced Lord Baltimore to submit, for a while, to the compromise which Stone had made with the Parliamentary Commissioners. As late as November, 1653, the Governor of Maryland gives as the reason for not holding a general court that it was requisite that "some directions out of England touching the government here," should be

received before there could be anything for a general court to do;³ and, he says, there had been no arrival of English ships.

Instructions from the proprietary were on the way. Satisfied, no doubt, that however much he might abase himself he could gain nothing of the Long Parliament, nor of Cromwell himself, when he had dispersed that body and assembled its successor, Baltimore wrote to Stone, reproaching him for submitting to the Commissioners, accusing him of cowardice, ordering him to restore the proprietary government, to issue all public papers in the name of the lord proprietor, and to demand the oath of fidelity to him from the land-holders of the province. In January, 1654, Stone issued a decree in accordance with these instructions.

Lord Baltimore protests.



Oliver Cromwell.

Fresh instructions from Lord Baltimore.

¹ Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 338.

² Sainsbury's *Calendar*, p. 412.

³ Bozman's *History of Maryland*.

The unhappy Governor found it hard to serve two masters. Not many weeks after he had thus reversed the order of affairs in obedience to Baltimore, tidings arrived of the dispersion by Cromwell of his second Parliament. Thereupon Stone issued, early in May, another proclamation acknowledging Cromwell as "the lord protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," and declaring the government of Maryland under the lord proprietary to be therefore "subordinate unto and dependent upon" that commonwealth. In commemoration of this solemn event he proclaimed a general pardon for all offences committed in the province with certain exceptions. But these exceptions he declared, before the month had expired, were — beside murder, treason, and unsatisfied forfeitures — "rebellion, conspiracy, combination, or endeavour used at any time heretofore by any person against the lord proprietary's right and dominion over this province."

Such a declaration could only have been meant to be a defiance of Bennett and Clayborne, the Parliamentary Commissioners. That there should be no doubt, however, on this point, Stone issued, a few weeks later, another proclamation relating to affairs in Calvert County, — where, by Lord Baltimore's express order, he had removed the Puritan sheriff from office, — in which he charged the Commissioners with leading the people into "faction, sedition, and rebellion" against the lord proprietor.

Bennett and Clayborne, however, were not men to be frightened by proclamations. They in their turn issued a manifesto, and by authority of commands which, they declared, they had "lately received" from Cromwell, brushed away with little ceremony all that Stone had lately done on behalf of the proprietary government, removed the Catholic officers, and appointed a board of commissioners to govern Maryland in the name of the Protector.¹ Stone yielded without resistance, though not without some "opprobrious and uncivil language," and resigned his office.

Under the new Commissioners there followed some months of undisputed Puritan rule, and of that peace which Puritans so often secured by tolerating no religious faith but their own. Lord Baltimore again protested, however, when the tidings reached England, against this infringement of his rights, again reproached Stone with faithlessness and cowardice, and sent an agent to the colony to make this protest and these reproaches the more emphatic. Stone, yielding as usual to the influence last brought to bear upon him, resolved upon another revolution.

In January, 1655, he issued military commissions and rallied his

¹ Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, p. 121.

forces. The Commissioners had removed the archives from St. Mary's to their new capital, the house of a Mr. Preston on the Patuxent. Stone's first object was to recover and bring them back. At Preston's house there was deposited a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, which Stone also seized. It is said¹ that he issued at the same time a proclamation to persuade the people of Patuxent and of Providence — now Annapolis — that in restoring the proprietary government he had no unfriendly purpose toward them, who were Puritans. He, nevertheless, searched other houses than Mr. Preston's for arms and ammunition, and when the Commissioners sent messengers to ask the meaning of his acts he threw them into prison.

Military
preparations
by Governor
Stone



Stone at Preston's House.

His force in March had reached the number of about two hundred men, and then he abandoned all pretence of a peaceful return to power.

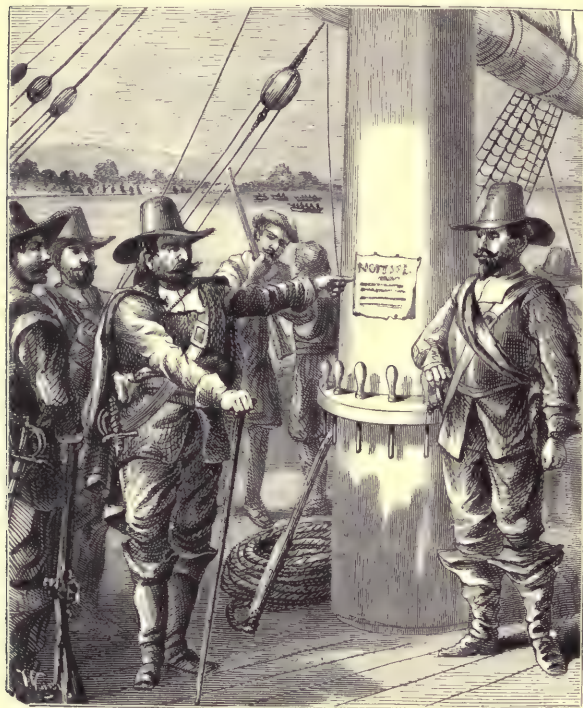
He resolved to compel the Puritans of Anne Arundel County by arms to submit to his government, and to that end embarked his men on board twelve boats to go up Chesapeake Bay to the Severn opposite Kent Island. It was in this neighborhood that the Puritan settlements had chiefly been made, as those of the Catholics were about St. Mary's.

The fleet of boats was met on its way up the Bay by messengers who protested against this hostile approach, and declared, if no terms of settlement could be agreed upon, that those who sent them were ready to "die like men rather than live like slaves." Stone seized these men and their boat, but a part of them escaped

Expedition
up the Bay.

¹ Bozman.

and returned to report the character of the expedition. Somewhere on the Bay he chased and fired into a New England vessel.¹ At Herring Creek he captured one of the Commissioners and detained him as a prisoner. From this point or near it he sent forward one



Posting the Notice on the "Golden Lion."

Dr. Barber and a Mr. Coursey, to demand the surrender of the Puritans and to publish a proclamation to the people of Anne Arundel County, declaring that he came with no hostile intent, but that he sought to reclaim them by fair means only.² Nevertheless the fleet proceeded, and on the 24th of March, twelve days after its departure from St. Mary's, anchored at the mouth of the Severn.

In the Severn lay a large merchant-

ship, the *Golden Lion*, and on her mainmast, William Durand, the Puritan secretary of the Colony, had affixed an official order requiring her commander in the name of the Protector to aid in the defence of the people against the approach of Stone. A shot from the ship met the advancing fleet as they came into the outer harbor, and another fell among the boats as Stone ordered his men to land on Horn Point, a part of the present city of Annapolis, between the Severn and a creek which is the southern boundary of the peninsula. Stone took his vessels further up the

The battle
on the
Severn.

¹ Papers relating to Maryland in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v.

² Barber's letter to Cromwell in Bozman. Neill's *Terra Mariæ* and *English Colonization in America*. McSherry's *History of Maryland*. There are incongruities in the different narratives which it is difficult to reconcile. It is said that Barber was promised the governorship, if Stone did not obey the orders of Baltimore, while on the other hand he is represented as being a friend of Cromwell, as having been attached to his family, and serving in the Parliament army. Apparently his sympathies were with Stone.

creek, and landing his men marched inland, probably out of reach of the guns of the *Golden Lion*, whose captain, Heamans, returned a defiant answer to Stone's remonstrance.

The invading party were elate and confident, making their landing "with drums and shoutings," calling out for the "Round-head dogs and rogues," threatening them with "whole bagfuls of chewed Bullets rolled in powder," and crying "The Devil take him that spares any."¹ But Stone had blundered. In the course of the night the *Golden Lion*, with several smaller vessels, had sailed up the creek, and when day broke they opened fire across the point upon Stone's force and compelled them to march still further up the peninsula.

But when they had put themselves out of the reach of this attack in the rear, they suddenly found themselves confronted by a hundred and twenty men, who had marched out from Providence to intercept their advance. Retreat was useless, even if it were possible in the face of the fire from the ships, for one John Cutts, in a small New England vessel, had taken possession of all their boats and the provision and ammunition left on board.² The enemy confronting them on land was under the command of Captain Fuller, the head of the board of Puritan commissioners. He ordered his men, it is said, not to strike the first blow.³ But the first blow had been struck already when Captain Heamans of the *Golden Lion* had fired upon Stone's men and killed one of them. There seemed nothing else to do but fight or surrender. Should they lay down their arms before a force they outnumbered? At least they were not cowards.

With the cry of "Hey, for St. Mary's!" they rushed on the enemy. The Puritans met blow for blow, and cry for cry, shouting "In the name of God fall on! God is our strength!" The battle was furious while it lasted, but it did not last long. The Puritans were always good fighters; religious zeal was stronger than numbers. They were inspired with a belief in "the glorious presence of the Lord of hosts, manifested in and towards his poor oppressed people."⁴ Against men so inspirited the Catholics "could not endure, but gave back." Fifty were slain and wounded; four or five only escaped by flight; the rest were taken prisoners, and the whole field "was strewed with Papist beads." On the other side two only were killed in the fight, and two died afterwards from their wounds.

This success was followed up with more vigor than mercy. A

¹ *Virginia and Maryland* in Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

² *Leah and Rachel*. Force's Tracts, vol. iii.

³ *Babylon's Fall in America*, the fullest narrative of these occurrences. It was written by Leonard Strong, who was one of Fuller's associates on the Board of Commissioners, and meant to tell the best story possible for his own side.

⁴ *Ibid.*

court-martial was speedily summoned, and four of the leaders, one of them a councillor, were sentenced to death, and so also was Stone.¹ The four were executed, but Stone's life was spared at the intercession of some who had fought against him. The lives of the rest of his councillors were saved by the petitions of the women and some other friends.²

The battle was fought, the Catholics were deposed, and Puritan government firmly established in Maryland, before a letter was re-



The Battle at the Mouth of the Severn.

ceived from Cromwell, which, had it come sooner, might have prevented these events. The Protector, moved by the entreaties and representations of Lord Baltimore, had written in January to Governor Bennett of Virginia, forbidding any intercourse with the affairs of Maryland till all questions in regard to the boundaries between Virginia and Maryland had been settled in England. "We . . . will and require you," said the latter, "to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his officers, or people in

Letter of
Cromwell to
Governor
Bennett.

¹ *Leah and Rachel.*

² Letter of Mrs. Stone to Lord Baltimore in Neill's *Terra Mariae*, p. 124.

Maryland, and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you.”¹

Though the question of boundaries was the point specially referred to, it might be doubted whether the Commissioners had not been ignorantly acting against the wishes of the Protector. It was, no doubt, to justify himself, and to explain the condition of affairs to the Protector, that Governor Bennett went to England, soon after the fight on the Severn, as agent for Virginia with Captain Mathews. The exigency was quite serious enough for a personal explanation. English subjects had been killed in battle; officers appointed under Lord Baltimore's patent had been ignominiously hanged; the proprietary government of Maryland had been completely subverted; and all the while a letter from the Lord Protector was on its way which perhaps was intended to forbid any interference whatever in the affairs of that colony. The turbulence of the times, indeed, might make such things seem comparatively of little moment; but disobedience to the orders of one who had never brooked opposition to his will might well excite the gravest apprehensions. It was for this reason, no doubt, that the Council of Virginia made haste, after the departure of Bennett, to disavow all responsibility for what had been done in Maryland.

Bennett, nevertheless, was so far successful in his mission that Cromwell wrote in September another letter, explaining that of the previous January. It was intended only, he said, “to prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the plantations of Virginia or Maryland from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds,” but did not mean to intimate that a stop should be “put to the proceedings of those commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government of Maryland.” That the Commissioners had not exceeded the power entrusted to them to reduce “all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake” to obedience to the Commonwealth of England seems conclusively settled by this letter.

But the civil government of Maryland was not settled, notwithstanding the success of one party and the defeat of the other, for a doubt still prevailed for a time as to the right of either. While Bennett and Mathews were pleading their case before the Protector, Baltimore sent out to Josias Fendall a commission as his deputy governor. Fendall had been in the fight on the Severn, under Stone, and the commission found him just released from prison, even if he was not still within the walls of a jail. He made good use of his lib-

¹ This letter, which Bozman thought was lost, has been recovered, and is published by Campbell.

erty, however, when he gained it, and attempted, with more or less success, to establish the authority of the proprietor, with the assistance of Philip Calvert, an illegitimate son, it is said, of the first Lord Baltimore, as secretary. On the other hand, Captain Fuller, on the part of the Commissioners, asserted their jurisdiction, called a meeting of the General Assembly, enacted laws, and assumed the control of the affairs of the colony in the name of the Protector. The Puritans on the Severn and the Patuxent recognized and obeyed one government; the Catholics about St. Mary's recognized and obeyed the other.

Meanwhile the questions at issue were under consideration and debate in England. Cromwell referred them to the Council of State, and the Council of State handed them over to the Commissioners of Trade. It was two years before any conclusion was reached; but in

Settlement
of disputes
between
Virginia and
Maryland.

November, 1657, an agreement was entered into, in England, between Lord Baltimore and the agents, Bennett and Mathews. This, in March following, was first modified and then ratified in Maryland by Fendall on the one side, and Fuller and his council on the other, and the leading men among both Catholics and Puritans, as the representatives of the people at large. It was provided that all past offences be condoned; that there never should be, with the assent of Lord Baltimore, any interference with the liberty of conscience; that from those then resident in the colony no oath of fidelity to his lordship should be required, but simply a promise of submission to his authority, which was again paramount as Lord Proprietor; that land warrants should be granted, and acts of past assemblies held to be legal, without regard to the differences and disturbances of recent years.

When Bennett resigned the office of Governor of Virginia, in 1655, to take that of agent in England, Edward Digges, who was also a member of the Parliamentary party, was chosen by the Assembly to take his place. He remained in office, however, only a year, when he also went to England as agent, where his influence proved to be potent in bringing about the final settlement of affairs in Maryland. Mathews succeeded him as governor, and continued in that office, it is supposed, till his death, in 1659, though he seems to have been in England in 1657, when his signature appears to the agreement between Lord Baltimore and the Virginia agents.

Edward
Digges
chosen gov-
ernor of Vir-
ginia.

Succeeded
by Mathews.

For an interval of several years the colony has no history except in the quiet enactment of laws which show, in their aim at regulating the ordinary conduct of the citizens, that no great affairs of state engaged their attention. Thus the keeping of the Sabbath was enjoined by law; a penalty was pronounced upon those

Legislative
acts.

who invented or spread untruthful reports ; attorneys at law were expelled from the courts and prohibited from taking fees ; the weight and dimensions of a hogshead of tobacco were limited by statute, and an export duty upon that staple levied when in foreign bottoms or shipped to foreign ports ; the food, the clothing, and the good treatment of servants were cared for ; servitude as a legal penalty was abolished ; the right of suffrage was secured to all who paid taxes ; the Indians were protected in the possession of their lands, and the kidnapping of their children was prohibited.¹ Such legislation marked a period of tranquillity and progress.

Puritanism, which had never made any very deep impression in Virginia, gradually lost its influence and control after the death of Cromwell. A cause that was declining in its strong-
Decline of Puritanism.
 hold at home, could hardly gain in the colony where it had little strength of its own. During the year in which England was preparing itself for the restoration of the King by putting aside the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, the assembling and dispersion of the old House of Commons and the election of a new one, and the march of Monk from Edinburgh to London, Virginia was without a governor. From the death of Mathews, in the spring of 1659, till the spring of 1660, the people awaited events at home.

In March the General Assembly, after declaring that as the state in England had no acknowledged head, and that the government of the colony vested in itself, elected Sir William
Sir William Berkeley recalled.
 Berkeley governor, afterward confirmed by a commission from the King. Though this was in some sense a triumph of his party, the address of the old royalist was cautious and conciliatory. "I do, therefore," he said, "in the presence of God and you, make this safe protestation for us all, — that if any supreme settled power appears, I will immediately lay down my commission, but will live most submissively obedient to any power God shall set over me, as the experience of eight years has shewed I have done." He candidly confessed that he had unwillingly surrendered to the Parliament, — "God pardon me !" he said, as he recalled it, — and that he "would not voluntarily have made choice" of those who had been set over him "for his supremes ;" but he wished to make "this truth apparent," that he had lived like a good citizen "under all these mutable governments of divers natures and constitutions." That he would not have held office under the Commonwealth, and would not now if it continued, was the tenor of his speech ; but he left his hearers to infer the unexpressed hope, which doubtless a considerable majority of them shared, that the house of his "ever honored master" would

¹ Hening's *Statutes*, *passim*.

soon regain the throne. Two months later this wish was fulfilled, and the news of the restoration of the King was welcomed generally in Virginia, as it was received with joy by the Governor himself.

When the new commission was sent by Charles II. to Sir William Berkeley, the faithful cavalier in reply sent a delighted letter, Address to Charles II. saying that he had only held office during the interregnum, as one who had leaped "over the fold to save your Majesty's flock, when your Majesty's enemies of that fold had barred up the lawful entrance into it and enclosed the wolves of schism and rebellion." The Assembly also voted an address to Charles; and referred in bitter terms to the Commonwealth that had governed them so well, as "that



Berkeley's Address to the Assembly.

execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles the First of ever blessed and glorious memory" — a memory that should now be kept alive in the colony, as they decreed, by an annual fast upon the thirtieth of January, the anniversary of his execution. Perhaps the Puritans of the Assembly were reconciled to these proceedings by the personal consideration that was otherwise accorded them. Bennett, the late Puritan Governor, was first named in the Council of State, and Clayborne, who had been secretary under Bennett, Digges, and Mathews, was continued in that office by Berkeley.

A considerable change in the character of the government of the colony was, however, soon made apparent. The new Assembly of 1661, which was almost exclusively royalist, empowered the Governor and Council to levy taxes for three years, dispensing, thereby, with the necessity of calling the House together oftener, except in case of some unusual emergency. At the same session the right of prorogation was granted, and as a consequence there was for the next fifteen years no popular election. Hitherto, the representatives had been paid by the counties that elected them; but the Assembly, which had provided for its own permanence, fixed also the rate of remuneration of its members at about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a day, or about nine dollars. The salary of the Governor, which was in the same tobacco currency, was not less exorbitant according to the money value of the time, and was equal to the whole annual expenditure of the colony of Connecticut.¹ The virtual monopoly of the trade with the Indians was also given him by prohibiting any traffic in furs except under his commission. The colonial laws generally, were from time to time revised, and on the third revision in 1662, under the direction of Francis Morrison and Henry Randolph, it was ordered that all those which "might keep in memory our forced deviation from his Majesty's obedience" should be erased from the statutes. The laws relating to the Indians, however, aimed more than any laws had hitherto done to secure their well-being. Encroachment upon, or even purchase of their lands was forbidden. None were to be sold as slaves, though they could be indented as servants for a limited period, as the English themselves were; and while they were generally to be responsible to the law, they were to be under its protection.²

Character of
the new gov.
ernment.

Legislation upon the slavery of the blacks had no such humane purpose. The common law of England, that the children of mixed parentage should follow the condition of the father, was reversed and the maxim of the Roman law adopted, that the children should be bond or free according to the condition of the mother—*partus sequitur ventrem*. All of mixed blood, therefore, — and the hybrid race began to be manifest from the first introduction of African women — were born slaves for life. If there were any exception, it was in the case of the offspring of free white women and slave fathers, and that may seem in our time too improbable to be noticed. But it should be considered that the antipathy to the African, — no deeper naturally than that which always exists between different races — has been intensified by two centuries of servitude. It exercised but little influence two hundred years ago, when whites

Laws relat-
ing to negro
slaves.

¹ Bancroft.

² Hening's *Statutes*.

as well as blacks were slaves in Virginia, and where the larger proportion of these white slaves were from the lowest dregs of English society, — from the gutters, the jails, and the brothels, — and were hardly more than half civilized. That the women of this large class of the population should intermarry with negroes was not merely possible; it was common enough to become in Maryland the subject of legislation. It was provided in that colony, in 1663, that any free-born English woman who should marry a slave should serve his master during the life of her husband, and that all her issue should be “slaves as their fathers were.”¹

The spirit, if not the letter of the law, however, in regard to black mothers, was undoubtedly the same then in the two colonies as it was in later times in all the slave-holding portion of the country. Servitude was the penalty for any admixture of African blood on the mother's side. Literally the sins of the fathers were heavily visited upon the children, while it soon ceased to be a question whether there could be any serious immorality in a relation which legislators were careful, without condemning, to turn into a source of so much worldly wealth.

By the revised code it was provided that the Church of England be the established church of the colony. But there was at the same time some pretence of toleration. It was declared that no man was to be “molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, so he be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoying it;” yet the oaths of obedience and supremacy — those parts of which relating to the establishment the Puritans could not conscientiously take — were exacted, and the non-conformist was not permitted to teach even in private.² In 1662 a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon all “schismatical persons” who, “out of their averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions,” refused to have their children baptized; and those attending meetings of Separatists were heavily fined for the first and second offence, and banished on its repetition a third time. Such penalties had long been enforced against the Friends, whose presence in Virginia had been no more tolerable to the Puritans than it was now to the Established Church. Many of these persecuted people were driven into North Carolina, for the laws were enforced against them with much more severity than against any other class of dissenters.

Much uneasiness and alarm was aroused when the news arrived

¹ *A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States in the United States.* By George M. Stroud, 1827.

² Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church.*

that the first Parliament of the restored king had made the Navigation Act more than ever obnoxious to the interests of the colonies, and that it was to be rigidly enforced. This was a grievance about which Royalist and Puritan were of one mind. Sir William Berkeley went to England in May, 1661, to represent how seriously the prosperity of the colony was hindered by the enforcement of such a law against its trade. He remained in England more than a year, Francis Morrison acting as governor in his absence; but his mission, so far as the Navigation Act was concerned, was fruitless, though he was more fortunate in the advancement of his own interests, for he obtained a grant for himself and others of that part of Virginia territory afterward known as North Carolina.

The Navigation Act.



Tobacco Ships in the James.

The interests of the colony, nevertheless, were stronger than acts of Parliament, for its prosperity depended largely upon free trade in the one great staple, tobacco. Even without interference from Parliament, there was enough to contend with, for the supply of that staple usually exceeded the demand. To regulate its production—to force by penalties the raising of more corn and less tobacco—was from the beginning of these settlements the constant aim of legislation in Virginia and Maryland; but the attempt to set aside the natural law of political economy by statute was as futile here as the attempt to prevent the trade to foreign ports when the tobacco was ready for shipment. Equally futile was it to expect

Trade in and cultivation of tobacco.

to create by legislative act towns into which the people should gather. The people were planters, and, with their servants and slaves, were scattered on the great plantations along the banks of the James and other rivers. The planters with these large grants of land were comparatively few; the slaves and servants many. To live in towns and to be supported by diversified industry was impossible to such a people, for slaves can be devoted only to unskilled labor. To raise tobacco, therefore, to be shipped directly from the river-bank — usually the water-front of the plantation — was the chief employment and support of the colonial planters, and it was equally difficult to limit production by local laws or to confine the foreign trade to an English channel.

The last especially, it was found impossible to do, so long as the Dutch Colony of New Netherland offered every facility for a contraband commerce which English law could not reach, and in which both English and Dutch vessels could so easily engage. The grant to the Duke of York of the territory of the Dutch was not merely a royal gift to the brother of the King. It was meant to add to the revenues of the King himself, by making it possible to enforce the Navigation Act, and to control the tobacco trade of Virginia. That the Dutch province on the Hudson should belong to the English was sure in the end, whatever might be the ulterior purposes of Charles, to be a benefit to New England. To the people of Virginia, it was of no territorial advantage, but a direct interference with their freedom of trade and an immediate injury to their prosperity. It was the inevitable antagonism of free and slave labor.

The severity of the laws in the early years of the restored royal government, and perhaps, the evident intent of the colonial Assembly to grasp at irresponsible power, caused much discontent among the people. In 1663, after the return of Berkeley from England, a plot was discovered to overthrow the government. But as it seems to have been confined to some of Cromwell's soldiers who had been sent out and sold as servants — a disposition of prisoners to which both parties resorted — it had its origin, probably, in a general political and religious discontent, rather than in any special complaint of particular laws. It was suppressed, however, without much difficulty, though it was thought to be serious enough to warrant the execution by hanging of four of the ring-leaders, and for setting apart the 13th of September, the day fixed for the insurrection, as a day of annual thanksgiving.

Northern
and Southern
interests.

A plot discovered
among
Cromwellian
soldiers.



Governor's Island and the Battery.

CHAPTER X.

THE LATTER YEARS OF NEW NETHERLAND.

NEW AMSTERDAM INVADIED BY INDIANS. — DESTRUCTION OF PAVONIA. — MASSACRE AND DEVASTATION ELSEWHERE. — JUDICIOUS POLICY OF THE DIRECTOR. — CONTRAST IN FRENCH AND DUTCH TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES. — THE RESULT. — THE ESOPUS WAR. — STUYVESANT'S DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH RELIGIOUS UNIFORMITY. — PERSECUTION OF THE LUTHERANS AND QUAKERS. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE DUTCH TO RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. — STUYVESANT REBUKED BY THE AMSTERDAM CHAMBER. — CRUEL PUNISHMENT OF A QUAKER. — BANISHMENT OF JOHN BOWNE AND HIS TRIUMPHANT RETURN FROM HOLLAND. — GROWTH OF NEW NETHERLAND.

A MORE prudent ruler than Stuyvesant would have hesitated to take between six or seven hundred men from New Amsterdam, even for so important a purpose as the reduction of New Sweden. However confident he might feel that the New Englanders would be faithful to the terms of the recent treaty of peace, he would have known how little reliance could be placed upon any promise of friendship from the Indians. It needed only the smallest pretext at any time to arouse the savages, eager for plunder and thirsty for blood, to carry desolation and death into the villages and farms of the whites; and the more certain they were that their victims would be defenceless, the shriller would be their war-cry and the louder their boasts of their own prowess and bravery. When Stuyvesant sailed for the South River with so large

a proportion of the fighting men of New Netherland, it does not seem to have occurred to him how imminent a danger he left behind.

While he was busy before Fort Christina, New Amsterdam was aroused one September morning to find its streets swarming with nearly two thousand naked warriors, gathered of several tribes from far up the North River, from the extremity of Long Island, and from the mainland of Connecticut. All day they roamed through the town, breaking into houses on the pretence of seeking for northern Indians, and hinting at redress for the death of a squaw whom Van Dyck, the late Attorney-general, had shot at his farm on Staten Island, for stealing fruit from his garden. Persuasion was wiser than resistance against so large a body, many of whom were well armed, and the frightened burghers with their wives and children submitted for hours to insolence and outrage they did not dare, or thought it more prudent not to resist.

The invaders agreed at last to leave the town at sunset, to paddle over to Nutten (Governor's) Island, and there await the result of a conference to be held between their chiefs and the magistrates. But a conflict could only be delayed, not avoided, even if the savages meant anything more by their promise than to gain time for the advantage of confusion in a night attack. Either the Indians grew bolder or the Dutch less prudent, for a fight was begun by one side or the other, and there was an end then of all talk of peaceful negotiation.

Van Dyck was brought down with an arrow in the breast ; Captain Van der Grist was cloven to the ground with an axe. Shouts of alarm and cries of murder rung through the streets, and the timid and the feeble ran to put themselves under the protection of the stronger and bolder, or to hide themselves in some place of safety. The military, who had been prudently ordered to the fort to be ready for an emergency, marched to the rescue of the citizens. An organized attack was too much for the savages ; they were driven to their canoes, but their defence was so desperate that they left three dead warriors upon the beach. In the assault, two of the Dutch were killed and three others wounded. Mobs are dispersed now with results quite as serious ; it was a respectable Indian fight in the seventeenth century that counted even less than half a dozen dead.

The fleet of canoes pulled out into the stream. They did not go to Nutten Island, and were lost to sight in the darkness, though over the water came out of the night their yells of vengeance and defiance. The people of New Amsterdam, relieved from the terrible fear of an immediate massacre, watched anxiously along the shore, straining their eyes and ears to catch any sign of the purpose of the enemy. They had not long to wait.

Over Pavonia and Hoboken sprung a sudden light. Along the beach of Manhattan Island the pitying people gathered, dreading what next the night might bring forth, watching the forked flames as they shot into the reddening sky, listening helplessly for the mingled shrieks of agony and despair, the whoop of savage hate and fury, the crackling of the fire as it leaped from house to house, the moans and cries of terror from maddened beasts. Pavonia in a little while was a heap of burning coals and ashes ; not a house was spared ; save in a single family not a man was left alive ; the cattle were all dead, the crops destroyed ; with a rare mercy only the women and children were spared and carried off as prisoners.



Destruction of Pavonia.

It would be easy to see from the shores of Staten Island, over whose beautiful hills were scattered many pleasant boweries, the burning village of Pavonia. But the cause of the fire may not have been known. When its work was done, the savages, drunk with success and blood, sprung to their canoes and paddled across the Bay straight for the Island. In the farm-houses on the peaceful hill-sides slept ninety people, men, women, and children. The paddles of between sixty and seventy canoes broke the silence of the night ; the alarm was given in time for many to escape ; others were too late or lost their lives in a vain attempt at defence. Twenty-three were killed, and the morning sun rose upon the new silence of death and desolation, upon ruined homes, on desolate hearth-

Raids upon
Staten Isl-
and, and
elsewhere.

stones, on dead cattle lying among the trampled grain, where the night before smiled peace, and plenty, and content.

For three days bands of exultant savages harried the villages and farms about the Bay and along the river. At Gravesend lived a Lady Moody, — an English lady whom religious intolerance had driven out of Massachusetts more than a dozen years before, and to whom Kieft had made a grant of lands for the bravery of her followers in defending themselves against the Indians in the war of that period. Her house was now again attacked, though discrimination usually was made in favor of the English, for it was the Swannekins — the Dutch — who in the other English towns were threatened with massacre; a new settlement at Esopus, on the North River, was so sore beset that its people abandoned all their possessions and fled to New Amsterdam to escape from death; on all Manhattan Island no farm was safe, and their owners sought refuge in the town; consternation and ruin spread with this savage outbreak over all New Netherland; many plantations with their buildings, crops, and cattle were destroyed; three hundred of the people were reduced to want; one hundred were killed; one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners.

A summons was sent to Stuyvesant to hasten back from the South River to the defence of New Netherland. Prompt and energetic in action, though often unwise and rash in judgment, he was always ready to meet an emergency. His very presence inspired confidence in the panic-stricken people. All who had not already sought refuge in the town he ordered to leave their farms till peace could be restored. The citizens were enrolled in a military organization; new defences were added to the fortifications of New Amsterdam; military detachments were sent out to meet and drive off the Indians wherever they appeared most formidable, and effectual measures were taken to meet the additional expense incurred by all these measures.

But when some of the more rash and hot-headed of the colonists urged that war be declared against the tribes who had brought such calamities upon the colony, the Director counselled moderation. He advised that friendly relations be cultivated with the savages, while the settlers should keep nearer together in villages, with a block-house, capable of defence, to fly to in the event of an attack. It was better,

The savages
pacified.

he thought, to subdue the Indians if possible, by kindly treatment, rather than exasperate them by declaring a war of extermination, which the Dutch were not strong enough to bring to a successful issue. So judicious was the course he pursued that in a few months the unfriendly tribes again made promises of lasting peace, and the prisoners taken in the recent raids were all released, though heavy ransoms were paid for them in gunpowder and lead.

At Rensselaerswyck they did not wait for the suggestion of this policy from Stuyvesant, and escaped, therefore, the calamity which fell upon other parts of New Netherland. When the tidings of the atrocities committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam reached the Patroon, his people looked at once to their own safety. By timely gifts and promises they induced the Mohawks to renew the old treaty of amity and peace which for many years had been advantageous to the whole province of New Netherland and profitable especially to themselves. It may have been because theirs was the frontier settlement that the people of Van Rensselaer's manor had always aimed to maintain friendly relations with the powerful tribes who occupied that vast region on the west as yet almost unknown to the white men. But whether the policy was one of choice or of necessity, they determined to keep on good terms with the savages for the sake of trade, and the result justified at least their worldly wisdom.

Where the Dutch had succeeded in gaining and in keeping the good-will of the Indians, the French, with a far higher purpose to the same end, had signally failed. For years the missionaries of the French, sometimes singly, sometimes in companionship, had sought the Iroquois in their remotest villages in friendly contest for their friendship with the Dutch. The desire to bring these benighted heathen within the pale of the church took precedence of any political or commercial aim with the government of Canada. It was not that trade and territorial acquisitions were esteemed by them as of little value; that treaties were not made to secure both; that well-appointed expeditions were not sent out to gain a foot-hold within the territory of the present State of New York; but that it was above all and before all made almost a reason of state that the cross should mark every advancing step of the white man, and that the subjugation of the savages should be the triumph of the Church.

The French
and the
Indians.

But the trader was received as the missionary of peace and good will where the servant of religion provoked only strife. The Five Nations, whose domain was south of the St. Lawrence, extending from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and whose most powerful tribe was the Mohawk,¹ were in almost perpetual hostility with the French of Canada through all the years that New Netherland was a Dutch province. More than one of the gentle and devoted Jesuits died deaths of torture or privation in return for their zeal for the salvation of the souls of their unrelenting enemies. In the little box in which Father Jogues carried the simple furniture for an altar in the wilderness

¹ Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, Coll. Am. Ant. Soc., vol. ii.

the savages believed the "black gown" concealed an Evil Spirit.

Fate of
Father
Jogues.

To save themselves from the dire disasters that would come with its release, they tore the flesh from his arms in strips before they could be merciful enough to end his torments with death.¹

But they were slow to detect the devil in the brandy, the gunpowder, and the lead which the Dutch trader brought, and they welcomed him as a friend.

The trader and his wares the Indians understood; the crucifix and the missal appealed only to their superstitions and their fears. At times the enthusiastic missionaries were persuaded that the light of the gospel had penetrated into the dark recesses of those savage souls. No such pious aspiration disturbed the minds of the dealers in peltries. The Dutch were careful to cultivate the friendship of the Mohawks, to be kind to them in the way of strong waters and fire-arms, and the colony on their borders on the upper Hudson increased in wealth and strength. But the handful of Frenchmen who at length, in 1655, clustered about the bark chapel of the Fathers Chaumo-



*Notre bienheureux Père et
obéissant Séviteur en N.S.*

Isaac Jogues

Portrait and Signature of Father Jogues.

not and Dablon, near the Salt Springs of Onondaga, were glad in less than three years to escape with their lives, leaving all their possessions behind them, while the Indians, who had come to massacre them, lay in a drunken sleep.²

¹ Father Jogues was treacherously murdered, in 1646, by the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley, called thenceforth in the annals of the Jesuits "The Mission of the Martyrs." An interesting sketch of the singularly devoted and romantic life of this Father is given by J. G. Shea in his edition of the *Novum Belgium*, written by Jogues, in 1644. He was the first European, probably, to explore Lake George, which he named Saint Sacrament in commemoration of the festival of *Corpus Christi*, the day on which he reached it. The Indian name was Andiatarocete.

² Le Moyne, a Jesuit Father, discovered the Salt Springs of Onondaga in 1654, and on a visit to New Amsterdam four years later told the Dominie Megapolensis of a spring at the source of a little lake which the Indians did not dare to drink, because, they said, there was a devil at the bottom of it. The Father tasted it and found it as salt as the water of

The conflict between Stuyvesant and the authorities at Rensselaerwyck had little intermission till in the latter years of his administration the supremacy of the company was acknowledged in the payment of a fixed subsidy in wheat by the Patroons. But the Director always had reason to be grateful to them for their steady adherence to that policy which preserved friendly relations with the Five Nations. In 1658 trouble again broke out with the river Indians, which might have been far more disastrous had not the Mohawks remained neutral.



Totem or Tribe-mark of the Five Nations
(from La Hontan).

The Director had persuaded the people of Esopus, when they returned to their farms, after the massacre of three years before, to find mutual protection in a compact village surrounded with defences. The confidence that very precaution gave may, perhaps, have made them careless of provoking the hostility of the savages. A band of these, who had been engaged to assist in the harvest, were fired upon by the villagers, for no greater offence than being noisy and offensive in a drunken revel for which the Dutch themselves had supplied the means. Retaliation followed, and the whites, as usual, suffered in the devastation of their farms and in loss of life.

This Esopus war, as it was called, continued intermittently till 1664, and might have been ruinous to the settlements along the banks of the Hudson had not the Mohawks been persuaded to continue faithful to the peaceful and friendly relations which had been so long maintained. Even without the aid of that tribe the Esopus Indians were a formidable enemy. In the course of the war some of those who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch were sent to the plantations of Curaçoa as slaves. The wrong was one not to be forgotten nor forgiven. In June, 1663, the village of Wiltwyck or Wildwyck — as Esopus was then named — was almost totally destroyed. Although the ostensible cause of this particular attack was the building of a new Ronduit, a little fort, at the neighboring village, — thence known ever since as Rondout, — in every blow that fell from the tomahawks of the savages was the memory of the slaves, their brothers, across the sea.

It was at high noon, while Stuyvesant was conferring, in the open the sea. The Dominie repeated this in a letter to the Classis in Amsterdam, but adding "whether this be true or whether it be a Jesuit lie, I do not determine." — *O'Callaghan*.

fields outside the town, with the chiefs who had agreed to meet him on pretence of making a treaty, that the warriors, scattering themselves through the village apparently in friendly mood, suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting people. The houses were plundered and set on fire; some were killed, and some were seized and carried off as prisoners; men at work in the fields, hurrying in at the sight of the burning houses, to protect their wives and children, were shot down from within their own doorways. When, after a fierce and desperate fight, the savages were driven off, they left behind them a heap of ruins in which were the charred bodies of twenty-one of the murdered villagers, but they carried away more than twice that number of women and children as prisoners. It was, however, the last event of the war; the Indians were vigorously pursued and punished; and in the course of the next few months a treaty was concluded, the last ever made between the Dutch and the Indians.

But notwithstanding these Indian wars and massacres, from which no colony was altogether free, New Netherland slowly grew and prospered. At

New Amsterdam Stuyvesant yielded, when longer resistance was useless, to fresh innovations upon the prerogatives of the Director-general, though none of them took much from his power, or added much to the power of the people. Whatever gain there was to popular government came not through any such well-defined purpose as existed in New England, of deriving the right of governing from the will of the governed; but only that the privileges belonging to citizenship in the fatherland should be preserved in the new home. So far as popular freedom existed in Holland it was to be maintained in the New Netherland; but wherever a limit or a barrier had been set



New Amsterdam in the middle of the Seventeenth Century (from Vischer's Map in Asher's New Netherland).

up at home it was also to be set up in the colony. The burgher government, which was wrested from the unwilling hands of the company, was limited subsequently, by a division of burghers into Great and Small, giving certain exclusive privileges to those who were rich enough to buy admission into the first rank, and denying those privileges to the poor. It was the system of Amsterdam, and was therefore adopted by the colonists, though peculiarly burdensome to the people of a new country; it was not long, however, before it was modified by an experience of its inevitable evils.

But whatever concessions Stuyvesant made to the popular will and to the rights of the people he made upon compulsion, not convincement. It was his most firm conviction that the powers that be are ordained of God. He governed in that belief, and his temper was not one to mitigate the severity of a rule that appealed to such authority. Naturally he was as intolerant of any approach to religious freedom as he was jealous of any encroachment upon the authority and privileges of the company whose viceroy he was. As a rigid and zealous Calvinist he was impatient and scornful of any other doctrinal belief, or any other form of ecclesiastical government. No Boston Puritan could be more positive than he that there was but one road to the Heavenly Kingdom, though he was equally sure that the road the Puritan had chosen was the wrong one.

The policy
of the Di-
rector.

For the Lutherans—the Dutch non-conformists of New Netherland,—the Director had little mercy. Aided by the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, he determined upon their suppression so soon as they asserted their difference of faith.

Persecution
of the Lu-
therans.

The right they asked for, of public worship among themselves, he denied, not only because such worship was not in accordance with that sounder belief and better rule which belonged to the Reformed Church, but also because if the door were once opened to one set of schismatics it would be hard to close it upon others. The Independents of the English towns would be only too glad to avail themselves of a new pretext for insubordination. In religious as in civil affairs there should be, the Director determined, uniformity and obedience to the established order.

The duty of this uniformity and obedience he enforced upon the Lutherans, so soon as they were numerous enough to attract attention, by proclamations. He refused to grant them a meeting-house of their own in New Amsterdam. When the more zealous among them preferred the dictates of their own consciences to the commands of the Director, he punished them by fines and imprisonments. When they sent to Holland for a minister of their own persuasion, he was soon made to see that a proper discharge of his duties was impossible, and he was driven out of the colony.

This policy, however, was the policy of Stuyvesant himself, and his allies, the New Amsterdam clergymen, rather than of the West India Company. In this, as on so many other occasions, the Director-general ran before he was sent. The Amsterdam Directors were governed by that spirit which had made Holland an asylum for all, of whatever faith and whatever country, who were sufferers and exiles for their religious convictions. Stuyvesant was rebuked by his superiors for his want of charity as well as for his want of judgment. There might be, they thought, a "needless preciseness" as to the formulary of baptism, which was the essential point of difference between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and the Directors hinted that the Company would feel constrained to permit the Lutherans to have a church of their own, if the harsh measures toward them should be continued.

That zeal for religion which so absorbed the New Englanders had far less power over the Dutch. Stuyvesant and his clerical advisers were earnest enough and strong enough to prevent the Lutherans from having a place of their own for public worship, so long as New Netherland was a Dutch colony. But the fervor of the Director and the clergymen seems to have had as little support in popular sympathy as it had from the Company's Directors in Holland. The people at large were not much disposed to the rigid method of enforcing uniformity of belief and religious observance in which Stuyvesant was inclined to follow the example of the New England Puritans. This difference between them and their New England neighbors was one of race rather than the result of a more humane disposition or a wider intelligence; but to that difference it was due, no doubt, that there were fewer heretics among them. A novel doctrine loses much of its attractiveness if no penalty is attached to entertaining it, and the preacher of that doctrine is sure to avoid a people among whom he cannot command even attention enough to be controverted.

The outward observances of religious duty could hardly have been of paramount interest among a people who did not build on all Long Island, for the first thirty years of its occupation, a single church, or settle among them a single minister of their own faith. For that long period they were content to depend, for such spiritual comfort and instruction as they required, upon occasional visits to New Amsterdam, or occasional services in the rural districts from her clergymen. Whether such a state of things showed contentment or indifference, in either case it was plain that this was stony ground for the sowing of the seed of new doctrine. It was not so much, probably, that the Director feared the people might be led away from a faith they professed so coldly, as from a sincere

Disapproval
of the Am-
sterdam
Chamber.

Dutch indif-
ference to
novel relig-
ious doc-
trines.

disapproval of what he believed to be error, that he visited heretics with punishment.

The prohibition of public worship, meant at first for the Lutherans only, was extended to others. At Flushing, among the English, in 1656, were a few Anabaptists. A poor shoemaker, from Rhode Island, one William Wickendam, felt himself called upon to expound the Word, and to give new baptism to his disciples in the river. William Hallett, the sheriff, permitted his house to be used for the conventicles of these people, where Wickendam preached and administered the sacraments. Stuyvesant commanded that the ordinance be enforced against them, and both the sheriff and the shoemaker were fined and banished, though Wickendam, because of his poverty, was permitted to go without payment of the fine.



Quaker Women preaching in New Amsterdam.

The next year a ship arrived at New Amsterdam, having on board several of the "cursed sect of heretics" — as they were called in the Massachusetts statute — of Quakers. Some of this company had been banished from Boston the year before, and were now on their way to Rhode Island, "where all kinds of scum dwell," wrote the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, "for it is nothing else than a sink of New England."¹ Among them were two women, whose names, "after the flesh," as they said, were Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead. Both were of that number who, the autumn before, had been first imprisoned in Boston, and then compelled to reëmbark for Barbadoes; both, no doubt, had listened with stern approval to Mary Prince, as from the window of the Boston jail she bore her testimony against Governor Endicott, as he passed by in the street, crying unto

The Quakers
in New
Netherland.

¹ Letter to the Classis in Holland, cited by Brodhead.

him, "Woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor"¹ When they landed at New Amsterdam they emulated the example of that zealous woman. They asked neither for a place of public worship nor for permission to preach, but going from street to street, through the town, they announced the new doctrine, and declaimed against the steeple-houses, the hireling priesthood, and their pernicious teachings. To many of the gaping, and probably amused crowd of Dutchmen who followed them, they spoke in an unknown tongue, and upon questions which gave them little concern, even if they could have understood the preachers. But the preaching nevertheless was a defiance of authority and law which the Dutch Director was as little disposed as any Puritan governor to brook. The women were seized, and thrown into separate prisons — "miry dungeons" they are called — infested with vermin. After eight days' endurance of this punishment, their hands were tied behind them, and they were sent back to their ship to finish their voyage to Rhode Island.²

With another of the company, Robert Hodgson (or Hodshone), it fared still worse. He proposed to remain in New Netherland, and was welcomed at Heemstede by a few of his own way of thinking, with whom he soon held a meeting. He was arrested and word sent to Stuyvesant, who ordered him to be brought to New Amsterdam. His knife and his Bible, the latter with him the more dangerous weapon, were taken away from him. Tied to the tail of a cart in which rode two young women, one with a baby at her breast, offenders like himself, and under a guard of soldiers, he was driven, pinioned, in the night-time and through the woods, "whereby he was much torn and abused," to the city. On his arrival the gentle Friend was led by a rope, like some dangerous criminal, to the prison, "a filthy place full of vermin."

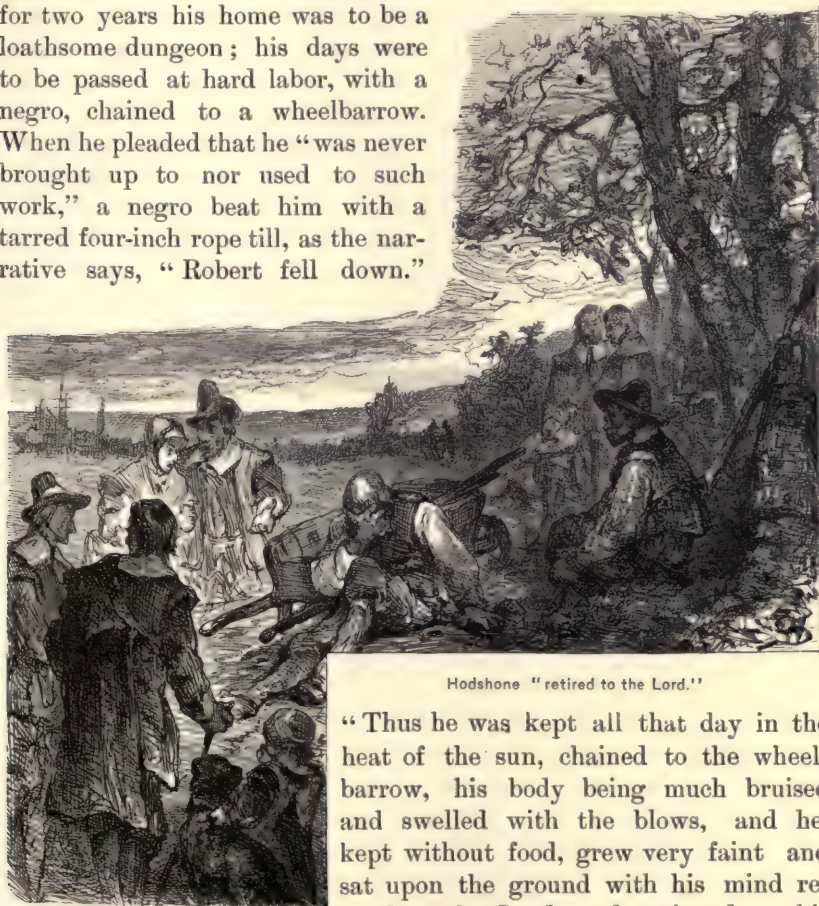
What was done with the young women does not appear, but not being preachers they were probably dismissed without further punishment. Hodshone's principal accuser seems to have been Captain Willett, again apparently an influential adviser of Stuyvesant, though three years before he was appointed to the command, with Standish, of the Plymouth troops in the proposed invasion of New Netherland. He "had much incensed the governor" against the prisoner, it is said, though it is easy to conceive that Stuyvesant's rage would need no prompting in an encounter with one of that sect who feared no wrath but the divine wrath, and respected no authority but the authority of

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*.

² Notwithstanding her sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, Dorothy Waugh went back to Boston, where she and Sarah Gibbons were imprisoned and whipped for speaking in the meeting-house after the lecture.

God. A prisoner who would not even remove his hat in the presence of the court would seem to such a judge as the Director as hardly deserving of other consideration than that hat and head should come off together.

The forms of law were of little moment with an offender of this kind. No defence was permitted him, and his sentence was read to him only in Dutch. Its meaning, however, was not long left in doubt; he was to pay a fine of six hundred guilders; for two years his home was to be a loathsome dungeon; his days were to be passed at hard labor, with a negro, chained to a wheelbarrow. When he pleaded that he "was never brought up to nor used to such work," a negro beat him with a tarred four-inch rope till, as the narrative says, "Robert fell down."



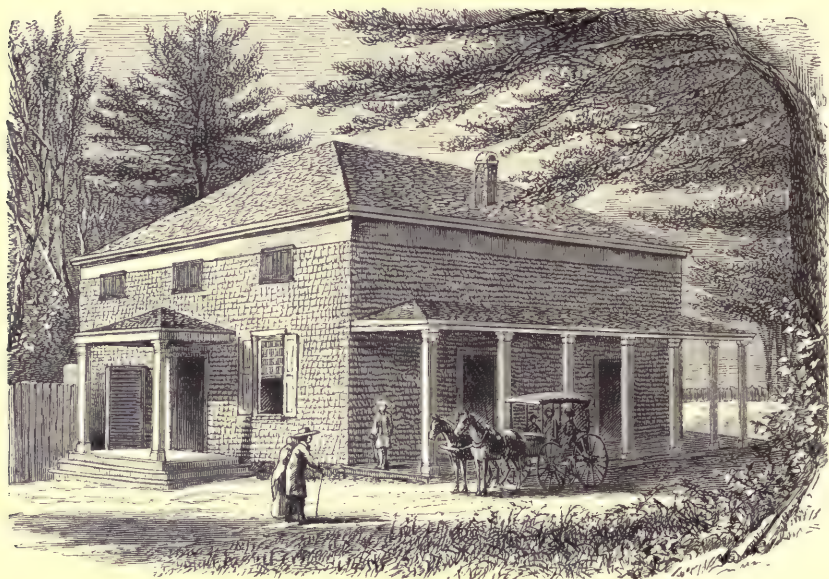
Hodshone "retired to the Lord."

"Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow, his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he, kept without food, grew very faint and sat upon the ground with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his

will, whereby he found himself supported."

So "retired to the Lord," so resigned and so supported, he endured such punishment for three days, — the dungeon at night, the barrow and its chains, the negro and his tarred rope, by day. Again he was taken before the Director, less able than ever to work, as little disposed as ever to submission. "What law have I broken?" he

demanded. He should work, he was told, or be whipped every day. Again he was chained to the barrow and threatened with even worse punishment if he dared to speak to any one. But the threats did not move him; "he did not forbear to speak to some that came to him, so as he thought meet and convenient." The worse punishment followed. Hung up by the hands, his feet tied to a log, his bare back was torn with rods till he became almost insensible to torture. A country-woman was permitted to enter his prison to wash and dress his wounds and nurse him back to life; others interceded with the authorities on his behalf, for many even among the Dutch were moved with pity. Some would gladly have paid his fine, but he refused



Friends' Meeting-house in Flushing.

mercy on such terms, lest it should be construed into an acknowledgment on his part of conscious wrong.

When sentence was first pronounced upon him it was displeasing to many of the Dutch, as "did appear by the shaking of their heads." More scandalous and inhuman it seemed to many of them when, after the cruel and repeated punishment of one whose sole offence was obedience to his own conscience, he was again led out, still chained to his barrow, to labor upon the public highway. Some openly expressed their sympathy, at least for his sufferings if not for the cause for which he suffered. Among those who exerted themselves on his behalf was the widow Anna Bayard, a sister of the Director. She was full of compassion, perhaps of indignation, and at her prayers and expostula-

tions her stern brother relented. Hodshone was released at length, and the fine remitted, but he was banished from the colony.¹

To the interference of the good Mrs. Bayard the Friends owed more, probably, than the release of a single one of their number from the severe treatment of the Director. No others of that sect were subjected to such cruel persecution as had been visited upon Hodshone, though meetings were held, and the obnoxious doctrines preached, at Jamaica, Flushing, Heemstede, and Brooklyn, from the first appearance of Friends in New Netherland. Neither imprisonment, fines, nor an act forbidding all persons to entertain a Quaker for a single night under a penalty of fifty pounds, could abate the zeal or enforce the silence of these people. If no house was open to them, they assembled in the woods for worship after their manner. They were willing to endure whatever should be inflicted upon them, for conscience' sake; but happily after the release of Hodshone, they seemed no more obnoxious to the Director than other dissenters. In 1663, even the comparatively mild persecution of enforcing the law against those who most persistently defied it ceased.

Intercession
of Madam
Bayard.

One John Bowne, of Flushing, had in that year become a convert to the doctrines of Friends and had opened his house for their meetings. There was, perhaps, something more than usually exasperating in the quiet and patient firmness with which the sturdy English farmer endured three months' imprisonment, and refused to pay a fine, for the council ordered that he should be sent out of the province by the first ship ready for sea. He went as a prisoner to Holland, Stuyvesant writing to the Directors in Amsterdam that if others did not take warning by his banishment they would be even more severely dealt with.

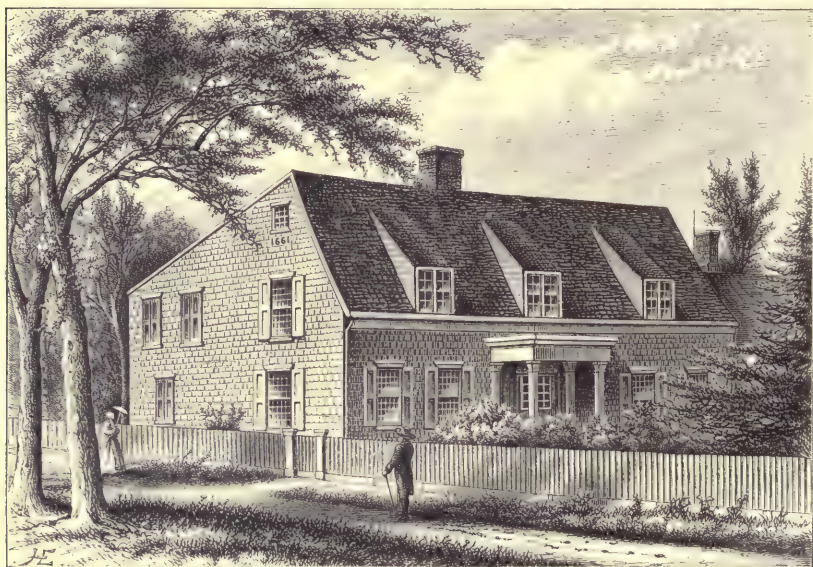
Banishment
of John
Bowne.

Bowne defended himself before the Amsterdam chamber with complete success. So far from approving what Stuyvesant proposed to do, the Directors rebuked him for his previous course. Though they preferred that there should be neither Quakers nor any other dissenters in the colony, they doubted the wisdom of attempting to suppress them by vigorous measures. It was poor policy, they thought, in a commercial colony to repel men by persecution for opinion's sake. "Let every one," they said, "remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." This "maxim of moderation" had been the rule of the magistrates of Amsterdam. "Tread thus in their steps," they exhorted the Director, "and we doubt not you will be blessed." Stuyvesant had the grace to accept this wise

¹ Sewall's *History of the Quakers: An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience*. London, 1733.

and humane counsel. The Friends were not again molested. Bowne returned to New Amsterdam, and, when they met, the Director "seemed ashamed of what he had done."¹

But these religious persecutions had little to do with the material progress of New Netherland. They neither helped nor hindered it, and they were rather individual than national—less the outgrowth of the character of the people than indications only that Stuyvesant was as earnest and passionate on the religious as on other sides of his nature. If the ordinary Dutchman cared little what his neighbors might think or do about the affairs of the life to come, it was because he was not prone to trouble himself very much about affairs of any



Bowne's House.

kind. His temperament led him to live, so long as he lived in this world at all, a quiet, not over-anxious nor over-active life, and to accept without question and without much thought the teachings of established authority. If he was more tolerant than his English neighbor of differences of opinion on sacred as well as civil subjects, more merciful in punishment when punishment seemed to be called for, it was not so much that he was more just, but that he was less susceptible. It came to pass therefore, that his own province of New Netherland was indebted for whatever progress it made very much to the English, whose restless energy, much more than any diplomatic policy, urged them to "keep crowding the Dutch."

¹ *Alb. Rec.*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

It was not till 1661 that any serious efforts were made to extend the border settlement at Fort Orange. In that year the "Great Flat" stretching from the fort to the Mohawk country was conveyed to Arendt Van Curler, one of the earliest settlers of Rensselaerswyck, and the commissary and secretary of the first Patroon. But it was three years later before the first settlement was made upon the tract at Schaenhechtede, now Schenectady.

Gradual
growth of
the colony.

In the same year of this purchase by Van Curler, Melyn finally parted with his manor of Staten Island, the whole of which became the property of the West India Company. A new village — still called New Dorp — soon sprung up a few miles south of the Narrows; grants of land were made in other parts of the island to some of the French Waldenses who were among the earlier emigrants, and to Huguenots from Rochelle, whose descendants have clung tenaciously from generation to generation to the soil which their fathers first cultivated. In 1656, Jamaica — a corruption of the Indian name, Jimeco — was settled by Englishmen, though the Dutch name was given it of Rust-dorp, or Quiet Village. Westchester was reluctantly recognized as Oost-dorp, or East village, for this also was settled by Englishmen, between whom and Stuyvesant there was frequent conflict. One Thomas Pell was the first English purchaser of land within the boundaries of the present Westchester County; the tract he bought of the Indians included the spot where Ann Hutchinson and her family sought a last refuge from Puritan persecution and became the victims of an indiscriminate savage ferocity. New Haerlem was large enough in 1660 to be entitled to a village government. The next year two new towns, New Utrecht and Boswyck — now Bushwick — were incorporated on Long Island, on the south side of the bay; and on the other side, the first municipality in the present State of New Jersey was established at Bergen. Gradually the number of farms was enlarged, and agriculture became a more important element in the industry of the province. Among a people with whom beer was a necessary of life breweries were never wanting; but to those other manufactures had from time to time been added, especially of brick and delft. In 1660 New Amsterdam contained three hundred and fifty houses, which was an increase of two hundred in four years.

It was about this period that the trade in African slaves began to assume some activity. A free trade in slaves was among the privileges which the colonists had long thought the Company should grant them, for only with such laborers was it deemed possible that agriculture could flourish. A promise of aid of this sort had more than once been given, but the number of negroes in the province, till after the middle of the seventeenth century, was probably small. In 1648, an attempt

was made to encourage an exchange of colonial products with Brazil for slaves, apparently with small result. In 1652, permission was granted for direct importation from the African coast; but two ships only seem to have availed themselves of this privilege. It was not, indeed, till two years later that the trade became established, and the slaves after that date were brought chiefly, if not entirely, from Curaçoa, — the principal Dutch depot for this traffic in the West Indies. The importations to New Netherland were chiefly in the interest of the Company, though some share in them was granted to the municipality of New Amsterdam. Those brought on account of the Company were sold on arrival at public auction for beaver-currency, or its equivalent in provisions, with the proviso that they should not be exported from the colony. Stuyvesant was among the few who had the privilege — limited, perhaps, to official persons — of importing slaves for his own use. Director Beck of Curaçoa, writes him in August, 1659, that he had purchased for him two boys and a girl, who, according to the bill of lading, were shipped on the *Spera Mundi*, “all dry and well conditioned, and marked with the annexed mark.” In February of the next year Beck writes again that he hopes soon to send him some “lusty fellows.” Four or five years later, ships counted their living freight by hundreds. Though the Dutch were the first to bring the African slave to this continent,¹ and the trade was thus successfully established in their colony,² slavery was earlier made an important element of their social system by the English in Virginia.

¹ See vol. i., p. 302.

² *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1663; together with additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the Original Manuscripts.* By E. B. O'Callaghan.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH. — THE SOUTH RIVER COLONY. — LORD BALTIMORE'S CLAIM, AND CONTROVERSY WITH MARYLAND. — A NEW PATENT GRANTED TO CONNECTICUT. — DISSATISFACTION OF NEW HAVEN. — OTHER ENGLISH TOWNS ACCEPT THE PROTECTION OF CONNECTICUT. — CONFEDERACY OF LONG ISLAND TOWNS UNDER JOHN SCOTT. — HIS ATTEMPTS TO COERCE THE DUTCH. — NEW NETHERLAND AND PART OF NEW ENGLAND GRANTED TO THE DUKE OF YORK. — THE NICOLLS COMMISSION. — NEW NETHERLAND INVADED. — ITS SURRENDER. — NICOLLS PROCLAIMED GOVERNOR. — CHANGE OF NAMES. — NEW AMSTEL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

THESE later years of Dutch rule in America were anxious years to Stuyvesant. Notwithstanding the growing prosperity of his own province he watched with jealous eyes the encroachments and increasing influence and power of the English, even if he had not actual prevision of their ultimate supremacy over all New Netherland. Massachusetts, who claimed that her patent extended indefinitely westward, proposed to settle a colony on the upper waters of the Hudson, and claimed the right of navigation upon that river to reach her alleged possessions. The right was denied on the ground of priority of discovery, but the claim was none the less a source of anxiety to the Director. By the treaty of Hartford a large proportion of Long Island was ceded to the English, and both there and in Westchester they were pressing hard upon the Dutch, with no very strict observance of boundary lines. "Place no confidence," wrote the Director to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1660, "in the weakness of the English government and its indisposition to interfere in affairs here. New England does not care much about its troubles, and does not want its aid. Her people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours tenfold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts, at this opportunity, without fearing or caring for home interference." Nor was there much in the relations of the mother countries to lead him to hope that in colonial affairs the interests of his colony would be protected. Holland was not left long in doubt as to how much reliance there

Encroachments of the English.

might be upon the acts of the restored king, Charles II., for the fulfilment of the promises of an exiled prince.

On the South River the Director was beset by never-ceasing perplexity and anxiety, relieved by no perspective of general prosperity. No increase of population, no extension of agriculture, no growth of manufacturing industry cheered the company and encouraged to fresh exertions on behalf of that colony. The absence of all healthful energy and enterprise in that portion of New Netherland was due to conditions under which all such energy and enterprise were well-nigh impossible. A wilderness lay between it and the capital of the colony, and none of the advantages which might come from nearness to the seat of power could influence its affairs. It was only the province of a province, governed or misgoverned by the deputy of a deputy, claimed now by one nation, now by another, a bone of contention gnawed by each in turn. Half of the community had almost always been in the wretched position of a subjugated people. The strength and vitality without which the work of the pioneer must be an irremediable failure were paralyzed by contention, dependence, and uncertainty.

Not the least of the difficulties which Stuyvesant had to meet in the management of the affairs of this portion of his government was that which confronted him everywhere in fending off the English. The enterprising New Englanders pitied, no doubt, the distresses and hardships which beset the people on the South River, so far as they came from natural causes. But they were not unmindful, nevertheless, of the good chances for trade which those distresses opened to them. Beeckman, whom the Director-general had appointed as governor of the company's colony, purchased of the Indians the territory south of the Boomtjes (Bombay) Hook to Cape Henlopen, and established at Horekill a trading-post, putting in it a small garrison, near the spot where De Vries and Godyn had planted their colony of Swaanendael a quarter of a century before. This gave to the Dutch a valid claim to the whole river from the capes to the Schuylkill; but the New Englanders gave no heed to the few Dutch soldiers who guarded, or attempted to guard, the passage of the Delaware, and defied the laws which prohibited their trading along its banks. Where ships of all nations now ride safely at anchor off the quaint little village of Lewes, under the lee of the Delaware breakwater, awaiting orders for the great staples of American commerce, or seeking a refuge from the storms outside the capes of Henlopen and May, more than two centuries ago the little vessels of New England lingered for wind and tide with their cargoes of peltries gathered along the shores of the Delaware, and laughed at the handful of Dutch soldiers



on the Horekill, who were powerless to resent this infringement on the territorial and commercial rights of the West India Company.

Trouble from another direction was even more threatening. The rendition of the fugitives to Virginia and Maryland was demanded by Stuyvesant as Director-general, and a contro- Contest with Maryland. versy was provoked which came near producing a quite unlooked-for result. These people who had fled, not only from legal obligations, which they considered unjust and oppressive, but from trials and afflictions which were the natural consequences of their settlement in a new country, must, nevertheless, have represented that country as one worth possessing. The English from the southward began quietly and gradually to encroach upon the Dutch boundaries, and in reply to Stuyvesant's demand that the fugitives should be compelled to return to the jurisdiction from which they had fled, Lord Baltimore renewed his claim, that the whole South River region was included within his patent, the northern boundary of which was the fortieth parallel.

A delegation from Maryland, at the head of which was Colonel Nathaniel Utie, appeared at New Amstel, with a summons from Governor Fendall for the surrender of the province. The official gentlemen had reason enough to be alarmed at such a summons, for there were not more than twenty-five soldiers at their command in the whole province, and two thirds of these were stationed at Horekill; but possibly the people had little share in these apprehensions. Worn out with sickness and sullen with discontent, they were in a state of mind to listen to Utie, whose instructions were to "insinuate unto the people there seated" that they should have "good conditions," and "have protection in their lives, liberties, and estates."¹ Alricks, in his letter to Stuyvesant, on the arrival of the Maryland delegation, says "the citizens are few in number, and unwilling to fight, because, as they say, the city has not kept its conditions, but curtailed them,"² and he reports Utie as saying: "We [that is the Dutch] ought to take hold of this opportunity, as our men had chiefly deserted us, and they who are yet remaining will be of little or no aid; therefore it is our intention to take hold of this occasion, as we will not let it pass by, convinced as we are of your weakness."

There was no hope in resistance, and the Dutch wisely resorted to protracted negotiation, which they carried on with great skill. Alricks and Beeckman replied courteously — much to Stuyvesant's disgust when he heard of it — but firmly to the Maryland envoys, representing that the right of the Dutch to the South River was founded

¹ Proceedings of Council of Maryland; in Hazard's *Annals*, p. 257.

² *Albany Records*, cited by Hazard.

on priority of discovery and occupation; that such "procedures and treatment by Christians and Protestant brethren "appeared" unexpected and strange;" that they were contrary to the peace and harmony existing between the republic of England and the States General; that such a question should be submitted to their respective rulers; and, finally, that they ought to have three weeks to communicate with the Director-general at New Amsterdam. Utie acceded to the latter proposition and returned to Maryland to await the event.

Stuyvesant's anger when he received the tidings from Alricks and Beeckman was more than usually intemperate. "I did see," he says, "with no less regret than surprise . . . the frivolous conclusion of Nathaniel Utie, and your not less frivolous answer, and further proceedings with him on such a frivolous fabricated instructions . . . much more so yet, that you permitted the aforesaid Utie to sow his seditious and mutinous seed among the community, . . . who rather deserved to have been apprehended as a spy and conducted hither, than to have obtained an audience upon such a frivolous fabricated instruction without a commission." There was no limit to the absurdities into which his ungovernable temper would not hurry the Director. He must have known that Utie's instructions were from Governor Fendall of Maryland; that the mission was undertaken by order of Lord Baltimore himself; that there was ample power behind it, — five hundred men, it was soon reported, being ready to move upon the Dutch; and, on the other side, he well knew that the whole force on which Alricks and Beeckman had to rely consisted of five and twenty men, two thirds of whom were at a distance of seventy miles, and that the colony generally, if they did not welcome a change of government, would look upon it with the coolest indifference. But Stuyvesant's anger was not merely absurd; it became outrageous when, to punish the governors of the South River for conduct which under the circumstances was altogether judicious, he insulted them by sending his secretary, Cornelius Van Ruyven, and Captain Martin Kregier, to take charge of affairs.

But, as usual, however unreasonable Stuyvesant was in temper, he was rational in action. On the same day that he so berated his subordinates who received Utie, he wrote to the governor of Maryland, and appointed two commissioners, Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, as bearers of the letter, and with power to enter into negotiation upon the subject of Utie's mission. He was not so blinded by anger as not to see that the only course open to him was precisely that for adopting which he so blamed Alricks and Beeckman. They knew that if the claim presented on behalf of Lord Baltimore could be defeated at all, it could only be by an appeal, not to arms, but to

reason and argument. Stuyvesant knew they were right, and, while he humiliated them with reproaches he justified their conduct by resorting, as they had done, to pretexts for delay and offers of negotiation. Though he made a show of armed defence by sending sixty soldiers to the South River with Captain Kregier, his real reliance was upon his ambassadors, Heermans and Waldron, who were to push on to Maryland, armed only with his letter of remonstrance.

The negotiation with the governor and council of that province was conducted, on the part of the Dutch commissioners, with a good deal of ability and tact. The invasion of the rights of the Company, they contended, was contrary to the law of nations and to treaties existing between England and the States General; that the colony of the city of Amsterdam, which Maryland specially claimed had intruded upon Lord Baltimore's patent, was a colony

Arguments
of the com-
missioners.



The Maryland and New Netherland Ambassadors.

within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, and that the West India Company had planted the colony in the South River region from thirteen to fifteen years before any grant of lands along that coast was made to Lord Baltimore; and while they professed a strong desire to live in peace and amity with their neighbors, they firmly avowed the determination to submit to no wrong.

In the course of the discussion the Baltimore patent was shown to the commissioners, who at once detected and fastened upon that clause which limited the grant to lands "*hactenus inculta*" (hitherto

uncultivated), and inhabited only by the Indians. On this point the Dutch commissioners immediately presented a supplementary declaration, confining themselves to the single argument that the South River region was distinctly excluded from Lord Baltimore's patent by its own terms, inasmuch as when the grant was made that country no longer belonged to the Indians, but had been bought of them by the Dutch, who were in possession of it, and had been for years, at the date of Lord Baltimore's patent.

To this presentation of the case there seems to have been no answer. It was unanswerable, indeed, as between the contending parties, if the assumption of the Dutch was admitted, —that early and long occupation carried with it the title to the country. But one party chose to ignore, and the other did not know or unaccountably forgot, that if by possession something more than mere military tenure was meant, there was still a third nationality whose right was better than any that could be given by royal patent or company's charter.

It perhaps occurred to the Dutch commissioners that the English might make use of the fact that the Swedes had so long maintained jurisdiction over the South River as an argument against the claim of the West India Company; for they allude in their first declaration to the Swedes as "Dutch Swedes," who in common with the Dutch had settled in several places on that river, and when Governor Fendall of Maryland asked what was meant by "Dutch Swedes," the commissioners answered that "they had been partners and associates residing for a time under jurisdiction of the Company, or rather connived at, but who became more insolent, so as at length, in a traitorous manner, they surprised Fort New Amstel, before called Fort Casimir, by which director-general and council in New Netherland were compelled to cleanse that neighborhood of such a vile gang."

This ingenious misrepresentation of the order of events of more than twenty years on the South River seems to have been accepted as true by the English. Either they did not know or did not choose to assert that the "vile gang" was still the larger though now a subject portion of the people of the province, and that during the long administration of John Printz at least, so far from being "connived at" as associates and partners under the jurisdiction of the Company, they were the masters of the Dutch, whose presence they had hardly tolerated. The commissioners were as careful to present all the argument in their own favor as they were to anticipate any possible rejoinder on the other side. While they thus ignored the Swedes, whose jurisdiction could be used as a strong point against them, they reminded the English of that Sir Edmund Plowden who called himself earl palatine of New Albion, and claimed that New Albion was granted

to him by James II., and extended from the North River to Virginia. The title of Lord Baltimore to the Delaware was, they said, no better than this of Plowden, who "in former time would make us believe he hath unto, when it afterward did prove and was found out, he only subreptiff and obreptiff hath something obtained to that purpose which was invalid." It was a shrewd reminder to the Maryland people that their own rights were not undisputed, and that among rival claimants possession was the better title.¹

The difficulties of the question, and the able presentation of it by Stuyvesant's ambassadors, quite confounded the Maryland magistrates. The subject was referred to Lord Baltimore, then in England, for further consideration. The consideration was not wanting, but no adjustment of the conflicting claims was ever reached. In 1660 we hear of Captain James Neal, the attorney of Baltimore, demanding of the College of XIX at Amsterdam the cession of New Amstel, and of the reply of the college that "they will use all the means God and nature have given to protect the inhabitants." Two years later Beekman writes to Stuyvesant that he hears of the arrival of the son of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and that "nothing further is mentioned there of any intentions upon this district."

Apprehension of trouble from that quarter, nevertheless, increased in the Amsterdam Chamber. In less than a year from the time of Beekman's hopeful letter, the Company transferred all their posses-



Swedish Soldier of the Seventeenth Century.

¹ The Plowden patent has been the cause of a good deal of controversy. The truth about it seems to be that Sir Edmund Plowden asked for a grant from King Charles of the country from Virginia to the North River, to be called New Albion, but the request was refused by the king, and a worthless patent was obtained from the viceroy of Ireland, who had no authority to give it. *A Description of the Province of New Albion, etc., etc., etc.*, by Beauchamp Plantagenet (a supposed assumed name for Plowden). *Hazard's Annals*. Note by Henry C. Murphy in his translation of the *Vertoogh*, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

sion on the South River to the city of Amsterdam; and the reason given is that the colony may be protected, without expense to the Company, against encroachments from the English on the south. For, from the English on that side, the Directors declare, as little favor is to be expected as from the English on the north, and that these "are continuing in their usurpations." It was the shadow of the coming event. In less than a year thereafter New Amsterdam became New York, and New Amstel, Newcastle, and the Dutch, except for a brief subsequent interval, ceased to contend with England for colonial power in North America.

But these later years of Dutch possession on the South River were not otherwise years of prosperity or of peace. Alrichs died while the controversy was going on between Stuyvesant's commissioners and the magistrates of Maryland, and was succeeded by D'Hinoyossa. The administration of this new governor of the Colony of the City was marked by little else than quarrels with Beeckman and intrigues against him. "He feels himself again pretty high," Beeckman writes of his rival, "and is strutting forward in full pride. He is boasting that he will recover all the effects of the deceased Alrichs, and sings already another tune." This was when D'Hinoyossa was appointed Director, and the antagonism it shows between the two men had from that moment no abatement. A struggle for supremacy in the colony left little time to look after its real interests; industry was crippled by constant fear of Indian hostilities; idleness and the want of a good example in the rulers led to general immorality and lawlessness.¹

D'Hinoyossa, probably, as well as fear of the English, had something to do with the transfer of the South River to the city of Amsterdam. The governor had sometime before gone secretly to Holland, and when he returned it was as sole governor where hitherto he had held only a divided command. But his triumph over Beeckman was short-lived.

At the north events were hurrying on the inevitable conclusion.

After the restoration of Charles II., John Winthrop the younger was sent by the general court of Hartford as the agent of that colony to England, with instructions to procure a new charter from the king, whom Connecticut had hastened to acknowledge. Mr. Winthrop was successful. The boundaries of the

Transfer of
the colony
to the city.

Last years of
the Dutch
colony on
the Dela-
ware.

A new pat-
ent granted
to Connecti-
cut.

¹ There could have been little respect for either law or justice where the wife of the Swedish priest eloped with a young man, and when the priest broke into the young man's room in search of the woman, was compelled by the authorities, because he took an inventory "of a few old stockings," to assume all the debts which his wife's paramour had left behind him. The priest sought consolation by marrying himself immediately to another woman, though this was pronounced illegal till he had obtained a divorce.

original patent, conveyed by the Earl of Warwick to Lord Say and Seal and others, which the colony had afterward purchased of Fenwick, were confirmed in April, 1662, by new letters patent with enlarged privileges. It gave to the patentees one hundred and twenty miles from the Narragansett River along the coast "toward the south-west, west and by south," and from that line westward in its full breadth to the Pacific, or, as it was then called, the South Sea, with all the islands along the included coasts of both oceans.¹

New Haven and other English towns along the Sound and on Long Island, which had hitherto been independent, were thus brought under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Some of them submitted cheerfully; those, especially, near the bound-
Dissatis-
faction of
New Haven.
 ary line of New Netherland gladly welcomed the protection of such a union. But these were the weaker towns. New Haven, strong and self-reliant, protested with vehemence against this disregard of her rights by purchase and settlement. Her legislature called the act "the great sin of Connecticut," as one "contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace." The magistrates of that colony were accused of bad faith in the measures they took to procure the new patent; of treachery in the course they pursued in arousing discontent and animosity among the people, that New Haven might be disorganized and become the prey of Connecticut. Whether the charges were true or not, the assertion of jurisdiction was the source of perpetual trouble for the two years that the controversy lasted; it was so easy to evade the payment of taxes within the boundaries of New Haven by the plea that allegiance was due to the new government only.

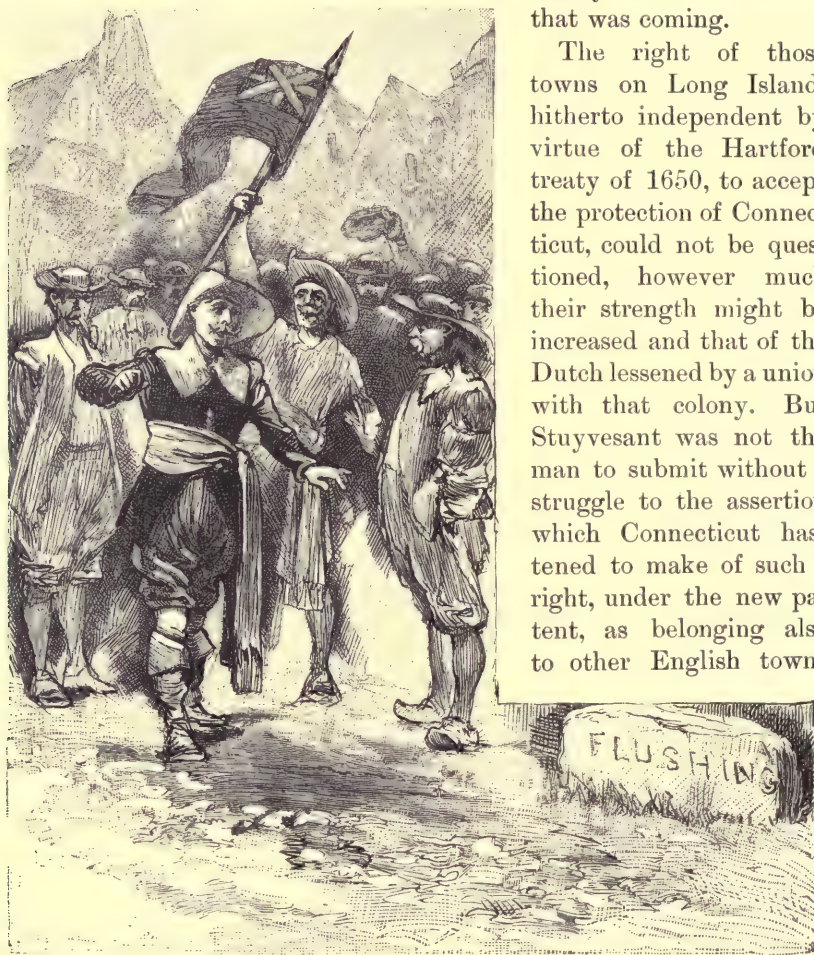
Consanguinity and common interests were sure to heal such political dissensions among the English in the end. It was quite otherwise with the Dutch. The new patent covered not only Long Island but all Northern New Netherland. Stuyvesant saw and comprehended the situation. Years before he had conceded the line of the Hartford treaty to these encroaching English. Even within that line

¹ At the time of Winthrop's presentation of the petition of Connecticut for a new charter, Lord Say and Seal held the privy seal, and the Earl of Manchester, another warm friend of the colony, was chamberlain of the royal household. Both, says Trumbull (*History of Connecticut*) were instrumental in forwarding Winthrop's purpose. It is also said that Winthrop presented to the king an extraordinary ring, given by Charles I. to Winthrop's grandfather, which the king was glad to recover. There is another tradition that the king, Charles II., gave his miniature to Winthrop. The miniature, however, — now in the possession of Miss Elizabeth W. Winthrop, a descendant of the governor, — is undoubtedly the portrait, not of Charles, but of the Chevalier St. George, the "Old Pretender," who was not born till twenty-six years after this visit of Winthrop to England. Such traditions are to be received with caution. That about the ring may have as little foundation as the story of the portrait. Adam Winthrop, John's grandfather, was a plain country gentleman, unconnected with the court, who died before Charles I. became king.

there were English towns which he could only with the greatest difficulty hold in subjection to Dutch rule. That difficulty now was immensely increased by the assertion of English title to the whole of Long Island and the North River region by a new patent from the English king. The Dutch could hardly fail to see the end that was coming.

Embarrassment of
Governor
Stuyvesant.

The right of those towns on Long Island, hitherto independent by virtue of the Hartford treaty of 1650, to accept the protection of Connecticut, could not be questioned, however much their strength might be increased and that of the Dutch lessened by a union with that colony. But Stuyvesant was not the man to submit without a struggle to the assertion which Connecticut hastened to make of such a right, under the new patent, as belonging also to other English towns



The English Agitators re-naming the Towns.

within the boundaries of New Netherland. For two years he carried on a hopeless struggle, cheered sometimes by temporary success, but on the whole gradually and certainly losing ground. A visit to Boston and a conference with the commissioners of the united New England colonies availed him nothing; he was defeated by that old policy

of delay with which the New Englanders had always met the Dutch in any attempt at negotiation. He sent commissioners to Hartford only to be baffled by a similar result.

Meanwhile, within the limits of his own province the English were steadily aggressive. One Captain John Talcott was sent from Connecticut, in the autumn of 1663, to Westchester to encourage the people in their hostility to Dutch rule. He bettered his instructions by fostering discontent in all the English towns on the west end of Long Island. Two months later Anthony Waters and John Coe, at the head of a considerable force, marched from town to town, changed the names of several of them, calling Flushing Newark, Newtown or Middelburgh Hastings, Jamaica Crafford, and Oyster Bay Folestone; deposed the magistrates and appointed new ones; and proclaiming Charles II. king, declared these places to be part of his dominions. The Director was glad now to accept the compromise which his commissioners had rejected in Hartford only a few weeks before, — that there should be mutual forbearance, the Dutch and English towns to be free respectively from interference from either government.

English proceedings in New Netherland under the Connecticut patent.

It was a virtual surrender on the part of Stuyvesant, but he had no alternative. The treasury was empty; help from the Company there was none till it was too late; an assembly of the people could devise no remedy with which to arrest the encroachments of the English. And it was while the Director was thus made almost desperate with troubles from without, destroying the integrity and threatening the existence of his colony, that he was called upon to defend the settlements on the North River from the renewed attacks of the Esopus Indians.

In the earlier differences between New Netherland and the New England colonies, one John Scott had been conspicuous on Long Island in efforts to unite his countrymen of the English towns against the Dutch, and had been punished by imprisonment. He claimed to have purchased of the Indians large tracts of country, and returning to England at the restoration he petitioned the king to bestow upon him the government of the whole of Long Island. He was not without a valid claim to the royal favor, for he had served in the army under Charles the First, and his father had spent his fortune, and at last laid down his life, in the cause of that unhappy king. The Committee of Foreign Plantations, to whom his petition was referred, gave him a commission to return to America, arming him with large powers, but in conjunction with George Baxter, another well-known opponent of the Dutch, and Samuel Maverick of Boston.

Attempted revolt of John Scott.

The commissioners were instructed not merely to examine into English titles upon Long Island; they were ordered to look into the question of the "intrusion" of the Dutch; their power, commerce, government; their disregard of English law, especially of the Navigation Act, that early protective policy which proposed to shut out all foreigners from trade with the English colonies; and finally of the means whereby this people could be brought most readily to submission, or failing that, to expulsion. As Scott bore royal letters of commendation to the colonial governors, such instructions if carried out would be almost tantamount to a declaration of war.

On his arrival, Scott was joined in a commission, with Talcott and others from Connecticut, to annex all Long Island to that province. To accept such an office seems hardly compatible with the instructions from the Committee of Plantations; but as he needed force to back his pretensions, he was ready, perhaps, to accept aid from any quarter.

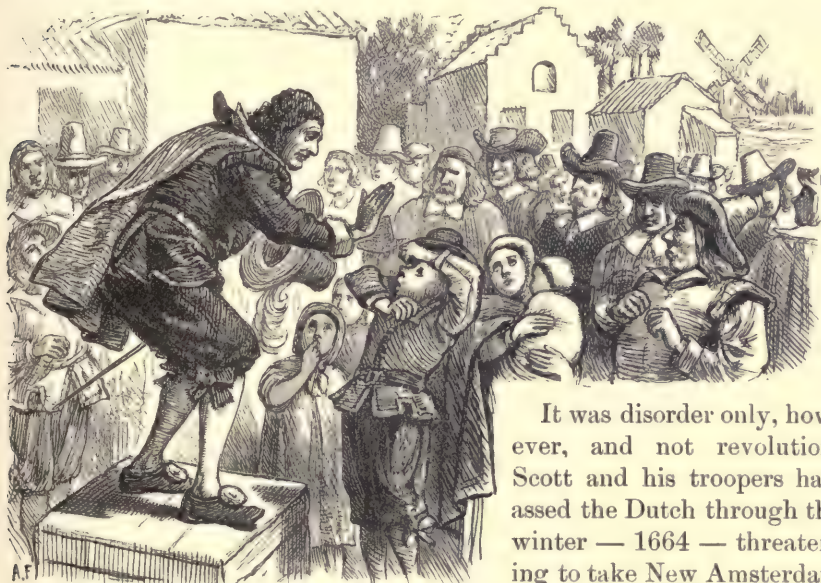
Circumstances favored him. The towns on the western side of the Island, within the boundaries of New Netherland, had become, by the agreement between Stuyvesant and the magistrates at Hartford, free from allegiance either to Connecticut or the Dutch. But the people were divided among themselves. They were glad to be no longer counted as Dutch colonies; but the Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters among them, dreaded coming under the Puritan rule of New England. "Wee ware put," they wrote to Scott, "uppon proclaiming the King by Capt. John Youngs, who came with a trumpet to Heemstede, and sounded in our ears that Conecticot would do great things for us." But the promise had been redeemed by nothing but "if so bees and doubtinghs." On the other hand the Dutch authorities threatened, some actually abused them, and they appealed, therefore, to Scott to come to their aid.

He came, and came with the unexpected announcement that the king had granted all Long Island to his brother the Duke of York. It was welcome news to the English, and harmonized all differences. Heemstede, Gravesend, Flushing, Newtown, and Jamaica, at once united for their mutual protection, choosing John Scott as their president, until the Duke of York or the king should establish a permanent government. At the head of a force of a hundred and fifty men, President Scott took the field to reduce the Dutch towns to obedience to the English king. At Breukelen he addressed the people, telling them they were no longer Dutch subjects. He was asked to wait upon the Director-general. "Let Stuyvesant come here with a hundred men," he answered; "I shall wait for him and run a sword through his body."¹ Perhaps he meant it, for turning round he gave a blow to a lad —

¹ O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*.

Confederacy
of English
towns.

knocked off his hat, probably — for refusing to uncover to the English flag. “He had better strike men, not boys,” shouted one of the crowd. The remark, however just, was ill-timed, and four of Scott’s men immediately fell upon the new offender and put him to flight. The “usurper,” as he was soon called, marched from town to town, everywhere proclaiming Charles II. as the rightful sovereign of New Netherland, and creating disorder wherever he went.



Scott at Breukelen.

It was disorder only, however, and not revolution. Scott and his troopers harassed the Dutch through the winter — 1664 — threatening to take New Amsterdam in the spring. Stuyvesant

called a meeting of delegates, for such a threat was more serious than any lawlessness in the outlying villages. The Stadt-Huys and the fort of the capital in possession of the English, a Director-general and his council overawed or imprisoned in the name of Charles II., would be actual revolution. The emergency was met with promptness and energy. Money was raised and measures taken for defence, though there was hot dispute whether the city was bound to do more than take care of itself, leaving the rest of the province to the protection of the Company. Scott’s career, at any rate, was checked. A conference was held between him and the Director, and affairs, it was agreed, should be restored to the old order: the English towns to remain under such government as they should deem fit, the Dutch to be unmolested for a twelve-month, while the question of jurisdiction and boundaries should be referred to the home governments.

For a brief period it seemed to the Dutch that better days were coming. In the spring the war with the Esopus Indians was brought

to a successful end, and Stuyvesant made with them that treaty of peace and amity which proved to be his last. The commissioners, who had been sent the autumn before to Holland, returned with assurances of protection from the States-General, and letters to the English towns enjoining them to return to their allegiance to the Dutch.

But it was a deceitful lull in the storm. The magistrates at Hartford imprisoned Scott, but it was for asserting his own authority and disregarding theirs, not for high crimes and misdemeanors in the peaceful province of an unoffending neighbor. The letters of their High Mightinesses of the States-General to their English subjects were disregarded, — in some instances were not even opened. The copies that were sent to Hartford were pronounced to be forgeries, as a convenient way of paying no heed to them. Winthrop openly visited the English towns to induce them to submit to the rule of Connecticut, and in an interview with Stuyvesant and the burghers of New Amsterdam firmly maintained that under the new charter all Long Island belonged to her. By virtue of that charter, Pell bought

Scott imprisoned at Hartford.



Portrait of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

of the Indians all the country lying between Westchester and the North River, including Spuyten-Duyvil Creek, which the Dutch had purchased fifteen years before.

The overwhelming calamity was already certain. In March the king granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, a large portion of the province of Maine, and the country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This grant included Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, all Long Island, and the whole of the territory of New Netherland. The next month a fleet of four ships, with a force of three or four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, as the lieutenant-governor of the Duke, sailed for New England. With Nicolls were joined as commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, with extraordinary

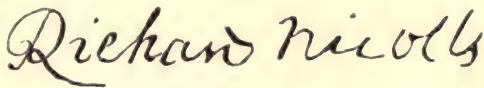
Grant of territory to the Duke of York by the king.

powers for settling all difficulties in the New England colonies, as well as to take possession of the Dutch province and reduce its inhabitants to obedience.

A rumor of the coming of this fleet, and its purpose, reached New Amsterdam in July. Captain Willett was the first to hear it, and he hastened to inform Stuyvesant, who proposed at once the most energetic measures for defence. The fortifications were to be repaired and enlarged; money was to be raised, ammunition to be brought from New Amstel, provisions to be stored, and the city put in a condition to withstand a siege. But before those preparations could be made, dispatches came from the Company's directors in Holland. It was, they said, to reduce the New England colonies to obedience and uniformity in state and church, that the fleet was sent; New Netherland had nothing to fear. Willett, who had done so much to arouse alarm, now did all he could to quell it. Stuyvesant, with restored tranquillity, left the city for Fort Orange, on some official business.

The Directors of the Company were so far right, that the commissioners had almost plenary powers bestowed upon them in regard to all the affairs of the New England colonies. The English government had no doubt taken care that this should be well known in Amsterdam. But Nicolls and his associates were also enjoined to reduce New Netherland; and though this was not known in Amsterdam, the commissioners, on their arrival in Boston, were anxious to have

it understood that this part of their mission was of primary importance. The conquest of New Netherland



Signature of Nicolls.

would be the easier, if the Dutch were kept carefully ignorant of such a purpose. When New England was gratified by that conquest, it would be time to develop the ulterior purposes in regard to those colonies. This astute policy was entirely successful so far as New Netherland was concerned. She was not in the least prepared to meet the impending calamity. The dispatches from Amsterdam allayed all fears and put aside all precautionary measures.

On the arrival of the commissioners in Boston, late in July, they made known their designs against New Netherland to the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and asked for their coöperation. Connecticut was ready to render at once every aid in her power; but the Governor of Massachusetts, who probably knew that the commissioners had a private letter of royal instructions as well as the public letter which they presented, was less disposed to lend

Purpose of
commission-
ers sent by
the duke.

assistance.¹ Her people had never, like those of the other New England colonies, been eager for the conquest of the Dutch province, and if the Governor knew the character of the private instructions to the commissioners he knew that Massachusetts had more to dread than to hope from their visit.

There was a delay of nearly a month after the arrival of the fleet at Boston before the expedition sailed for New Amsterdam. Some preparation for a resistance that would, at least, have delayed the catastrophe, might in that interval have been made had not the assurances of the Company's Directors removed all sense of danger. The flag-ship was sailing up the bay before Stuyvesant, who had been recalled by a hasty message, could reach the city from Fort Orange: he had been at home only three days before the whole squadron was at anchor in Nyack Bay, just below the Narrows on the Long Island side. The block-house on the opposite shore of Staten Island was at once seized by the English; the harbor was effectually blockaded; the people of the neighborhood were forbidden to carry supplies to New Amsterdam; and proclamation was widely made that none should be molested who submitted quietly and acknowledged allegiance to the king of England.

Stuyvesant met the emergency with his usual energy. Every third man was ordered out to work upon the defences of the city; additional guns were mounted; a requisition was made upon Fort Orange for help, and all the soldiers were called in from the outlying posts. But the requisition on Fort Orange was disregarded: the farmers on Long Island refused to come in to the defence of the city, on the plea that their own homes were in danger. The Director was left with only about a hundred soldiers and the panic-stricken citizens of New Amsterdam to rely upon. From the outset it was evident that there could be no effectual resistance.

Nevertheless, on Friday, the 29th of August, a deputation was sent to Nicolls, demanding his purpose, and by what authority he made this invasion. The next day came a formal summons for the surrender of the town and all the forts belonging to it, with a proclamation promising protection of life and property to all who would submit "to his majesty's government, as his good subjects ought to do."

It was with great reluctance that Stuyvesant consented that this answer of the English commander should be made public. It would "discourage the people," he said; but the principal burghers and other magistrates, and the officers of the guard had already met, and had shown themselves to be utterly destitute of any manly courage.

¹ Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 583.

The most spirited resolution to which they could bring themselves was, that they would make some pretence of defence, in the hope that the enemy would think it worth while to propose more favorable conditions. But protection to life and property were already offered by the proclamation; what could be expected, if this were known, from a populace ready to surrender even without that promise? The Director



Stuyvesant and the English Letter.

was compelled to yield to the public clamor and give up the dispatches, but he must not, he said, be held "answerable for the calamitous consequences."

This conclusion had been reached on Monday, when Governor Winthrop — who had joined the fleet with a reinforcement of Connecticut volunteers — came up the bay under a flag of truce and presented

another letter from Nicolls. Stuyvesant read it in the presence of the council and the burgomasters. The terms it offered were still more favorable. Trade with Holland in Dutch vessels would not be interfered with; emigrants from the mother-country could come and settle in New Netherland as hitherto; the colony would be under English jurisdiction, instead of that of the Company, but otherwise the condition of the Dutch colonists would hardly be interfered with. Those who favored surrender were all the more anxious that the people should see this second letter; Stuyvesant all the more dreaded the effect it would have upon them. The debate was hot and furious, till Stuyvesant in a rage ended it by tearing the letter in pieces and scattering the fragments upon the floor, — “dilacerated” it, exclaimed the indignant and baffled burgomasters.

Hitherto there had been some show of labor upon the fortifications, but now they were abandoned, and an exasperated mob surged about the Stadt-Huys. They demanded to see the Governor; to offer resistance to such a force as threatened them would be, they said, “as idle as to gape before an oven.” When Stuyvesant appeared he was greeted with shouts of “The letter! the letter!” Reproaches and curses were showered upon him and the Company. Defeated and helpless he returned to the council chamber; the fragments of the “dilacerated” document were gathered up and put together, and a copy delivered to the burgomasters to do with it what they would.

The question of surrender was, nevertheless, still in the hands of the Director. He sent to Nicolls a long answer, defiant, didactic, and argumentative. He defended the rights of the Dutch to the country by discovery, settlement, and possession; he protested against this infringement of the treaty between England and the States-General; he urged the agreement between himself and Scott which was to stand good for a twelvemonth: he feared no threats, and he trusted in God, who could as well preserve with a small force as with a great army.

Nicolls, nevertheless, though he may have been quite as pious as the Director, had great reliance on superiority of force. A company of regular cavalry and the Connecticut militia were already encamped on Long Island just below Breukelen; these he ordered should be reinforced with all the troops of two of the ships, in readiness for an attack by land and in the rear, while the two other frigates were to sail up in front and bring their broadsides to bear upon the town.

Standing on the walls of the fort, by the side of a gun, the gunner ready with his lighted match, Stuyvesant watched the ships as they

Conflict between the Director and the people.

Preparations for the assault of the city.

came up the harbor, and then swung to their anchors in the channel between Nutten (Governor's) Island and the fort. Had he ordered the gunner to fire, the ships would at once have bombarded the city. He gave no such order. Perhaps his own prudence restrained him, for though a violent man, his good judgment — as we have sometimes seen — often controlled his anger; perhaps he was restrained by the Dominies Megapolensis, father and son, who begged him not to be the first to shed human blood in such a contest. At any rate he gave no order, and no shot was fired. The city was quietly put under the guns of the two ships, and Stuyvesant left the fort with a hundred of the garrison to be prepared to resist a landing. The Directors of the West India Company afterward reproached him that he permitted himself to be influenced by the two clergymen and "other chicken-hearted persons," and allowed himself "to be led in from the bulwarks between two preachers" while the hostile frigates passed the fort and the mouths of twenty pieces of cannon. But he did, no doubt, the best he could; he alone could not serve the twenty guns; and not another man, save he, in fort or city, seems to have thought of resistance.

Again he wrote to Nicolls, and again declared he should stand an assault, but sending at the same time a deputation of magistrates to come, if possible, to some agreement with the English commander. Nicolls would listen to no proposal but that of surrender; he should come, he said, the next day with ships and soldiers, and he would be a bold man who came on board unless the white flag was hung out from the fort.

When this answer was known the utmost panic spread through the town. The Director was beset with weeping women and children; in the City Hall a tumultuous assembly met, and a remonstrance was adopted, signed by all the principal citizens — among them Stuyvesant's son — begging that the terms offered by the English might be at once accepted. The fort, they said, could not stand a three days' siege; the offer of the enemy was generous; their conduct had been forbearing; unless now there should be an immediate surrender they could foresee nothing but "misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent souls." Still Stuyvesant declared "he had rather be carried a corpse to his grave" than yield.

Stuyvesant
beset by
popular tu-
mult.

The situation was, in truth, desperate. The town on the north was defended only by an embankment three feet high, surmounted by a fence of rotten palisades; this was overlooked by the hills outside within gunshot range commanding all the houses; and on both sides

the town was open to the rivers. The fort itself a council of war declared was untenable; there was not powder enough to last a day; there was no store of provisions for a lengthened siege. Moreover and worse than all, the garrison was mutinous. "Now we hope," they cried, "to pepper those devilish traders who have so long salted us; we know where booty is to be found, and where the young women live who wear gold chains!"

Nicolls came as he said he would, yielding nothing of his conditions, except that he promised the fort and city should be restored "in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his majesty of England and the high and mighty States-General,"—a promise most safe to make. The terms of surrender, which were merciful to the Dutch—the protection of life and property, a guaranty of religious liberty, freedom of trade, of emigration, of the public debt, of the laws of inheritance and contracts, and of a representative government—were agreed upon on Saturday by a board of commissioners. On Monday the articles were ratified by the Director-general.

And on Monday morning, the 8th of September, 1664, there marched out of Fort Amsterdam on the Beaver Street side, at the head of the poltroons who knew where the young women lived who wore gold chains, the stern old wooden-legged soldier who would rather have been carried out a corpse to his grave. As they went on board ship in the East River for Holland, six columns of English soldiers filed through the streets of the city; English soldiers mounted guard at the Stadt Huys and at the city gates, while over the fort floated the English flag which a corporal's guard had hoisted as Stuyvesant passed out from beneath the shadow of the walls he would have so gladly defended. The obedient burgomasters

proclaimed Nicolls as Governor; Fort Amsterdam was named Fort James; New Amsterdam was changed to New York; twelve days later Fort Orange surrendered without



Signature of Sir George Cartwright.

resistance to Sir George Cartwright, and the name of Albany, the duke's second title, was given to it.

New Amstel was still to be reduced, and in the course of the month Sir Robert Carr sailed with three ships and a body of troops for the Delaware. This display of force only was necessary. On Sunday, the first day of October, Fort Casimir surrendered, and though there was no resistance and almost no parley, there was less consideration shown to the Dutch than there had been in New Am-

New Amstel
taken.



THE SURRENDER OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

sterdam. Arms and amunition, live stock, stores, provisions, and their crops were taken from the people. Some were permitted to return to Holland; others were seized as prisoners of war and sold into bondage in Virginia. D'Hinoyossa, the Governor, was sent back to Holland, but his estate — consisting in part, if not wholly, of one hundred and fifty acres of meadow-land on the Delaware near the fort, and of an island called Swarton Natton of about three hundred acres at the mouth of Christina Creek — was confiscated to the use of Carr. Beeckman and others went back to New York, where he is afterward heard of as an alderman of the city. Many, both Dutch and Swedes, remained in the colony, and the Swedes, especially in and about Newcastle and Wilmington, long preserved their national characteristics in language, habits, and religion, though faithful in their allegiance to the English, as they had been peaceful citizens before when finally brought under the rule of the Dutch.



Signature of Sir Robert Carr.



Seal of New Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAROLINAS.

THE CAROLINA PATENTS OF 1663 AND 1665. — THE PATENTEES. — EARLIER GRANTS AND PROJECTED SETTLEMENTS. — FIRST SETTLERS ON ALBEMARLE SOUND. — NEW ENGLAND MEN AT THE MOUTH OF CAPE FEAR RIVER. — THE COLONY UNDER YEAMANS. — ORGANIZATION OF THE ALBEMARLE COLONY. — LOCKE'S "FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS." — INDEPENDENT LEGISLATION AT ALBEMARLE. — GOVERNORS AND PROGRESS OF THE CAPE FEAR SETTLEMENT. — JOSEPH WEST. — DISSENSIONS IN THE NORTH UNDER CARTERET AND MILLER. — THE PASQUOTANK INSURRECTION. — GOVERNOR SOTHEL.

By the capture of New Netherland, that "New English Nation" which Raleigh had hoped to see, stretched for the first time in an unbroken line along the Atlantic coast, from James River, in Virginia, to Nova Scotia. And nearly half a century had passed away, after Raleigh was led to the scaffold, before a permanent colony was planted in the more southern region, where his first attempts had so unhappily failed.

Only the year before the King bestowed upon the Duke of York that munificent gift of a province which not only was not his to give, but did not even belong to England, either by right of possession or by right of discovery, the same generous monarch granted to some other gentlemen about the court a patent of a wide tract of country south of Virginia. The grant extended from about the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, — or from the St. John's River, in Florida, to nearly the present southern boundary of Virginia, — and from the Atlantic to that vague South Sea, still thought to be within reach of a moderate journey. One of its early governors wrote of this region that "it was indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the *Northern* Hemisphere . . . lying parallel with the Land of *Canaan* . . . not being pestered with the violent Heats of the more Southern colonies, or the extream and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements."¹ And another of its earliest historians says that from its latitude and situation Carolina must needs be "a delicious country, being placed in that girdle

First grant
of Carolina.
1663.

¹ *Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, etc., etc. By John Archdale. [London, 1707.] In Carroll's *S. C. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii.

of the world which affords wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil blessings that spin out the thread of life to its utmost extent, and crown our days with the sweets of health and plenty.”¹ There is something of that love of hyperbole which belongs to the writers of that period in these descriptions, — something of an evident desire to attract emigration by means not unknown in later times. Much may be pardoned to these influences, even as we pardon the want of strict scientific accuracy in the author of the history we quote from, who, in the list of “Insects” of Carolina, gives the first place to alligators and rattlesnakes.

The first charter was dated (old style) the 24th of March, 1663 ;

two years later

this was amended The Second Charter. 1665.

by a second, —

June 30, 1665, — which extended the boundaries a degree southward, and a half degree further north.

The patentees on whom the king thus bestowed a territory including The patentees. all of the present

States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, with its indefinite Western boundary of the South Sea, were Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor; Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, the

leader in the Restoration; the Earl of Craven; Lord Berkeley; Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftesbury) Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia, Lord Berkeley's younger brother. Shaftesbury was the leader in this enterprise, and he was chiefly responsible for all that the proprietors did, or left undone. Home affairs occupied his associates; but they never entirely diverted him from the affairs of the colony. Almost every document connected with it shows traces of his influence, and he hoped to find in it an opportunity for carrying out those political ideas which were otherwise impracticable in his time.

¹ *The History of Carolina, containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country, etc., etc.* By John Lawson, Gent., Surveyor General of North Carolina. [London, 1714.]



Portrait of Shaftesbury.

Earlier
grants and
projected
settlements.

The territory thus defined as Carolina had not been altogether neglected while colonies were planted in other places. As early as 1630, the attorney-general of England under Charles I., Sir Robert Heath, had secured a grant of almost the same region, under the name of the Province of Carolana, on condition that he should "in a reasonable time" colonize it,¹ "and Christianize the native Indians." But neither he, nor Lord Maltravers (afterwards the Earl of Arundel), to whom Heath transferred his title, succeeded in making any permanent settlements. This claim, and another by the heirs of Sir Richard Granfield, were revived when the grant of 1663 was made to Clarendon and his associates, but the patents were recalled, on the ground that their terms had never been fulfilled.²

Companies of adventurers had, at different times, scattered themselves along the coast and on the banks of rivers not far distant from the parent colony of Virginia. Some of these were in pursuit of Indian trade; others were restless spirits to whom even the lax discipline of Jamestown and its neighborhood was irksome; and some, perhaps, were of those whose religious beliefs exposed them to annoyance, if not persecution, in a region where the Established Church was formally maintained. As early as 1609 there were outlying plantations about the Nansemond River, and doubtless many unrecorded expeditions, if not settlements, were made in the territory to the south of this district, in the twenty years following, before the grant was made to Heath. In the winter of 1621-2 John Pory, sometime Secretary of Virginia, a great traveller, and the friend of Hakluyt,³ explored as far as the Chowan, where he found "a very fruitful and pleasant country, yielding two harvests in a year, and much silk grass."⁴

In 1643, the Virginia Assembly, without regard to Heath's patent, made trading grants to a company which purposed to traffic along the Roanoke; though perhaps their design included only the upper part of the stream, which was outside the patent, for they described it as the river lying southwest of the Appomattox.⁵ Later attempts and grants of the same kind are also obscurely mentioned; but there is no record of their results, and it seems probable that nothing more

¹ See vol. i., p. 487, note.

² Letter of the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley, in Chalmers' *Annals*.

³ Pory visited Plymouth in 1622, and Bradford says of him, "Himselfe after his returne (to England) did this poore plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck." He was a scholar, and a man of a good deal of influence among the early adventurers, but became at last a penniless and rather disreputable vagabond. See a sketch of him in Neill's *History of The Virginia Company*.

⁴ Smith's *History of Virginia*.

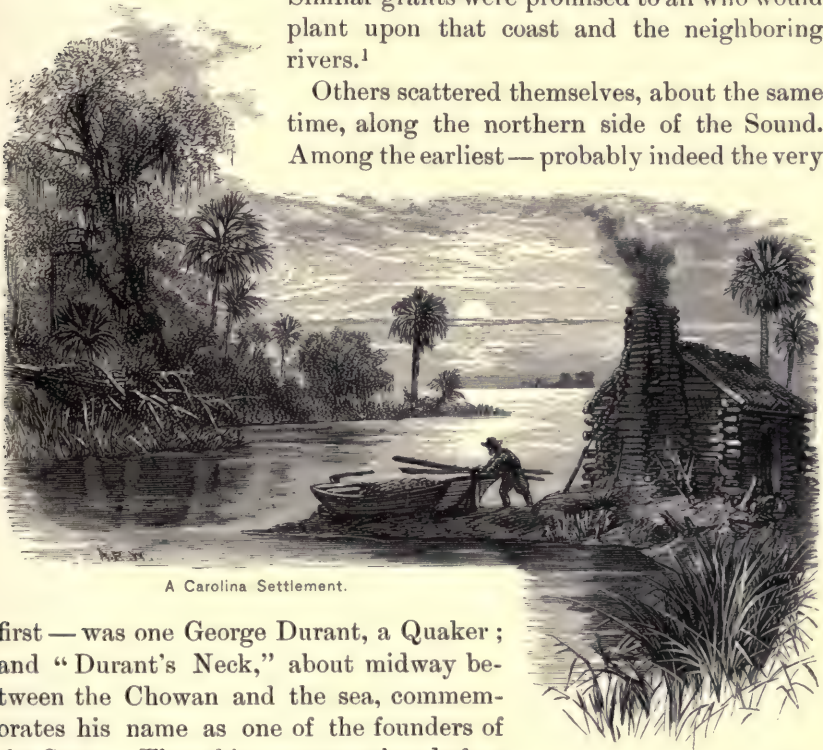
⁵ Hening's *Virginia Statutes*, i., 552.

than a fair knowledge of the upper part of North Carolina was gained through all of them until 1653. In July of that year, Roger Green, a clergyman, and a party from the Nansemond region, penetrated to Albemarle Sound, and a grant of land was made by Virginia to Green himself of a thousand acres.

Settlements
of Green and
Durant.

Similar grants were promised to all who would plant upon that coast and the neighboring rivers.¹

Others scattered themselves, about the same time, along the northern side of the Sound. Among the earliest — probably indeed the very



A Carolina Settlement.

first — was one George Durant, a Quaker ; and “Durant’s Neck,” about midway between the Chowan and the sea, commemorates his name as one of the founders of the State. That this was sometime before 1662 is shown by the records of the Court of Chancery of North Carolina.

A suit was tried in 1697 between the heirs of George Durant and the heir of one Edward Catchmaid, for possession of the lands first occupied by Durant. Catchmaid, who was entrusted by Durant to procure for him a grant of these lands from Governor Berkeley of Virginia, treacherously took out the patent in his own name. The deed of restitution which he was compelled to make, and which was produced in evidence on the trial, bore the date of March, 1662 (new style, 1663). Catchmaid must therefore have been in the country for some time previous to that date ; and the record further shows that when he came it was by Durant’s

Probable
date of the
Chowan set-
tlement.

¹ Hening’s *Virginia Statutes*, i., 380.

invitation, who was then in the occupation of lands, having "come in with the first seaters," and "did for the space of two years bestow much labor and cost in finding out the said country."¹ By "first seaters" were evidently meant the first in the province of Carolina, — not merely the first in that particular neighborhood; and it is to them, probably, that Lawson refers when he says: "A second settlement [second, that is, after Raleigh's time] of this country was made about fifty years ago, in that part we now call Albemarl County, and chiefly in Chuwon precinct, by several substantial planters from Virginia and other plantations." Lawson's visit was in 1700.

There were probably few bays or rivers along the coast, from the Bay of Fundy to Florida, unexplored by the New Englanders, where there was any promise of profitable trade with the Indians. The colonist followed the trader wherever unclaimed lands were open to occupation. These energetic pioneers explored the sounds and rivers south of Virginia in pursuit of Indian traffic, contrasted the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil with that region of rocks where they had made their homes, and where winter reigns for more than half the year. In 1660 or 1661, a company of these men purchased of the natives and settled upon a tract of land at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Their first purpose was apparently the raising of stock, as the country seemed peculiarly fitted to grazing, and they brought a number of neat cattle and swine to be allowed to feed at large under the care of herdsmen. But they aimed at something more than this nomadic occupation, and a company was formed, in which a number of adventurers in London were enlisted, to found a permanent colony. Discouraged, however, either by the want of immediate success, or for want of time to carry out their plans, or for some less creditable reason, the settlement was soon abandoned.

On this point there is sufficient evidence. In 1663, some persons from Barbadoes were on the coast in search of a suitable place for the planting of a colony. They visited the spot where the New Englanders had been, and their report is that they found "a writing left in a post at the point of Cape Fear river by those New England men that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land about the said river, but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle."² So, also, the London associates of this New England Company declared, at a meeting held in August, 1663, "that at the pres-

Explorations and settlement by New Englanders.

Abandonment of the New England settlement.

¹ Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii., p. 132.

² Lawson's *History of Carolina*.

ent the undertaking of the plantation of the said Charles River lieth under some obloquy, that hath given a check to it; some that were sent from New England thither, in order to the carrying on the said settlement, being come back again without so much as sitting down upon it; and for the better justification of themselves in their return, have spread a reproach both upon the harbour and upon the soil of the river itself.”¹

Was there sufficient ground for this “reproach both upon the harbor and the soil?” The explorers from Barbadoes, at least, did not think so. “In answer to that scandalous writing,” as they called it, found affixed to the post, they affirm, “that we have seen, facing both sides the river and branches of Cape Fair aforesaid, as good



Finding the Message of the New England Men.

land, and as well timbered, as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our English nation, and lying commodiously by the said river's side.” It was a quite sufficient answer, as the future showed.

It is not impossible, however, that justification was sought for to cover up the real reason for failure. Lawson, in commenting upon the report of the Barbadoes men, — which he preserved in his history, — gives as a reason why the New Englanders “did not only take off themselves, but also their stocks of cattle,”

Reasons for
its failure.

¹ *Hutchinson Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i., 3d series.*

that there were "irregular practices of some of that colony against the Indians, by sending away some of their children (as I have been told) under pretence of instructing them in learning and the principles of the Christian religion, which so disgusted the Indians, that though they had then no guns, yet they never gave over till they had entirely rid themselves of the English by their bows and arrows." Perhaps this was the "obloquy" to which the London associates referred.

The New England Company, nevertheless, asserted their right to the lands in question by virtue of their purchase from the Indians. Their friends in London, at the meeting in August, 1663, just referred to, presented their views upon this claim for the consideration of the new patentees. The New England colonies, they said, have ever had "full liberty to choose their own govenours among themselves; to make and confirm laws with themselves; with immunity also wholly from all taxes, charges, and impositions whatsoever, more than what is laid upon themselves by themselves." But unless these privileges were "preserved entire to them," it was "feared that all thoughts of further proceeding in the said river will be wholly laid aside by them."¹

A month later, — September, 1663, — the Proprietors wrote to Governor Berkeley, informing him that they had received their charter from the King. They empowered him to appoint a governor, or governors, for the people who, they understood, were already settled on both banks of the Chowan. In response to "a paper from persons that desired to settle near Cape Fear," — by which they meant the New England Company, — the only proposals they have to make with special reference to that company relate to the allotment of land, declaring it to be "our resolution and desire that you persuade or compel those persons to be satisfied with such proportions as we allot to others."²

The character of the government had already been decided at the first meeting of the Proprietors in the preceding May. There was to be full liberty of conscience; the governor and assembly were to be chosen by popular election; and duties from customs were not to be enforced.³ In the proposals sent with this letter to Berkeley in September, these conditions were repeated. This repetition was intended, doubtless, for the instruction and assurance of emigrants from New England, or anywhere else, who should choose to avail themselves of such an offer. But that they were not a concession to the demand of the New England claimants is manifest, as

Action of
the Carolina
proprietors.

Character of
their pro-
jected gov-
ernment.

¹ *Hutchinson Papers*, as above.

² Letter from the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley. *Chalmers' Annals*.

³ *Chalmers' Annals*. *Martin's History*. *Papers in State Paper Office*, London; cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of South Carolina*, vol. i.

their remonstrance to the Proprietors could not at the time of this meeting in May have been received, — was not, probably, even written.¹

Nothing more is heard of the New England Company. If any influence was exerted from that region upon the new province, it was through individual citizens, who chose to make it their home. Of these there were many in the early settlement of North Carolina, — more, however, probably upon the Chowan than the Cape Fear River. “Make everything easy to the people of New England,” wrote the Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans, in 1665, “from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the southern colonies are already drained.”²



Landing of Yeamans.

Yeamans came with a colony of several hundred persons, and landed at Cape Fear River on the 29th of May, 1664.³ The party

¹ The abortive attempt to settle a New England colony at the mouth of Cape Fear River, and its influence upon the character of the constitution of the new province, have been a source of much controversy and misunderstanding. The mistake in regard to it seems to have originated with Chalmers, who, assuming that the “proposals” sent to Berkeley in September were made “at the desire of the New England people,” overlooked the fact that they were simply a repetition of the form of government decided upon by the proprietors at their first meeting in May. Their charter then was only a little more than a month old, and no protest in regard to it could at that time have reached England from America.

² Chalmers.

³ *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina, on the Coasts of Florida.* London, 1666. Republished in Hawks’ *History*. The colonists landed on the 8th of June, new style.

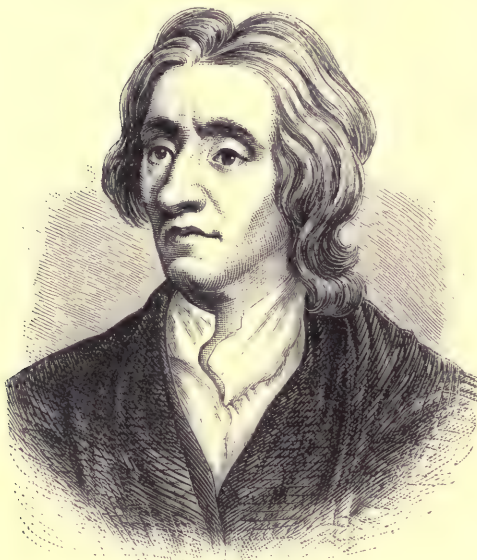
The colony
under Yeamans.

sent from Barbadoes to explore the coast of Carolina, — whose indignation was so aroused by the warning put up by the New England herdsmen on the Cape Fear River, — had bought of the Indians a tract of thirty-two miles square, and the proprietors were asked to confirm the purchase by a grant. Though this was refused, the terms granted to the colonists were satisfactory. Their settlement, which was “up the river, about twenty or thirty miles”¹ they called Charles-town. The province or county of which Yeamans was appointed Governor, was named Clarendon, and extended from Cape Fear to the St. John’s, in Florida.

Organization
of the
Chowan Col-
ony.

Meanwhile Sir William Berkeley, in accordance with the instructions given by the Proprietors in their letter of September, 1663, established a government on the Chowan. He appointed a governor — William Drummond — and a council of six, who, with an assembly chosen by the people, were to enact

laws, subject to the approval of the proprietors; possessions of lands were confirmed, and new grants were made, with an allowance of three years for the payment of quit-rents. In 1666, however, the Assembly protested against the payment of these quit-rents, and prayed that the tenure of lands should be the same as that established in Virginia. The petition was granted with regard to those who then held possession, but the rule was enforced upon all subsequent entries.² An Assembly was probably convened as early as 1663,³



Portrait of Locke.

though Albemarle County was not included within the boundaries of Carolina till after the issue of the second charter, in 1665.

In the elaboration of a Constitution for the new province Lord Shaftesbury called to his aid the great philosopher and statesman, John Locke. It was not till 1669 that the first of these “Fundamental Con-

¹ *A Brief Description*, etc. It was, Hawks says, “in Brunswick county, at or near the junction of Old Town Creek with the Cape Fear.”

² Chalmers’ *Annals*.

³ Hawks.

stitutions" was finished. By it the eight Lords Proprietors were constituted supreme rulers, the eldest to be Palatine of the province, and upon his death the eldest of the survivors to succeed him. The seven other offices, of admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer, were to be divided among the others, the eldest always to have choice of a vacant place. To the proprietor was given the privilege, until the year 1701, to relinquish or dispose of his proprietorship to any other person. All his rights were hereditary in the male line; in default of direct male heirs, male descendants through the female line succeeded, and after them "heirs general;" in default of any heirs, the surviving proprietors filled the place by election from the next of the orders of hereditary nobility. Of these orders there were two — Landgraves and Cassiques, each Landgrave possessing four baronies, and each Cassique two. The domains of the Proprietors, on the other hand, were called seigniories; and eight seigniories and eight baronies, with twenty-four "colonies" which could be owned by "the people," made up a county. Each seignior, barony, and colony contained twelve thousand acres; each county, therefore, consisted of 480,000 acres, of which twenty-four parts (or three fifths) were to be owned by the people, and sixteen parts (or two fifths) by the hereditary nobility — "that so in setting out and planting the lands," say the constitutions, "the balance of the government may be preserved." There would thus be, of course, just as many Landgraves as counties, and only twice as many Cassiques; but every member of both these classes of nobles was to be, "by right of his dignity," a member of the parliament, whereas every "colony" was not to have a member — only every "precinct" which was still another division formed for convenience of six colonies. There were but four popular members to a county, therefore; and the further restriction was made, that "no man should be chosen a member who had less than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct;" while only those who had fifty or more acres of freehold could take part in electing him. The parliament thus chosen was to sit "all together in one room, and have every member one vote."

John
Locke's
"Fundamental
Constitutions."

Officers and
orders of nobility.

Divisions of
the country.

The Parli-
ament.

The privileges thus given to the hereditary nobility were further hedged about with provisions absolutely prohibiting the entrance of others into the titled class. The highest dignity attainable under them was the lordship of a manor, which must consist of not less than three thousand, or more than twelve thousand acres; and even such a freehold could only constitute a manor "by the grant of the Palatine's court." Under the nobility

Lords of
manors and
leet-men.

and lords of manors were "leet-men," and these were "under the jurisdiction of the respective lords of the said seigniory, barony or manor, without appeal from him." "All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations."

There were to be eight supreme courts, — the highest consisting of the Palatine and the other proprietors, the others each of a
The Courts. proprietor, six councillors, and a college of twelve assistants chosen by the Palatine's court, and by Parliament from the nobility. Nobles could only be tried by the chief justice's court. The Palatine's court had a veto power over all parliamentary measures; and each of the other courts had its special controlling functions, — the chancellor's having power over land grants, treaties, etc.; the chief justice's over all civil and criminal appeals; the constable's over military matters; the admiral's over matters of marine; the treasurer's over finance; the high-steward's over public works, etc.; the chamberlain's over "all ceremonies, precedence, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages," and also over the regulation of "all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports!" The happy province was to be governed even down to the amusements of its children, and the fashion of its women's gowns. Finally, the proprietors, and the forty-two councillors of the other courts, were to constitute a "Grand Council," or final court of appeal, in case of any dissensions among the rest.¹

Of the hundred lesser offices, or of the detailed regulation of civil, military, and judicial affairs, it is not necessary to speak;
Other provisions of the Constitutions yet some minor provisions still remain to be cited, without which no sketch of the Constitutions could be complete. Lands, for instance, could not be subdivided even at the death of the Proprietor, but must descend entire. Proprietors need not live in Carolina to exercise their rights, but might, in carefully prescribed ways, appoint their deputies, who could not, however, confirm laws, or appoint Landgraves or Cassiques. A singular regulation prescribed that "to avoid multiplicity of laws," all statutes should, "at the end of an hundred years after their enacting," become null and void, and to avoid "multiplicity of comments," the publication of any commentary on the "Fundamental Constitutions" was prohibited. In trials by jury a majority was to decide. It was forbidden to take pay for pleading in courts of law. "Absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion whatsoever," was given to every freeman.

Finally there were some remarkable provisions as to religion and

¹ Grahame, *History of the United States* (ii., 87), says the functions of this body were like those of the Scotch "Lords of the Articles."

the liberty of conscience. They were singularly contradictory; for, against the wishes of Locke,¹ some of the chief proprietors inserted, in the second draft of the Constitutions, an article making the Church of England alone entitled to maintenance, and pronouncing it the "only true and orthodox" religion. Yet fortunately ^{Religion.} his own provision was also left as he had written it; and had the form of his scheme of government been left unchanged, this would undoubtedly have been the only reference to religious matters to be found in it. "In the terms of communion of every church or profession," he wrote, "these following shall be three; without which no agreement or assembly of men, under pretence of religion, shall be accounted a church or profession within these rules:—

"1. That there is a GOD.

"2. That GOD is publicly to be worshipped.

"3. That it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth; and that every church or profession shall, in their terms of communion, set down the external way whereby they witness a truth as in the presence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on or kissing the Bible, as in the Church of England, or by holding up the hand, or any other sensible way. . . . No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law," etc., "who is not a member of some church or profession."

Even earlier in the Constitutions it had been prescribed that "no man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD, and that GOD is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped." Locke returns to this with frequent insistence; yet this one point granted, he concedes, in a long subsequent article, that all other distinctions form no justification for the interference of the state; and prescribes further that no man shall interfere with or "use any reproachful, reviling or abusive language against the religion of any church or profession—that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth."

It is a significant commentary on this complicated piece of political machinery, that while it was assuming definite shape, the people of Albemarle had taken the matter of law-making ^{Legislation of the Albemarle people.} for the new country into their own hands. All unconscious that they were to be only "leet-men," or at best "lords of manors," amid a magnificent prospective population of seigniors, landgraves, and cassiques; and ignorant of the vast system of councils, courts-

¹ Locke's *Works*, folio ed., vol. iii., p. 676, note, as cited by Grahame, ii., 89, and as quoted in note to Carroll, ii., 384.

leet and courts-baron which was to regulate their lives, amusements, and dress down to the smallest detail, these practical pioneers had quietly drawn up such simple regulations as their situation seemed to need.

Since Berkeley's visit to the Albemarle region it had received several additions, and now there were settlements all the way along the north shore of the Sound. The original Virginian plantations had been supplemented by several made by New-Englanders, and as far east as the Pasquotank River a colony of Bermuda people had taken up lands. Drummond had been succeeded in October, 1667, in the governorship by Samuel Stephens, and the proprietors in England, pending the completion of their great scheme, had authorized a temporary government of a council of twelve, half of them to be chosen by an assembly of the settlers.

It was such an assembly which now sent to London the simple code which it believed to have become necessary for the increasing population — or perhaps it should rather be said, needful to secure its further increase. Exemption from taxation for a year was secured to every new settler; but, to guard against a monopoly of lands by absentees, it was declared necessary to live in the country two years before such land-grant should form a complete title. The traffic with the neighboring Indians was reserved to the people of the district; stringent means were to be used against the participation of traders from outside. In addition to these inducements to emigration, the proposed laws gave to the country the very questionable advantage of forming a virtual asylum for runaway debtors; no debt contracted outside of Albemarle could be sued for within five years, nor could any colonist accept a power of attorney to demand such a debt from another. A tax of thirty pounds of tobacco on every lawsuit, while it provided for the expenses of the Governor and Council, was also intended to check the litigation so likely to arise in a new country where titles to land were a source of frequent dispute. Marriage was declared to be only a civil contract. Parties appearing be-

Character of
the Albe-
marle laws.

Laws con-
cerning mar-
riage.

fore "the governor, or any member of the council, or a few of their neighbors, and declaring their mutual consent, were declared to be man and wife." It has been conjectured that such a law was deemed expedient in the scarcity of clergymen, in a widely scattered community. Perhaps it was also meant to encourage matrimony and the emigration of women. A contemporary pamphlet, written in the interest of the proprietors, holds out as an inducement to such an emigration, that, "if any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over, they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid

a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but Civil, and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other will purchase them for their Wives.”¹ This sufficient constitution continued, with all its faults, to regulate Northern Carolina for more than forty years, till in 1715 it was deliberately reënacted by the people.

The Duke of Albemarle was the first Palatine under the Constitutions, and at his death the office passed to Lord Berkeley. But the “Fundamental Constitutions” never became the law of the land. From the time they were first adopted by the Proprietors, in 1669, till they were finally rejected by the Assembly of South Carolina, in 1698, they were four times amended, till their articles were reduced from one hundred and twenty to forty-one. Their onerous and impracticable provisions were so ill adapted to the condition of colonists in a new country, that hardly was respect enough paid to them even to attempt their serious enforcement.

The Proprietors had made, meanwhile, their first direct attempt to plant in the province a colony of their own. Albemarle was an off-shoot of Virginia; Cape Fear of Barbadoes; the new settlement was to be supplied directly from England, and furnished with means by the lords themselves.

In July, 1669, Captain William Sayle, who had already made explorations of the coast in the proprietaries’ service, was commissioned governor of that part of Carolina “lying south and west of Cape Carteret” or Cape Romain,² a region which had been especially excepted from the jurisdiction of Yeamans. In 1670 Sayle and Joseph West, a commercial agent of the proprietaries, set sail from England with two ships loaded with emigrants and stores.

They sailed in January. But they touched first at some port in Ireland before they were fairly off on their long voyage for Carolina

Fate of the
“Fundamental
Constitutions.”



Portrait of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

William
Sayle gov-
ernor, 1669.

¹ *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Florida, etc.*, London, 1666.

² Romain was its earliest name; then it became Carteret; now it is Romain again.

by way of Barbadoes. It was months before they reached Port Royal, to which they were ordered, no doubt because it was the best known point on that coast. Whether they did more than enter that beautiful bay is not certain, though some of the early writers think they attempted a settlement. It is more probable that they thought a port so accessible from the sea was less desirable for an infant colony than a place more difficult of approach. At any rate, they did not remain at Port Royal, but before the year was out, Sayle, who knew the coast, sailed up the present harbor of Charleston, and landed his people about three miles above the mouth of the Ashley River. The place they named Charles-town.

Sayle before long fell a victim to the climate, and Sir John Yeamans, who had been made a landgrave, succeeded him as governor by virtue of that rank, though West would have been preferred by the people. For several years the colony was in a languishing condition; nor did the Proprietaries conceal their discontent at the steady drain it kept up upon their treasury, while the possibility of its becoming self-sustaining seemed to grow no nearer. New emigrants were sent out, but, like the first settlers, they appear to have been of the class least likely to make successful pioneers. The climate discouraged Europeans from the only kinds of planting which could have proved profitable, and the hard labor of clearing and tilling was in great part done by negro slaves, a few of whom had been sent from Barbadoes, or brought thence by Yeamans and his companions to Cape Fear.¹ There was a small number of industrious and experienced men from the northern colonies,² and apparently there were a few English emigrants of more spirit and persistency than the rest; but the great majority was made up from the broken-down and vicious class which was drawn upon so largely by all the proprietary colonies.

The proprietors, not without grumbling, continued for some time to respond to the calls for supplies, for which no return was made in colonial products. But no provision could be made for the proper distribution of what was sent, and supplies were furnished to idle and industrious alike; the founders of the colony found themselves supporting a majority of useless paupers, where they had relied upon returns which the minority of hard-workers was not strong enough to secure. By the beginning of 1674 a heavy debt — some thousands of pounds — had accumulated on account of the plantation. Sir John Yeamans — who appears to have taken advantage of his position to direct what little export trade there was toward Barbadoes, where he could turn it to his own profit — was

Death of
Sayle. —
Yeamans
governor.

Languishing
condition of
the colony.

¹ Hewit, in Carroll's *Hist. Coll.*

² Chalmers.

removed, and, much to the general satisfaction, Joseph West was appointed governor in his place.

Yeamans, broken in health by the climate, but with a large fortune acquired during the years of his administration, retired again to Barbadoes, and the popular and prudent West soon ^{West governor, 1674.} changed the condition of affairs for the better. Emigrants were now willing to go to the province "at their own expense. Men of estate ventured where they were assured of fair dealing," says one of the older historians, and all accounts concur in representing the confidence in the new Governor as giving an immediate impetus to the settlement and progress of the place, while his management seems also to have checked for the time the complaints of the proprietaries. The colonists, it is true, did not pay the large indebtedness already contracted, nor even the Governor's salary, as they promised when his



View of Charleston Harbor.

administration began. But this latter point was settled, in 1677, by the Proprietors' assignment to West of all their stock, unused supplies, and overdue debts in the province, thus giving him a new motive for the improvement of the colony. For themselves, they doubtless considered it a favorable state of things if even the drain on their treasury was stopped. The idea of large profits must have been given up by this time even by the most sanguine "seignior" among them, while the more fortunate landgraves and cassiques, some few of whom had been appointed, must have rejoiced that their barren honors had been so cheaply purchased.

This prosperity, which was to last for several years, was hardly established, when the condition of affairs in their northern colony de-

Improvement in the Colony's affairs.

manded the attention of the vexed Proprietors. The people of Albemarle had become thoroughly discontented. The code of temporary laws sent to them had been openly disregarded, and the Assembly seems to have gone on without paying attention to any other code than its own. All manner of disquieting rumors had been spread abroad concerning the intentions of the proprietors regarding this particular settlement, — how they intended to give it to Sir William Berkeley for his own, separating it from the rest of the province, or how they favored their own colony at the south at the expense of the north. In 1674, to make confusion worse, Stephens, the Governor, died; and Carteret, chosen in his place pending advices from England, proved indifferent to or dissatisfied with his duties, and sailed for home after an administration of little more than a year.

In 1675 the fear of the colonists as to the dismemberment of the province, and Berkeley's dreaded rulership over it, led to an address to the Proprietors. Their prompt denial of the rumor, and their acknowledgment that they had "neglected Albemarle," did not check the excitement. At the same time one Thomas Miller was the object of great suspicion, and was sent to Jamestown for trial, charged with sedition. He was acquitted by a Virginian jury; but this did not allay the popular discontent. That, probably, was increased by the fact that he was taken out of the colony for trial.

In 1676 the Assembly decided to send an intelligent representative to England, to lay before the Proprietors the disorderly condition of the colony, to ask redress for various grievances, and to secure a governor who should understand their necessities, and satisfy their reasonable wants. Thomas Eastchurch, the speaker of the Assembly, was chosen for the duty; and about the time of his setting out, Miller also sailed for England, to demand redress for the injuries done him.

Eastchurch succeeded so well in his mission as to secure his own appointment to the governorship, with a set of instructions which he thought would quiet dissension and satisfy the people. But though Eastchurch was made Governor, Miller was no less successful in obtaining redress for his private grievances. The Proprietors acknowledged that he had been wronged in being taken to Virginia for trial, even if there was any ground for the trial itself. He who had been foremost in denouncing their rule in the colony, now became their servant. He was made collector of the customs, secretary, and Lord Shaftesbury's deputy in Carolina. Nor was this all; for, when the two newly-appointed officers sailed together

Discontent
at Alber-
marle.

Address to
the Propri-
etors.

The case of
Thomas Mil-
ler.

Eastchurch
sent to Eng-
land.

His success
and appoint-
ment as Gov-
ernor.

for the colony, and landed first in the West Indies, Eastchurch fell in love with a Creole heiress in Nevis Island, and sent his companion to rule at Albemarle, with full powers as his deputy, "till the chain that bound him proved too weak to hold Miller Deputy-governor. him, or strong enough to enable him to draw the beauty who had imposed it." Miller probably did not object to this arrangement, but proceeded promptly to the colony, where, on his arrival in July, 1677, the people received him, no doubt with deep disgust, but with outward signs of submission.

Albemarle had now a population of fourteen hundred "taxables," or persons between sixteen and sixty years of age, one third of them being women, negro slaves, and Indians. How these colonists had been ruled during Carteret's absence does not appear; probably chiefly by their own Assembly, with perhaps an executive named by the Council, whose name has not been recorded. One thing seems certain, however,—that the fourteen hundred colonists had proved themselves as difficult of tranquil government as many populations of ten times their numbers. Affairs had been left "in bad order and worse hands," said the Proprietors; and Miller found the place full of all the elements of turbulence that a combina- Continued disorder. tion of plantation and trading-post could furnish. A degree of anarchy must inevitably have resulted from the uncertainty caused by attempts to enforce first one and then another code of laws; but apart from this, the population was made up of the most diverse classes, among whom quiet would have been impossible. Puritan New Englanders, not feeling themselves at ease under ultra-royalist proprietors of a kind whom all their traditions led them to oppose; adventurers, who saw in any kind of strong government the prospect of taxes and restrictions on their profits; refugees from the political troubles in Virginia, finding safety in a province which refused to give them up,—all these mingled with the original colonists to make up a people peculiarly difficult to control. The principal trade was with New England, and the men who carried it on added to the disorder by a systematic evasion of the English customs-dues, which were perhaps unjust enough, yet which the proprietary governors were instructed to enforce.

It was on the question of this trade that the first open conflict arose between Miller and the colonists. As collector for the king, he assessed a duty of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported to other American colonies. By this tax he collected in the first six months thirty-three hogsheads of tobacco and more than five thousand dollars.¹ The indignation was great, particularly among the New

¹ Martin. See also Williamson and Hawks.

England trading-captains. Every device of smuggling and concealment was resorted to in order to evade the law.

In December, a northern trader named Gillam, commanding an armed vessel from New England, was arrested for violation of the law, and was bound in a thousand pounds to abide his trial. He threatened the people that he would bring them no more supplies at such risk. In the district of Pasquotank, where the arrest took place, the people rose at once, and the insurrection was almost immediately joined by the planters of other districts. Miller and several of the Proprietors' deputies were imprisoned by the insurgents led by one Culpepper, a man who had already been prominent in agitations on Ashley River. The funds of the revenue officers — some three thousand pounds — were seized, and a popular assembly was called, new courts established, and all matters of administration taken under the control of the successful rebels.

The people of Pasquotank published a proclamation or "remonstrance," addressed "to all the rest of the County of Albemarle," in justification of their conduct. Miller was accused of preventing a free election, which deprived them of a free parliament whereby their grievances could be made known to the Lords Proprietors. The chief of these grievances was that the tax on tobacco was enforced, and that trade was interfered with; and they relate with an almost ludicrous pathos the circumstances of Gillam's arrest — who had come "with three times the goods he brought last year," — which, of course, he meant to dispose of in a contraband trade, in tobacco — of Miller's boarding his vessel "with a brace of pistols," and presenting one of them at George Durant's breast, whom he seized as a traitor.

The grievance in truth was serious enough. Their chief production was tobacco. The tax was a heavy burden upon colonists inevitably poor; and the enforcement of the Navigation Act was to shut them off from a trade with New England upon which they were dependent almost for the necessities of life. The arrest of Gillam was the one thing needed to make a crisis. "Three times as many goods as the year before," but safely under hatches in Gillam's vessel, and not to be exchanged for the tobacco on which, nevertheless, the tax was inexorably levied — here was palpable oppression to be borne no longer. The insurrection was completely successful.

When Eastchurch arrived — having won his bride at last in the West Indies — he found that the delay had cost him his governorship. He appealed to Virginia for aid, but before he had time to put his plans into operation, he died.

The colonists, however, had no intention of setting the Proprietors

Insurrection
against Miller
in Pas-
quotank.

"Remonstrance"
of the Pasquotank
people.

Arrival of
Eastchurch.
His death.

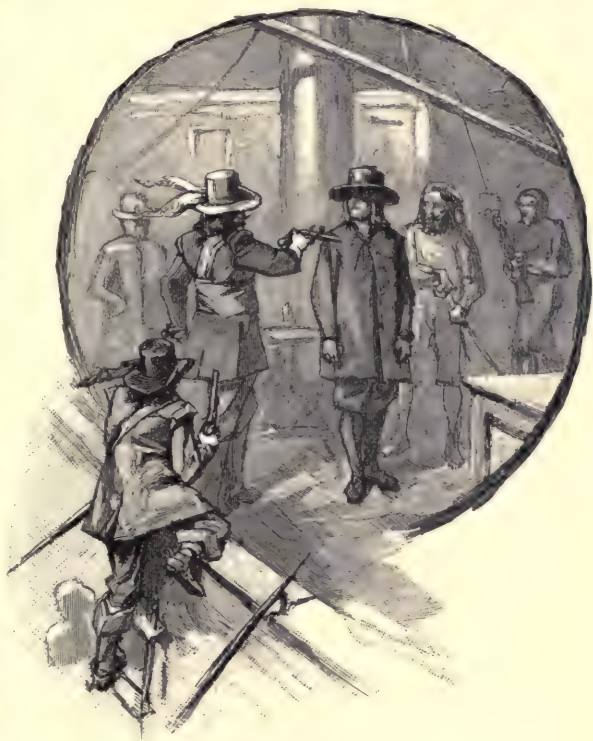
altogether at defiance. But it was nearly two years before they thought fit to offer any justification of their conduct in deposing one officer and refusing obedience to another. In 1679, Culpepper and Robert Holden were sent as commissioners to England to lay their grievances before the Proprietors. Miller and his companions in imprisonment succeeded in escaping and in securing passage on a homeward-bound vessel, and appeared in London not long afterward. The majority of the Proprietors seem to have been much puzzled by the contradictory accounts thus simulta-

Action of
the Proprie-
tors.

taneously brought before them. But Lord Shaftesbury, finding that the commissioners were willing to yield every thing to the proprietaries if only Miller should be permanently displaced and the insurgents pardoned; feeling also, perhaps, that the colonists really had grievances which should be redressed; but especially seeing, no doubt, that the successful rebel was much more of a man than the governor he had deposed,—used his influence in Culpepper's favor. No

thought seems to have been entertained of returning Miller to the government. A commission as governor of Albemarle had been previously issued to Seth Sothell, who had lately become a proprietor by purchasing the share of Lord Clarendon.

Sothell started for the colony probably late in 1678, or early the next year. But he was captured by the Turks on his outward voyage, and taken into Algiers. The Proprietors consequently decreed



Arrest of Durant.

that a temporary government should be continued under one John Harvey, to whom a commission for the time being seems to have been granted previously — perhaps because he was already in Carolina, and in a position to govern till a new officer's arrival.¹ But the expedient proved unsuccessful; his power was derided because it was known that it was to last but a little time. Indeed, he seems to have been virtually deposed in the summer of 1680, one John Jenkins succeeding him for a few months. In February, 1681, still another governor was commissioned pending Sothell's coming — Captain Henry Wilkinson, whose credentials call him "governor of that part of the province of Carolina lying five miles south of the river Pamlico, and thence to Virginia."

In the mean time Culpepper, when he was about to reëmbark for the colony after having apparently gained all his ends, had been arrested, at the instigation, it has been suggested, of the proprietors opposed to Shaftesbury,² and brought to trial by the commissioners of customs, for unlawfully acting as collector in the colony, and for high-treason. He begged in vain to be tried in Carolina, where the act was committed; this was refused him on the ground that "by a Statute of Henry VIII., foreign treason may be either tried by special commission or in the King's Bench by a jury of the county, where that court sits."³ He would undoubtedly have been convicted and sentenced by the King's Bench, had not Shaftesbury pleaded for him that there never had been a regular government in Albemarle, and that the rebellion had therefore been only a quarrel between factions of the colonists. Culpepper was acquitted. This trial occurred in Trinity Term, in the summer of 1680, that is, some months after Sothell's appointment, departure, and capture; and there is obviously no ground for the general assumption that Sothell was sent to the colony as a consequence of Culpepper's acquittal.

In the province itself dissensions were far from ended; nor did the conciliatory measures which the Proprietaries now adopted do much good. Instructions were given to the Governor to "pardon" the insurgents; a measure which naturally seems to have been laughed at by a faction which was almost as strong as the one now nominally in power; and as naturally disregarded by the Governor himself, who knew that to keep his place at all he must rule with a strong hand.

¹ State Papers cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of S. C.*, vol. i., p. 102.

² Grahame, ii., 107.

³ Ventris's *Reports*, 349. Cited by Chalmers.

Severe measures of punishment, on the one hand, and of retaliation on the other, appear to have kept Albemarle in constant anarchy during a period too turbulent to have left us any clear records ; and when Sothell, who had escaped from captivity, arrived in Carolina in 1683, he had every reason to find affairs in as bad a state as ever.



Seal of the Proprietors of Carolina.

CHAPTER XIII.

VIRGINIA UNDER BERKELEY.

CONDITION OF VIRGINIA IN 1670. — ABUSES AND POPULAR GRIEVANCES. — THE GRANT TO ARLINGTON AND CULPEPPER. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES AND THEIR RESULTS. — INEFFICIENCY OF BERKELEY. — INDIGNATION OF THE COLONISTS. — NATHANIEL BACON TAKES THE FIELD IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNOR. — HIS INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — BERKELEY PROCLAIMS HIM A REBEL. — POPULAR UPRISING. — CONCESSIONS FORCED FROM THE GOVERNOR. — BACON'S ARREST, SUBMISSION, AND ESCAPE. — HE CAPTURES JAMESTOWN. — SECOND INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — RENEWED ATTEMPTS OF BERKELEY TO SUPPRESS THE POPULAR MOVEMENT. — BACON'S RETURN. — HE SEIZES THE GOVERNMENT. — FLIGHT OF BERKELEY. — THE CONVENTION. — AIMS OF THE BACON PARTY. — REVIVING FORTUNES OF THE DEPOSED GOVERNOR. — BACON AGAIN CAPTURES AND BURNS THE CAPITAL. — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BACON. — CLOSE OF THE REBELLION. — PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS. — ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS. — RECALL AND DEATH OF BERKELEY.

In the year 1670, the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, in London, asked of Sir William Berkeley a report upon the condition of his colony. Apart from mere statistics, more may be inferred from his response than he saw fit to tell, — more, perhaps, than he really knew. But even the facts he gives are valuable.

There were forty thousand people in Virginia at this period: of these, only two thousand were negro slaves; but there were six thousand white servants bound to service for a term of years. It is not a violent supposition that these were not contented subjects. The best of them had been soldiers of the Commonwealth, — men who had risked their lives for the sake of political and religious liberty, and were not likely now to submit quietly to personal servitude. Others were of an even more dangerous class, for the Assembly of that year had listened to complaints, from members of the Council and other gentlemen, of the dangers that threatened the colony by the introduction of felons. The annual importation of white servants was fifteen hundred; the Assembly hoped at least to mitigate the evils of such an emigration by prohibiting the landing in Virginia of convicts from the English jails. Upon these indented servants and the negro slaves the colony depended for its labor. That their lives were held cheaply is plain, for four fifths of

Condition of
Virginia in
1670. The
people.

them died when put upon new plantations. It was cheaper to buy new servants than to keep old ones alive by sanitary measures.

Virginia owned but two small vessels of her own, though eighty ships came yearly from England to take away her tobacco and bring in exchange those commodities of luxury or necessity that her people could not do without. Nothing could be exported except to the king's dominions, and nothing, therefore, of much value, could be imported from anywhere but England. No improvement could come, the Governor thought, to the trade of Virginia till she was allowed to sell her tobacco, her staves, her timber, and her corn in the best market, and buy what she wanted in return where it could be bought cheapest. In 1671, she exported sixteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco, on which the export tax was two shillings a hogshead. The price in London ruled the price at which it was put on board the English vessels at the river-banks of the plantations, the planters taking goods in pay. The price of the tobacco was at the lowest, that of the goods at the highest, to which monopoly could bring them. The merchant made an enormous profit on both. More than one old writer says that the remuneration to the planter would hardly find him in clothes; but it was, no doubt, the four fifths of the servants who died that went without the clothes, and not the planters on their great estates, with their generous living and large hospitality.

The militia of the province could muster eight thousand men. On the James were two forts; on the Rappahannock, the York, and the Potomac, one each. They were meant, however, The militia. less for protection than as ports where ships should load and unload, that the restrictions upon trade might be the easier enforced than when cargoes were discharged and received at the plantations. For a year only, however, was that regulation obeyed. The great fire in London in 1666 reduced the number of ships that came out that season; and the fear that the plague which followed it might be introduced into the colony and spread by the aggregation of people at these ports, scattered the ships again along the rivers wherever a market could be found. But the forts were kept up, and the taxation for that purpose was a grievous burden for which there was no return.

The religious condition of the colony did not altogether suit Berkeley; with him religion meant conformity to the Established Church, and the church a form of prescribed belief and worship with which the constable should have as much to do as the priest. He hated non-conformity and dreaded any appeal to or reliance upon the human reason. He believed devoutly in authority, and every Puritan that went back to New England, every Quaker

The colonial trade.

The militia.

Religious affairs.

that sought refuge in Carolina, was a good riddance to a ruler who recognized the perfection of human government under Charles I. and Charles II. There were forty-eight parishes in the colony, and in these, Berkeley said, "our ministers are well paid; by my consent, should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, — the worst are sent us, and we have had few that we could boast of, since Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither." But some of these parishes were sixty or seventy miles in length, and better authority, perhaps, than the Governor's, asserted that many of them were for years without pastors. Nor were clergymen, when employed, held in much esteem, — in many cases were not deserving of it. Parishioners were often indifferent whether the parsons prayed or preached most, or whether they did neither. Not unfrequently a lay reader was employed at the lowest possible wages for which a substitute for a minister could be hired. This saved a clergyman's salary, and filled at the same time the Governor's requirement of religious teaching, — no preaching and more prayer-book.

But if the Governor was a little doubtful as to the religious state of the colony, he had no misgivings of the perfectly health-
 Education. ful condition of the merely secular mind of his people. To this consideration he turns with the keenest satisfaction. "But," he adds, "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both."

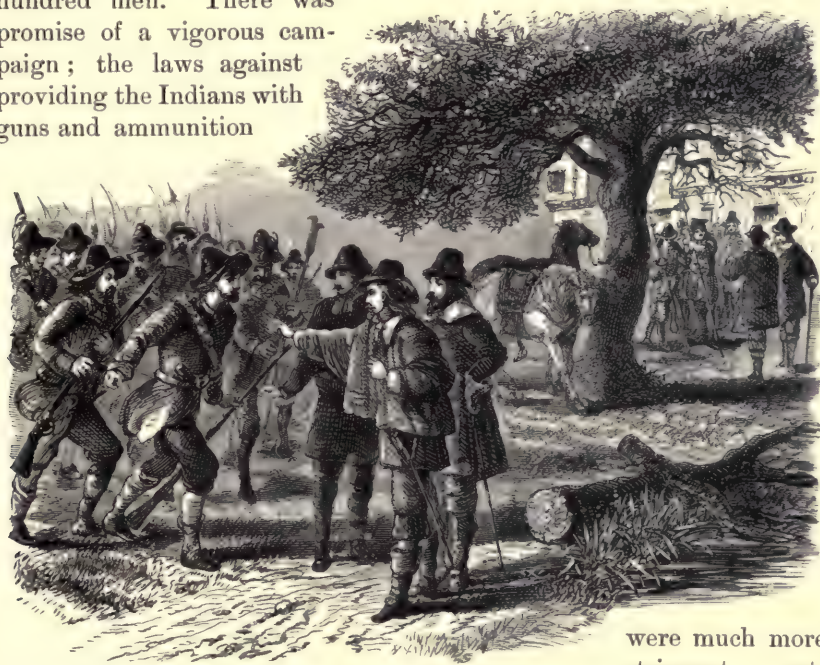
From 1660 to 1676 there was no election of representatives to the Assembly of Virginia. That body preserved its power from year to year by prorogation, and rendered any interference with it the more difficult by restricting the right of suffrage. Industry was paralyzed; the taxes were enormous; official tyranny was intolerable; monopoly absorbed all trade; the people had no voice in the government. In 1673 the whole territory, occupied already by nearly forty thousand Englishmen, was given by the king to two of his favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper, — the former the father-in-law of the king's bastard son, the Duke of Grafton, by the profligate and beautiful Lady Castlemaine, afterward the Duchess of Cleveland. The grant was a new source of taxation to the oppressed colonists, who were compelled to pay heavily for the support of agents in London in vain efforts to procure the restoration of their homes to the rightful owners. The condition of the colony seemed well-nigh hopeless, and only some pretext for revolt was needed to arouse the people to resistance. In 1674 some

Virginia
granted to
Arlington
and Culpepper.

disturbances, which promised to become a revolution, were with difficulty allayed by a proclamation from the Governor and the intercessions of some influential citizens of his party.

But the insurrection, which so many causes combined to make popular and inevitable, was only postponed for about a year. The Indians on the frontier — either the local tribes instigated by Senecas from the north, or the Senecas themselves — became so troublesome that the forts were put in a condition of defence, and Sir Henry Chicheley, the Lieutenant-governor, prepared to march, in the spring of 1675, against the enemy at the head of five hundred men. There was promise of a vigorous campaign; the laws against providing the Indians with guns and ammunition

Indian hostilities.



Gathering of the Virginia Planters in 1674.

were much more stringent; settlers were warned

to take their arms to church; days of fasting were ordered, and the whole colony seems to have been animated with the hope that something was at length to be done whose end was the common good. But when Chicheley and his little army were ready to move, an unaccountable and unexplained order to disband was received from Governor Berkeley.

Whether this was done in the interest of the Indian traders, — which was Berkeley's own interest, — or whether the Governor sincerely believed that the danger from the Indians was exaggerated, and would disappear if let alone, the effect upon the colonists was

unquestionably exasperating. If the Governor would not defend them, they determined to defend themselves.

The occasion was not long in coming. One Sunday morning, in the summer of that year, some persons in Stafford County, on their way to church, found lying at his own door, wounded and dying, a man named Hen, and near him a friendly Indian, quite dead. Hen lived long enough to tell his friends that the Doegs were the murderers.

Alarm was spread through the neighborhood, and thirty men started at once in pursuit. For twenty miles up the Potomac the trail was followed, till, crossing the river, it divided into two paths. The force separated to follow both, — one party under Captain Brent, the other under Colonel Mason. Brent soon came upon a wigwam, which he surrounded with his men. A chief came out at the Captain's summons, who accused him of having murdered Hen, and, as he attempted to fly, shot him down. His companions within the wigwam made some show of defence, and then, as they rushed out to escape, ten of them fell before the fire of the Virginians. They were of the Doeg tribe, and, very likely, the murderers.

The other party, who also reached a wigwam in the woods, waited for no parley. The Indians, aroused by the noise of the firing of Brent's men, rushed to the door, and, as they appeared, fourteen of them were shot dead before the assailants could be made to understand that these were not Doegs, but Susquehannocks. But the murder of Hen was fully avenged. The sun had risen but once over his grave, before — as the Indians believed — twenty-four of their people followed him into the valley of darkness.

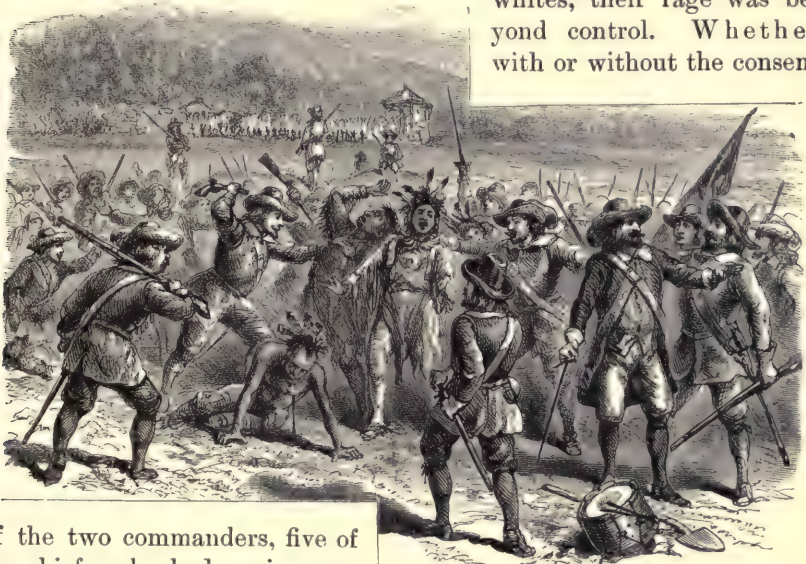
Retaliation was inevitable. Susquehannocks, Doegs, Senecas, Piscataways, — all the Indian tribes of the region were aroused by the slaughter in a single day of so many warriors. Two of these tribes mourned for their own; the third was accused of the act that had brought upon them so terrible a calamity. All had now cause to hate the whites; some of them — perhaps all — proved by new atrocities how eagerly they accepted the lesson. In Maryland and Virginia alike, the isolated planters knew that at any moment they might stand face to face with death.

The two colonies united in an expedition, and a thousand men were sent out under Colonel John Washington, — George Washington's great-grandfather, — of Virginia, and Major Thomas Truman, of Maryland. The Susquehannocks had taken refuge with their women and children in a strong fort on the Piscataway, and this the combined force surrounded.

Six of their chiefs were summoned from the fort, that negotiations might first be tried. They denied that their people were guilty of any hostile acts against the whites, and charged them to the Senecas, who had already fled northward. Truman accepted their explanations, and promised them protection, but the Virginians were not satisfied.

The next morning, a detachment brought into the camp the mutilated bodies of one Hanson and some members of his family who had been recently murdered. The act was known before, and was one of those now under consideration. But when this visible evidence of Indian atrocity was laid before the whites, their rage was beyond control. Whether with or without the consent

Killing of
the Indian
envoys.



The Killing of the Chiefs.

of the two commanders, five of the chiefs, who had again come out of the fort for a parley, and who, under the rules of war, were entitled to protection, were instantly bound and led out to execution.

The act was too atrocious to be sustained even by the public opinion of that time. Truman was brought to trial by the Legislature of Maryland, and found guilty in that he did "in a barbarous and cruel manner cause five of said Indians to be killed and murdered, contrary to the laws of God and of nations." How he was punished does not appear, for the records are lost.¹ When Colonel Washington returned to Jamestown, and took his seat in the Assembly, Berkeley said, in his opening address, "If they [the Susquehannocks] had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father, my mother,

¹ For the fullest narrative of all these transactions, see a lecture before the Maryland Historical Society, by S. F. Streeter, published in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. i.

and all my friends, yet, if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace."

This public rebuke was Washington's only punishment. Their revenge the Indians took into their own hands. Though the fort on the Piscataway was strong and capable of defence, they had laid in no provisions for a long siege. In the night, while the camp without slept unsuspecting of danger, the Susquehannocks, with their women and children — leaving behind only a few old men — crept out silently among their enemies, killing ten of them as they went, and escaped to the forest.

Arousing other tribes, they spread dismay along the Rappahanock and the James. Through the following winter they spread through Virginia, almost to Jamestown itself. Their object was rather revenge than plunder. "In these frightful times," says a narrative written a few years afterward by one of the planters who related what he saw,¹ "the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with pallisadoes and redoubts; neighbours in bodies joined their laborers from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the fields and setting centinels; no man stirred out of door unarm'd, Indians were (ever and anon) espied, three, 4, 5, or 6 in a party, lurking throughout the whole land; yet (what was remarkable) I rarely heard of any houses burnt . . . or other injury done besides murders, except the killing a very few cattle & swine." Sixty of the colonists, before the spring came, had fallen victims to this savage warfare along the York, the James, and the Rappahannock.

In this season of dire distress Berkeley was strangely inefficient or unpardonably indifferent. Even the Susquehannocks, satisfied with their bloody work, made overtures of peace, to which they received no answer; the colonists appealed to him for protection, but he was moved neither by their sufferings nor their prayers. The time had come when they must depend upon themselves for safety. In securing that, came the opportunity to redress much other wrong.

Among the owners of plantations on the James was young Nathaniel Bacon, the cousin and heir of a rich and well-known Jamestown citizen of the same name. Although he was not yet thirty, and had joined his relative in Virginia less than three years before, he was already of sufficient mark in the province to have been appointed member of the council, and to have gained an influence among his neighbors that implied unusual qualities in so

¹ *The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion.* By T. M. Republished in *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

young a man. He lived upon an estate called Curles, on the river, a little distance below Richmond; but he also owned a plantation near the falls of the James, — perhaps where the place called “Bacon Quarter Branch” still keeps his name.¹ Here, in the late winter or early spring of 1676, a band of savages stole into the clearing, and killed two persons, — a servant, and Bacon’s overseer, whom he held in high esteem.²



Bacon Quarter Branch.

The young man had been already greatly excited by the distresses of the people about him, and it needed only this appeal to personal interest and feeling to move him to action. His neighbors, one and all, looked to him as their leader; and he and they had “sent oftentimes to the Governor, humbly beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own charge.” But no commission came. “The mysteries of these delays were wondered at,” and the minds of the people, bitter with other grievances, were filled with “surmizes and murmurings.” The climax came when Bacon himself, struck at last in his own family, swore that he would avenge his overseer’s death,

¹ Campbell’s *History of Virginia*.

² There are several contemporary accounts of Bacon’s Rebellion. The so called “Burwell Account,” found among the papers of Captain Nathaniel Burwell, of Virginia, and published in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. i., is incomplete. That by “T. M.” in Force’s *Hist. Tracts*, i., is the fullest. See also *An Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia*, by Mrs. An. Cotton, of Q. Creeks, in Force, i., 9th paper; *A List of those Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia*, etc., *ibid.*, 10th paper; and the documents in the appendix to chap. v. in Burk’s *History of Virginia*, vol. ii.

and that should news of another murder reach him, he would march out against the savages, "commission or no commission."

Such news was but a little while in coming; and he kept his word. A force whose numbers are differently stated at ninety, three hundred, and even six hundred men,¹ gathered about their leader. But even on the eve of their march, they sent once more to Berkeley for authority, warning him that should he not send it by a certain day,

Bacon takes
the field.

they would go without it. It did not come, and at the appointed time the expedition moved. It had gone only a short distance, before it was overtaken by a messenger, bearing in hot haste a proclamation from the Governor, denouncing all as rebels who did not disperse and return to their homes before a given date. This was decisive, and the line must be drawn at once between such as would brave the final threat of the authorities and such as would turn back while it was yet possible. Fifty-seven of his company kept on into the wilderness with Bacon; "those of estates," who feared their confiscation, returned with discontented obedience to save their property.

Bacon and his party had not accomplished that most difficult and dangerous part of Indian warfare, the finding of the enemy, when their supplies began to run low. Coming upon the fortified village of a friendly tribe, they asked the savages for provisions, with offers of pay. If the white men would wait till the next day, they should have what they asked, was his answer. It shows what was the popular opinion of the Governor, that a suspicion at once arose among the Bacon party that these Indians were acting by his direction. It was absolutely necessary that food should be had. Wading "shoulder deep" through the creek that ran before the palisades, they pressed their request. A shot, coming from some unseen

Attack upon
friendly In-
dians.

enemy as night was falling, killed one of the troop, and aroused a suspicion that the Indians were reënforced. An attack was made, the fort taken and burned, and, according to Bacon's own account, one hundred and fifty Indians were put to the sword. It was the annihilation of the tribe of Susquehannocks. That, it was thought, must put an end to all further trouble from the savages, and the colonists dispersed.

The supposed collusion of Sir William Berkeley and the Indians had this much color of probability, — that the Governor, so soon as he was satisfied of the determined purpose of Bacon and his men, had taken a troop of horse and set out in pursuit. He did not reach them; but his desertion of the capital, at

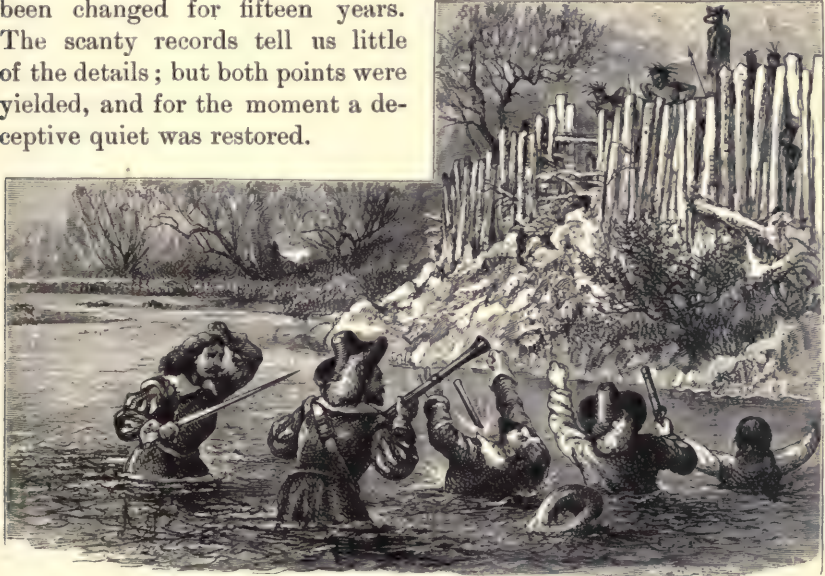
Berkeley in
pursuit of
Bacon's
force.

¹ Burk, ii. 164, says six hundred; Burwell, p. 10, says "about seventy or ninety persons;" T. M., p. 11, says three hundred men.

this critical moment, proved an ill-judged step. No sooner was he well away, than a revolt broke out among the planters to the south. In the absence of the Governor, the Assembly hesitated and temporized, and allowed the rebellion to gain headway. Hurrying back, Sir William found the country everywhere in such commotion that he was compelled to make concessions.

Popular disturbance.
Berkeley's concessions.

Among the first demanded was the abolition of taxes for the useless forts, — their uselessness now doubly shown, — and the dissolution of that long Assembly which had not been changed for fifteen years. The scanty records tell us little of the details; but both points were yielded, and for the moment a deceptive quiet was restored.



Bacon's Troops crossing the Creek.

The elections to the new Assembly, for which writs were immediately issued, resulted almost everywhere, as might have been expected, in favor of the popular party. A great majority of the delegates were men pledged to demand redress of the people's grievances. Bacon, whose great popularity was increased by his action in the Indian matter, was among the new members. Notwithstanding his recent defiance of the Governor, he did not hesitate to start for Jamestown on the day appointed. This audacity even a weaker man than Berkeley might have resented. As Bacon sailed down the river from his home at Curles, on his way to the Assembly's session, his sail-boat was brought to by an armed vessel, and he was carried to the capital under arrest. "Mr. Bacon," asked the old Governor, as the culprit was brought before him, "have you forgot to be a gentleman?" — "No, may it please your honor."

New elections.

The arrest of Bacon.

—“Then,” said the old soldier, with a courtesy not forgotten in severity, “I will take your parole;” and the popular leader took his seat unhindered among the burgesses.¹

The burgesses met on the morning of the 5th of June; and when they had chosen a speaker, the Governor summoned them before him. In “a short, abrupt speech,” as we have already related, he rebuked



Bacon's Submission.

Colonel Washington for the murder of the Susquehannock chiefs. Then, after seating himself for a moment, he rose and surprised the house by saying, “if there be joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now; for we have a penitent sinner come before us. Call Mr. Bacon.” “Then,” says an eye witness, “did Mr. Bacon, upon one knee at the bar, de-

Bacon's submission.

¹ T. M.'s Narrative.

liver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes and begging pardon of God, the king, and the governor." There was a brief silence broken by Berkeley's saying, with real emotion, "God forgive you — I forgive you."¹

There seems to have been in the veteran officer a warm personal regard for the brilliant young man before him. A moment after pronouncing his forgiveness, he started up again from his chair and said, "Mr. Bacon, if you will live civilly but till next quarter court — but till next quarter court — I'll promise to restore you again to your place there," — pointing to Bacon's vacant seat in the council. "And in th' afternoon," says the narrator of the incident, "passing by the court door in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat . . . which seemed a marvellous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebell."²

It is not easy to credit the assertion that all this action on Sir William Berkeley's part was treacherous ; that his kindness and his emotion were both feigned ; and his reception of Bacon a mere device to conciliate the excited planters. Yet Bacon and his adherents believed this, or at least, doubted that Berkeley meant to heed their just complaints. A few days later, while the Assembly was still engaged in a stormy debate upon the Indian question, "one morning early a bruit ran about the town — 'Bacon is fled — Bacon is fled!'"³

The rumor speedily proved true. Leaving no other excuse for breaking his parole, than the insufficient one that he believed he was meeting treachery with treachery, — "having ^{His flight.} information that the Governor's generosity . . . [was] no other than previous woads to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem," — the young man had left Jamestown to rejoin his neighbors. Some said his cousin had given him "timely intimation to flee for his life;" for that the Governor — "seeing all quiet," and noticing that the turbulent country people who had come to the capital had dispersed again on seeing justice apparently done to their favorite, — had issued "private warrants to take him againe." But it should not be forgotten that the contemporary narratives, on which we must rely for the details of these events, are not impartial and may, therefore, be unjust to Berkeley. Narrow-minded, arbitrary, and destitute of any regard for the rights of the common people, and — as he soon showed himself to be — careless of human life, the whole career of the Governor hardly justifies the belief that he would stoop to gain his ends by deceit and treachery. That Bacon, however, believed him capable of it, is the only justification of his own conduct.

¹ "Thrice repeating the same words," says T. M.

² T. M.'s *Narrative*.

³ *Ibid.*

Bacon's adherents of course accepted his conclusions, and all hope, therefore, of a peaceful solution of the troubles ended with his arrival among his friends.

Only a few days of excitement and alarm had passed since his escape, when news reached Jamestown that the rebel was marching thither at the head of "an army" of four or five hundred men, who had mustered some thirty miles or more up the river. With almost every hour expresses reached the capital with news of his approach. Berkeley tried vainly to collect the militia for defence; but many of them were already with the insurgents, and no sufficient body could be gathered. On the fourth day after the first news of their coming, the horse and foot under Bacon entered the town without resistance. They were bivouacked upon the green close by the state-house, and the proper disposition made of them to hold all the streets. This done, they disarmed all the inhabitants, and would permit none to enter the town without giving up his weapons.

Amid this confusion the Assembly was called together by beat of drum. Barely had its session been begun, when Bacon, with a double file of fusileers, took up a position near the corner of the state-house. The members of the Assembly crowded to the windows, while the Governor and Council went out to treat with the rebel leader. It was a scene of wild confusion; in the midst of "the hubbub" Bacon raged up and down between his files of men, "with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way;" the crowd about him clamoring with such violence that, says the narrator, "if in this moment of fury that enraged multitude had fallen upon the Governor and Council, we of the Assembly expected the same immediate fate." Berkeley, as excited as Bacon, thrust himself between the lines of troops, and baring his breast to their weapons, cried "Here—shoot me! 'Fore God, fair mark! Shoot!" To which the rebel, still commanding his temper, as it seemed, answered, "No, may it please your honor—we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised; and now we will have it before we go!" The Governor turned, and walked toward his private apartments, followed by the Council; and Bacon, now losing his self-command entirely, followed him with "outrageous postures," "often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat," and seeming like one delirious with rage. "Dam my blood!" he shouted, "I'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly, and all,—and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood!"—and turning to his men he ordered them to point their fusils at the windows filled with anxious faces.

Bacon
marches on
Jamestown.

His inter-
view with
Berkeley.

For a moment there was wild excitement; the people clamored for the commission with shouts of "We will have it! we will have it!" and the fusileers cocked their pieces; when a person at the window waved a handkerchief, and called out that they should be satisfied. "T was said," — continues the narrative, — "Bacon had given a signall to his men . . . that if he should draw his sword, they were on sight of it to fire and slay us; so near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxism of phrentick fury but drawn his sword before the pacifick handkercher was shaken out at window!"

Excitement
among the
people.

Excited as the people were, both they and the fusileers, as well as Bacon himself, had recognized the person who waved the handkerchief as one of the most influential citizens, and believed that he had both will and power to keep his promise. The soldiers lowered their arms, and Bacon, after a moment's consultation, marched them away to the main body of his troops. In an hour he came back alone, and going into the Assembly's room, addressed that body vehemently, demanding that the commission be issued to him at once. A large majority favored his request, but no one dared to act decisively. Bacon's own colleague, Bruce, hesitatingly said, "it was not in their province or power," or any one's save the Governor's. No one else spoke; Bacon retired "dissatisfied," and for the rest of the day comparative quiet reigned.

Bacon ad-
dresses the
Assembly.

The anxious night that followed seems to have produced a change of policy on the part of both Berkeley and the burgesses. The former saw himself at last forced to another compromise, and the majority of the Assembly came together the next morning with no sign of the hesitancy of the day before. The only difficulty was to restrain the motions for the redress of popular grievances long enough to permit the all-important Indian question to be finally disposed of. Bacon's commission was speedily passed, and was promptly confirmed by Governor and Council. But, in the altered state of feeling, this was not by any means enough. The house was in perfect accord and sympathy with the people, and its boldness increased with every concession. It next passed an Act of amnesty toward Bacon and his followers, and directed the preparation of a letter to the King justifying their action. A letter written by the Governor, in which he complained to His Majesty that he was "encompassed with rebellion like waters," was submitted, and received by the burgesses with due respect; but it was doubted, nevertheless, that "his hono'r sent all he wrote." Other versions of affairs, however, than that of the Governor's, were sent to England by several delegates.

Action of
the Bur-
gesses.

Then followed rapidly a multitude of reformatory measures. The franchise was again extended to all freemen. The county magistrates, who had long had local taxation in their own hands, were now compelled to associate with them a board of delegates elected by the people. The privileges of members of the Council were curtailed. No one was to be appointed to an office who had not for three years resided in the country. Propositions — possibly never carried out — were made for an examination of the colonial accounts. The Governor's fees in certain cases were restricted; his virtual monopoly of the fur trade was abolished. The majority, now altogether under the influence of Bacon and his chief advisers, Lawrence and Drummond, effected in a few days more radical reforms than the boldest would have believed possible a week or two before. That they should be bitterly opposed by the minority, and only confirmed by the Governor under the pressure of necessity, was a matter of course. Some of the debates upon them were very stormy; and party feeling ran so high that, according to one historian, it founded feuds of a century's duration between members of the different factions. The whole time occupied by all this legislation was barely a week, and at the end of it Berkeley succeeded in dissolving an Assembly which had suddenly become so formidable, — the hasty dissolution probably meeting with but little opposition, because it was felt that all that could be done at the moment had been accomplished.

Bacon — who had meanwhile been occupied in organizing the thousand men allowed him by the act, and in wisely appointing as his subordinates men who were already known as officers in the regular militia — now set out for a vigorous campaign against the Indians; and, in a short time after the breaking up of the Assembly, was hotly engaged in the Pamunkey country, driving the savages successfully before him. No sooner was he at a safe distance, however, than events showed that the acquiescence he had extorted from the Governor in measures of reform was to be but short-lived. By a petition which came to him from the people of Gloucester and Middlesex counties (on the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the York), Berkeley was led to believe that the people of that region were still loyal to him, and opposed to the insurgent party. He crossed the York, and called a muster of the militia of the peninsula. Twelve hundred men collected; and relying upon their adherence, he once more declared Bacon a rebel, and called upon them to join in a march against him and his army. He was speedily convinced of his mistake. Immediately "arose a murmuring before his face, 'Bacon! Bacon! Bacon!' and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went,

Reformatory measures.

Bacon's second Indian campaign.

Renewed proclamations of Berkeley.

‘Bacon, Bacon, Bacon,’ leaving the Governor and those that came with him to themselves.”

Bacon was approaching the head of York River when news came that Berkeley had again proclaimed him an outlaw, and was seeking volunteers to pursue him. Answering angrily “that it vexed him to the heart that while he was hunting wolves which were destroying innocent lambs,” the Governor and his followers should seek to put him “like corn between two mill-stones,” he turned his army instantly and hurried across country. It was the unlucky Berkeley, and not the rebel, who now found himself likely to be

Bacon's re-
turn.
Flight of
Berkeley.



Berkeley and the Gloucester Men.

“ground to powder.” Failing completely in his efforts to gain

popular support, he fled precipitately to Accomac, across the Chesapeake, and left the province at the mercy of his opponent.

Bacon was now virtually the Governor of Virginia, and the first uses made of his power justified the popularity that he enjoyed. Marching his force as rapidly as possible into Gloucester County, — where, in spite of Berkeley’s failure to arouse the people at large, there was still a party in his favor, — he deployed a large detachment to patrol the country, and to arrest Berkeley’s adherents. These were put under parole; but they suffered in no other way, and his whole course seems to have been generous and conciliatory. He is credited with offering to spare the life of a spy captured by his men, provided a single voice out of the whole

The Bacon
party in
power.

little army should be raised in his behalf; ¹ "which no man appearing to do," the prisoner duly suffered death. And it was said that during the whole course of the rebellion this was the only man put to death in cold blood by the insurgents, while not a single house, even of the Governor's immediate and most obstinate adherents, was plundered or molested.

When Bacon issued a call for a convention of the leading men of the province to meet him at Middle Plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, it was very widely responded to. A large assemblage gathered in the month of August, and listened to propositions for the reorganization of the government. An oath was to be administered to the people, without distinction. Those who took it were to promise to aid Bacon in a war against the Indians; to oppose Berkeley in any attempt to interfere with them in so doing; and to resist any force which might arrive from England, until its leaders should grant such terms as would include a hearing in England of the popular complaints against Berkeley's administration. The first two clauses were agreed to without hesitation: but to the third, as an act of flat rebellion against the Mother country, there was a determined opposition, and a "bloody debate" of twelve hours followed.

It is said to have been turned in Bacon's favor, after he had eloquently contended in vain against his opponents, by an unlooked-for incident. While the discussion was at its height, a gunner arrived from Fort York, to report that the Indians had made a raid under the very walls, as it were, of that post; that several persons had been killed; and that others had thronged into the works for protection. Bacon's point was instantly and forcibly made; he asked the gunner how it could be that this threatening aspect of affairs could exist close by the strongest work in that part of the province? The reply was that Berkeley, sailing into the York, had on the very day before the murders removed all the powder from the fort into his own vessel. This turned the scale, and the majority consented to Bacon's oath at once. A clause was inserted in the preamble to the oath setting forth that "Sir William Berkeley, Knight, Governor of the Country," having sought to divert the country's army from its pursuit of the Indians, and having failed therein, had "withdrawn himself, to the great astonishment of the people;" and then followed an explanation of the calling of the convention. Thus introduced, and signed by the members of that body, including some of Berkeley's government, and many of the leading men of the whole province, it was published immediately to the citizens at large. Writs for an Assem-

Convention
of the colo-
nists.

The new
oath of al-
legiance.

bly were issued, under the names of four members of the Council who took part in the convention's proceedings, and had sided throughout against the Governor.

The feeling among the leaders who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of these decisive measures was that of men who had begun a war of independence. There was no telling to what lengths they might be called upon to go. Their talk was earnest, resolute, and grave, — a forecast of that which, just a century later, was to be heard at Philadelphia in a greater cause. Richard Lawrence and William Drummond, the former governor of Carolina, who appears to have been the brain of the enterprise of which Bacon was the right hand, saw clearly whither their action tended, and guided each step with prudent firmness. Beside them, at a council of which record is preserved, stood Drummond's wife, taking part, with an influence rarely given to a woman of that day and place, in their debates upon the future. The spirited words she spoke seemed half prophetic. "The child that is unborn shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country," she said; and to a cautious gentleman, who warned them of "a greater power from England," that would certainly prove their ruin, she answered, "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw." "Now we can build ships," she added, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." If all she uttered was not to be fulfilled in her own time, her great-grandchildren were to see it carried out with a broader significance.

Berkeley, meanwhile, was gathering at Accomac such of his people as could reach him in his disadvantageous position; but, at the best, the force which he could collect was a very small one, and his prospects seemed almost hopeless until the coming of aid from England, when suddenly accident and the bravery of one of his followers changed the whole current of affairs. The first direct act of hostility which the insurgents attempted against him resulted in giving him the very means he wanted to make head against them.

Giles Bland, collector-general of the royal customs in Virginia, was one of Bacon's warmest partisans, besides being a personal enemy of the Governor. In the zeal which grew out of both these relations, he suggested, and was appointed to carry out, a plan for Berkeley's capture. Taking advantage of his office, he was to board the ship of a certain Captain Laramore, that lay near the mouth of the York River, and, while pretending to examine her cargo, was to put his men in possession and take her commander prisoner. Accompanied by a smaller vessel, under one Captain Carver, he was then to sail for Accomac, where the defenceless Governor could easily be captured and returned to Jamestown.

Spirit and
aims of the
Bacon party
leaders.

Berkeley at
Accomac.

Bland's ex-
pedition.

The plan worked admirably as far as the seizure of the vessel went, and Bland, with his armed men, soon had her captain shut up in his cabin, while they and the captured crew weighed anchor and made ready to set sail. But Laramore, feigning complete submission, assured Bland of his willingness to take part in the expedition, proclaimed himself an enemy of Berkeley, and so won Bland's confidence that he was again put in charge of the ship, and forthwith made himself conspicuous in furthering the preparations. Followed by Carver's vessel and a sloop, all manned by more than two hundred men, the collector — or the lieutenant-general, as Bacon had commissioned him — bore away for Accomac. In the bay he compelled another sloop to accompany his fleet, and so arrived at the eastern shore as the admiral of four well-armed craft.

On the news of the arrival of this hostile force, Berkeley despaired of defence, and proposed to surrender. But while he was debating with his companions, a message was brought to him which changed the aspect of affairs. Laramore had succeeded in smuggling ashore a note, in which he promised, if the Governor would send a force to aid him, to deliver Bland, Carver, and their men, into his hands, and to put the vessels and their crews at his disposal. There was a moment's hesitation, for Laramore's reputation was not of the best, and it was thought that he might be merely acting the decoy. But Philip Ludwell, one of Berkeley's warmest adherents, decided the doubtful question by offering to take charge of the force Laramore proposed, and thus insuring success if the captain were acting honestly, or making at least a stubborn fight if he were treacherous.

At midnight, Ludwell and a company of twenty-six picked men pulled silently alongside the ship. Laramore proved faithful, and the sleeping men on board, waking in confusion and seeing an armed party pouring over the sides, were overpowered before they knew the weakness of their captors. It was only needful to turn the guns of the larger vessel upon her smaller tenders; and without the firing of a shot the formidable little fleet was taken. Berkeley emphasized his triumph by hanging Carver a few days afterward, upon the shore of the bay; and why Bland and the other leaders escaped a similar fate is not clear. Perhaps the Governor — who, while the Laramore plot had been maturing, had sent for Carver under a safe-conduct, and tried to bribe him to desert the Baconites — owed the stout sailor a grudge for turning a deaf ear to all his arguments.

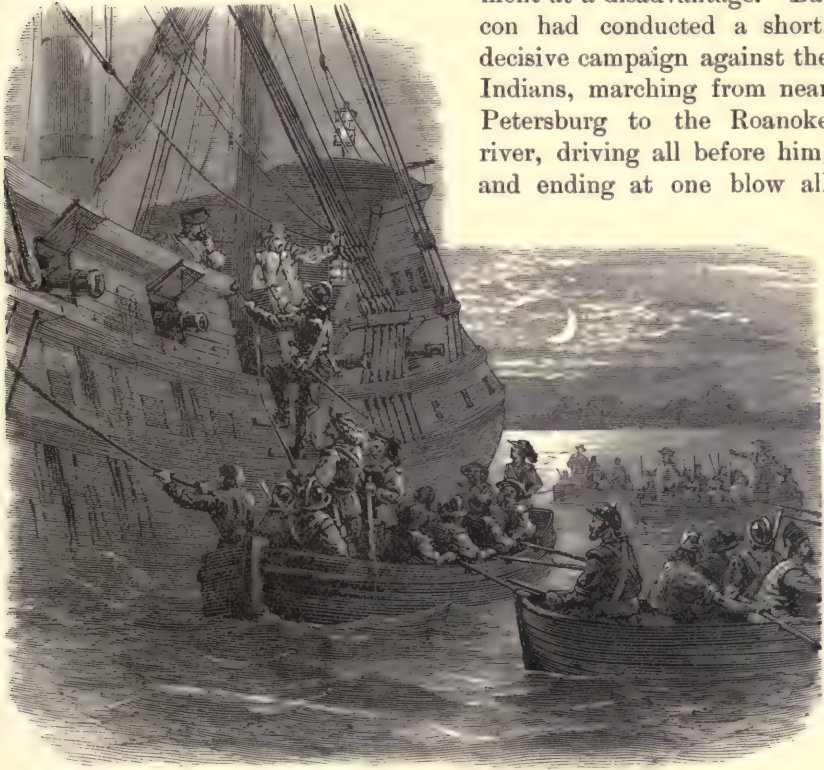
The hesitating loyalists, who had kept prudently aloof while Berkeley was altogether without defence or resources, now rallied, reanimated by Ludwell's exploit. Fourteen sloops and other small craft

Bland's fleet
betrayed
into Berke-
ley's hands.

were soon added to the four captured vessels, and, with six hundred men ready to follow him, Berkeley found himself at the head of a formidable force. Crossing the bay, he took possession of Jamestown, on September 17, without meeting any attempt at resistance, and at once proceeded to restore his friends to their offices, to reëstablish his old government, and to issue a new proclamation proclaiming Bacon and his followers, for the third time, traitors, rebels, and outlaws.

Rally of the
Governor's
party.
Jamestown
recaptured.

The Governor's sudden movement caught his opponents for a moment at a disadvantage. Bacon had conducted a short, decisive campaign against the Indians, marching from near Petersburg to the Roanoke river, driving all before him, and ending at one blow all



Taking of Bland's Fleet.

possibility of any formidable Indian war for years to come. His work thus thoroughly accomplished, and regarding Berkeley as now altogether powerless, he returned to the neighborhood of the James and disbanded the main body of his men; and as nearly all of them were planters, they quickly scattered to their homes. He was in this position when the news of the capture of Jamestown reached him through Drummond and others of his adherents who had fled from the place; but acting with his usual energy, he turned at once to the offensive.

Gathering a small force, to which he added as he marched, he came rapidly across the country, and appeared before the capital just as the Governor had finished his hurried preparations for defence by running a palisade across the neck of Jamestown peninsula. Before the besieged enemy knew his whereabouts, — for he had moved “with a marvellous celerity, outstripping the swift wings of fame,” — they heard his trumpet blown from the high ground near the town, and the cannon shot with which he warned them of his presence. It was at sunset that he appeared before the palisades; and by the morning his men were sheltered behind earthworks, which they had finished in apparent carelessness of the “3 grate guns” the Governor had planted on his ramparts, and of the ships, lying “almost close aborde the shore . . . with their broad sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaute.”

An account hostile to Bacon avers that he made up for “the paucity of his numbers” by a stratagem that was anything but creditable. Sending some of his horse to scour the country near at hand, he ordered them to take and bring to him certain gentlewomen living near by, whose husbands were in the town, that he might hold hostages, as it were, to secure the granting of all his demands. When they arrived, he “sends one of them to inform her owne and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in the fore frunt of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him.” According to the writer of this story, which is not elsewhere confirmed, “these Ladyes white Aprons” naturally “became of grater force to keep the besieged from falling out, than his works (a pitiful trench);” and either “these considerations or some others . . . kep their swords in their scabbards.” Yet he goes on to say that the gentlewomen were after all soon taken out of danger, but that a party sent out by Berkeley to make an attack on Bacon’s works, “went out with heavie harts, but returned home with light heels;” — were, in short, driven back disgracefully by the Baconites, to the disgust of the Governor, “which he exprest in som passionate terms.”

The next day, when Bacon mounted three guns upon his works, actually to begin the reduction of the place, Berkeley and his adherents gave up all hope of a successful defence. Before the rebels had fired a single damaging shot, the fleet dropped silently down the river, under cover of the darkness, carrying Governor, officials, troops, townspeople, and even their household goods, and leaving Jamestown a mere collection of empty houses.

When Bacon entered, the next morning, he found a deserted capital, the guns spiked, and nothing left but a few horses, “two or three

sellers [cellars] of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many tanned hides." No army could subsist upon such plunder; nor would it have profited Bacon to hold the empty place. A council was called; and though among his people there were many property-holders of the town, it was decided to destroy it, that it might not serve again as a harbor for the enemy. Lawrence and Drummond applied the torch to their own houses, at nightfall; and that night Sir William Berkeley, lying at anchor twenty miles below, saw the dark sky lighted by the flames of the first English town built in America, — the historic settlement of Smith, Newport, and Wingfield. The destruction was complete, "not so much as sparing the church — and the first that ever was in Virginia." Nor was the place ever rebuilt.

Jamestown
taken and
burned.



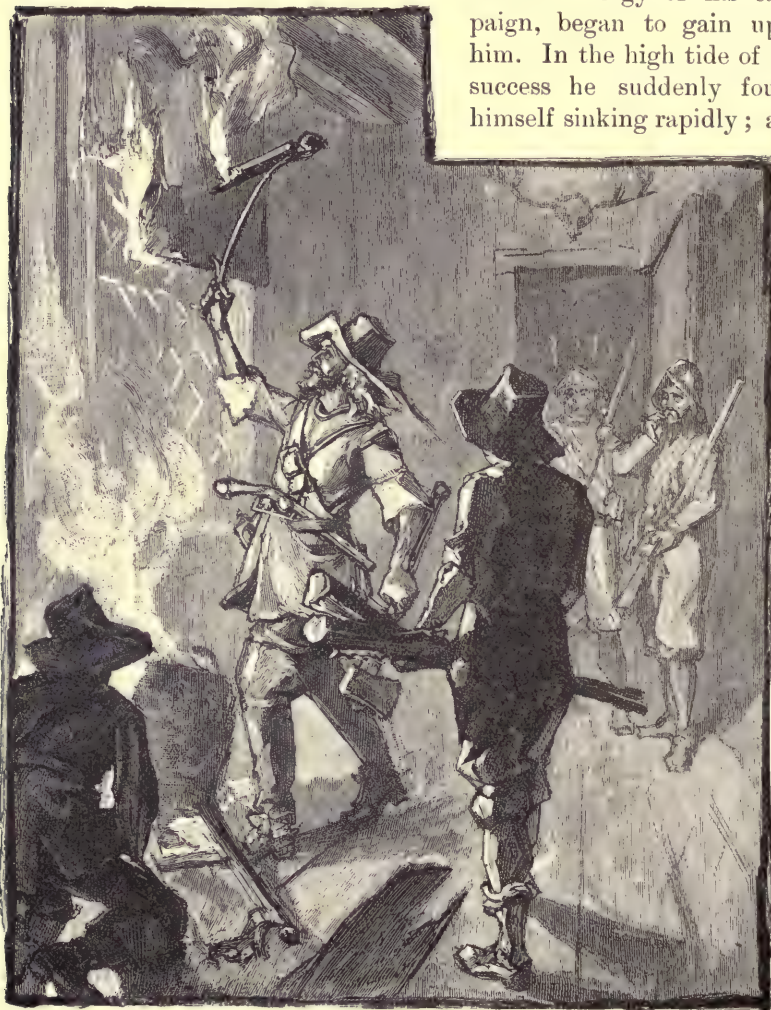
Bacon and the Jamestown Gentlemen.

Crossing the long peninsula between the James and York, Bacon now established himself at Gloucester Point, expecting to be attacked there by Colonel Brent, who was known to be approaching from Northern Virginia, at the head of a thousand men. But this attack, says a contemporary, "like the hoggs the devill sheared, produced more noyse than wool;" for Brent's men nearly all deserted before they came in face of the enemy advancing to meet them, and left their leader "mightily astonished." Bacon was thus left free to attempt once more the organization and quieting of the province; and began it by calling a convention of the uncertain peo-

Bacon again
in power.

ple of Gloucester County, to whom he administered the oath before resolved upon. Then, yearning to make his Indian victories even more final and complete, he began to plan another expedition into the interior.

While thus engaged, a trifling illness which he had neglected in the restless energy of his campaign, began to gain upon him. In the high tide of his success he suddenly found himself sinking rapidly ; and



Burning of Lawrence's House at Jamestown.

despite all the efforts of his people, nothing checked the course of his disease. And so, says his hostile biographer, not without an unholy exultation, "all his strength and provisions being spent, [he] surrendered up that Fort he was no longer able

Death of
Bacon.

to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death." He died on the first day of October, 1676, in the house of Dr. Pate, near Gloucester. His burial-place was kept a secret that has never been revealed.¹

The command of Bacon's forces passed into the hands of his lieutenant-general, Joseph Ingram; but the dead leader had left no one behind who was precisely fitted to take his place. Lawrence and Drummond, wise advisers as they had proved themselves, had not the influence of their more active associate over his followers; and the loss of the energetic and brave commander dealt the revolution a blow from which it could not rise. The speedy capture and execution of several leading insurgents, by a party of Berkeley's adherents, served to intensify the despondency and panic that prevailed among the great body of the Baconites; and in the country at large the rebellion suddenly died. A large part of the insurgents scattered quickly to their homes, following the impulse to save themselves from the fate of a lost cause; and only the leaders, the men who had the courage of their convictions, or for whom pardon was believed to be impossible, were left with a small force to make a final struggle.

The insurrection without a leader.

The closing scenes.

Ingram established himself at West Point, on the upper York River, a place which Bacon himself had designed to make his "prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat," because of its natural facilities for

¹ The grief of Bacon's friends and the joy of his enemies have each left a rhymed epitaph, that show the fervor with which he was both loved and hated, and correspond to the two views that have been and are still taken of his action and his restless life:—

"Death why soe crewill! what, no other way
To manifest thy spileene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late caoss?
. . . . Now we must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him their lives must end.
. . . .
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In desarved measures; untill time shall bring
Truth crowned with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
Hee's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceaser hee was friend or foe."

In the other epitaph is lavished a flood of abuse on "his flagitious name":—

"The braines to plot, the hands to execute
Projected ill, Death Joyntly did nonsute
At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
He hath committed Prisoner to the Grave;
From whence there's no reprieve. Death keep him close,
We have too many Divells still goe loose."

defence. Here the principal insurgents gathered; but there were smaller bodies at Greenspring, a place belonging to Berkeley himself, somewhat further down the river; and at an estate belonging to Bacon's cousin, probably in the same neighborhood. The whole insurgent force remaining under arms to garrison these three final strongholds probably numbered not more than four hundred men; while in the region about them — now that the death of Bacon led to the appearance of a host of concealed adherents of the Governor, and time-servers who wished to seem so — there were at least as many enemies as friends.

Berkeley lost little time in taking advantage of the new turn of



West Point, Virginia.

affairs. His first step, when the news of Bacon's death had reached him, had been the sending out of that party which, as already mentioned, had captured and executed several leading revolutionists. But he was making preparations to return in person when he dispatched this preliminary expedition, — “a winged messenger, to see if happily the Delluge was any whit abated.” Then he ventured out from his “Ark” at Accomac, and appeared in the York River with four ships and “two or three sloops,” carrying a force of some one hundred and fifty men. From the people along the lower York he met with no resistance; his return appeared to be taken as a matter of course; and his adherents in Gloucester County volunteered in large numbers

to help him drive out the still troublesome "vermin" from "their warm Kennil." A proclamation of amnesty followed, from which, however, most of the Baconite leaders still in resistance to his authority were excepted, while the bitterness of his enmity to Lawrence and Drummond was shown by a special mention of them.

Driving out the last stubborn rebels did not prove easy work. They again and again defeated parties sent against them, until at last their stronghold at West Point was lost through treachery. Two accounts are given of its surrender: one, that the Governor sent a messenger, one Grantham, who by arguments and promises persuaded Ingram to deliver up the place; the other, that he wrote to Wakelet, Ingram's second in command, offering him pardon and a reward for the same betrayal of his comrades. Ingram escaped in safety, and Wakelet appears to have received his pay, so that it is probable both were concerned in the matter. But, at all events, the position was given up to Berkeley's officers, together with the

Final suppression of the Bacon party.



Drummond before Berkeley.

less important strongholds at Greenspring and at Bacon's house. As an organized insurrection, the rebellion was at an end; it lived only in the embittered spirit of the great majority of the people, who had at one time or another been engaged in it, and who, though wanting courage and persistence to carry it on after the death of their leader, still adhered in secret to the cause which he had so nearly made successful.

Of the other chief actors, Lawrence escaped into the wilderness; but Drummond, seeking safety by hiding himself for a time in the swamp of the Chickahominy, was captured there in the dead of

winter, overcome by cold and hunger. On the 20th of January, the day after his capture, he was brought before Berkeley at Bacon's house, the former station of one of the smaller bands of insurgents. The old Governor's triumph had come. This man and Lawrence were regarded by him as his bitterest enemies, and he hated them with a positive ferocity. He greeted the prisoner with a low bow. "Mr. Drummond," he said, "you are very welcome ; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." Drummond answered with courage and dignity, "What your honor pleases ;" and when, three hours later, his sentence was carried out at Middle Plantation, he met death bravely. He was, says one of the narratives, a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute, and he left a name which few even of his enemies treated with disrespect, except in the one matter of his political action.

Berkeley used the power that victory gave him without mercy. For a time there was in Virginia an actual reign of terror, and no man knew when he might be seized, condemned, and executed. Drummond's little plantation was seized, and his wife and five children were driven from it "to wander in the woods and deserts till they were ready to starve." It was proposed to expose the bones of Bacon hung in chains upon a gibbet ; but his body had been so carefully concealed that all attempts to find it proved useless. Punishments of all kinds — fine, confiscation, imprisonment, banishment, and many ingenious minor penalties — were inflicted right and left, until even the Governor's friends expostulated. Their counsel would perhaps have been in vain, had not a sudden check of a more powerful sort been put upon the angry knight's revenge.

At the end of January, 1677, the tardy assistance sent from England, in reply to Berkeley's petition of many months before, arrived in the James River. But it did not come precisely in the form which the Governor's party wished. In the small fleet that anchored below the ruins of the capital was Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, armed with a commission to succeed Sir William in his office, while he, as well as Sir John Berry, the admiral, and Colonel Morrison, who had been Berkeley's substitute for awhile in 1661, brought appointments as commissioners to investigate the causes of the rebellion, and to attend to the settlement of affairs after its suppression. Berkeley was, it is true, to aid them in this work ; but in reality his own conduct was under examination, and he found himself at once in the attitude of a defendant. The instructions of the commissioners authorized them to grant amnesty to those who should submit and give bonds for future good behavior, excepting Bacon,

Fate of the
leaders.

Punishments
inflicted by
Berkeley.

Arrival of
commission-
ers from
England.

whose death was not known, of course, when the fleet left England ; but still, a discretionary power to punish other leaders and those especially obnoxious was left in their hands.

The English officials put a speedy end to the system of drum-head courts-martial, by which the Governor had brought so many of his enemies to execution. From the time of their arrival (soon after which an Assembly met at Greenspring) the trials of Baconite prisoners were conducted with due form and caution

The punishments checked.



Berkeley's Departure.

by the civil power. A few still suffered death, among whom was Giles Bland, whose conspiracy to take the Governor was so patent that all the influence exerted in his behalf was powerless to save him ; but the general reign of persecution and cruelty ceased with the Commissioners' interference. Local courts winked at the means — sometimes ludicrously ingenious — by which the spirit of ignominious punishments was generally evaded, even when the letter was carried out. John Bagwell and Thomas Gordon were "small tape," and William Potts "Manchester binding," instead of the halters with which they were ordered to appear in public. Some fifty persons were excepted from the amnesty, including those already executed or banished, and acts of attainder were passed against twenty ; but it does not appear certain that all the measures decided

upon were at all rigidly carried out. In their report, Jeffreys, Morrison, and Berry spoke in the severest terms of Berkeley's course in trying men by martial law after peace had been reëstablished; and their investigation of the charges which the people made against him seems to have been made with a positive leaning toward the side of his accusers. Gradually the country became quieter. Protected by the presence of the Commissioners, the Assembly took a more independent tone, and the Virginians, encouraged for a moment to believe that they had gained something of that redress for which they had hoped, gradually settled back into the quiet life of their plantations. Bacon's rebellion had cost the colony a hundred thousand pounds, the loss of many lives, and months of anarchy; but it had shown the people their own power, and had developed an independence that was to bear fruit long after. When, in October, 1677, the royal Commissioners seized the Assembly's journals for investigation, and that body indignantly protested that "such a power had never been exercised by the King of England, and could not be authorized even by the great seal," they virtually asserted the principle of colonial legislative rights for which their descendants fought a hundred years later.

When the fleet of the Commissioners returned to England in April, Berkeley went with it, leaving Jeffreys Governor. The old cavalier was ill and broken in spirit. The bitter outbreak of his revenge was possibly, as it was urged on his behalf, a result of the "peevishness" and irritability of age. He had one longing left, — to justify his conduct in the eyes of the King, whose approval would have consoled him for all else. But he seems to have been altogether disappointed. Opinion both in Parliament and at court he found to be bitterly against him. It is said by one writer that he was received by Charles with kindness; but it was generally believed that he was treated with entire neglect, and did not see the King at all, — sinking rapidly from the time of his arrival, until, in a few weeks, he died broken-hearted and disgraced. There came back to Virginia one who had been his servant on his voyage and till his death, "from whom a report was whispered about, that the King did say, 'that old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murder of his father.'" This speech, says the gossiping writer who records it, coming to the old Governor's ears, hastened his death: So that "he dyed soon after without having seen his Majesty; which shuts up this tragedy."

The Commissioners' report.

Results of the rebellion.

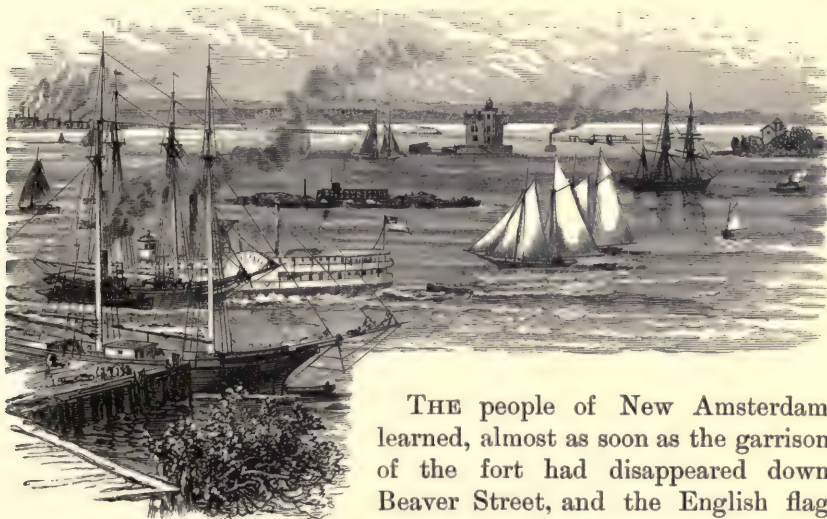
Berkeley returns to England.

His illness and death.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW YORK.

QUIET BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH RULE. — THE ADMINISTRATION OF NICOLLS. — THE NEW JERSEY GRANT. — ARRIVAL OF CARTERET. — SETTLEMENT OF NEWARK AND ELIZABETH. — THE CONNECTICUT BOUNDARY. — THE NAMES AND DIVISIONS OF THE PROVINCE. — THE "DUKE'S LAWS." — ENGLISH OFFICIALS. — THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS. — DISCONTENT IN LONG ISLAND. — NEW YORK AND CANADA. — THE FRENCH AND THE MOHAWKS. — THE PEACE OF BREDÁ. — ADMINISTRATION OF LOVELACE. — PROGRESS OF THE PROVINCE. — THE TOWN OF NEW YORK. — RENEWED WAR IN EUROPE. — THE RE-CONQUEST OF TEW NETHERLAND. — COLVE'S ADMINISTRATION. — NEW NETHERLAND CEDED TO ENGLAND BY THE PEACE OF WESTMINSTER.



View in the Kills.

THE people of New Amsterdam learned, almost as soon as the garrison of the fort had disappeared down Beaver Street, and the English flag was recognized as flying from its flag-staff, that the change which had taken place was not, to their dull sensitiveness, a very essential one. Stuyvesant, no doubt, when he had seen his troop safely embarked for Holland, stumped back into the town in profound depression. But depression may have turned to rage as he met the cheerful burghers who had insisted on his surrender, and who could congratulate themselves,

Quiet beginning of the English rule.

and almost reproach him, upon the faithfulness with which the English were observing its terms. There was no plundering, no disorder; the Connecticut men, whom the Dutch had the most reason to fear, were kept on the other side of the river; private property was everywhere respected; the property of the Company was protected from molestation; the course of trade was no more interrupted than in any other brief interval of unusual excitement; and the ordinary affairs of life returned almost immediately to their usual channel. Nicolls wisely acted as if he were receiving a repentant province that had for a season forgotten its true allegiance, rather than as taking possession of one he had conquered. Perhaps the Dutch made no very nice distinctions; but they could remember some heavy grievances under the rule of the Company; this new power promised, at least, that things should be no worse, and it was clearly meant that the promise should be kept.

A provincial government of Englishmen was presently organized, but it was chiefly of those who had not before had to do with New Netherland affairs, and had no prejudices. Captain Matthias Nicolls was made secretary; Captains Needham and Delavall, of England, and Thomas Topping and William Wells, of Long Island, were counsellors, — two of the former Dutch officers also being sometimes called into consultation. But, as the articles of surrender provided, the municipal government was unchanged; and the municipal court met and transacted current business on the very day after English occupation. At Fort Orange — now Albany — and at Esopus the same general course was pursued; at Rensselaerswyck Jeremias van Rensselaer was only compelled to renew his patent under the Duke of York, his people taking the oath of allegiance to England. This oath was also required of the Dutch in New York; and although it excited some opposition at first because it was not prescribed in the articles of capitulation, it was taken in October by all the leading Dutch inhabitants. Even Stuyvesant and his immediate followers consented to this when satisfied that it did not affect the terms of capitulation. Nor was this frank acceptance of a new allegiance the only evidence of the general content; the city magistrates sent an address to the Duke of York avowing their warm approval of the new Governor, and of their hopes of prosperity under his rule.

No sooner was the province fairly in English hands than new names were given to different portions, its boundaries were as far as possible defined, and grants of land were made to Englishmen. That region lying between the Hudson and the Delaware was named Albania, and grants and purchases were made within its boun-

Organization of Nicolls's Government.

The oath of allegiance.

Grants to Englishmen.



THE LANDING OF CARTERET IN NEW JERSEY.

daries from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan, and from the Raritan to the Achter Cul, now Newark Bay.¹ But before Nicolls, in the name of the Duke of York, had taken possession of all New Netherland, the Duke, in anticipation of that event, granted in June, 1664, the whole country, from the Hudson to the Delaware, and from latitude 41° 40' to Cape May, to two favorites of the court, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Thus New Netherland, before it passed into the hands of the English, had been divided into two provinces, and the division, it is supposed, was made at the instigation of that Captain John Scott, who, not long before, and on doubtful authority, had attempted to wrest Long Island from the Dutch. To the new province the name of New Cæsarea, or New Jersey, was given, in commemoration of Carteret's defence of the Channel island of Jersey against the forces of the Commonwealth in 1649.



Seal of the Carterets.

Of this grant, however, Nicolls knew nothing till June, 1665, when Captain Philip Carteret arrived as governor of the new province. There was, of course, no alternative but to receive with courtesy one coming armed with such credentials, though Nicolls represented to the Duke that he had hastily given away the fairest portion of his dominions. "But I must charge it upon Captain Scott," he wrote, "who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited, or his parts serve him."²

A storm had driven Carteret's ship, the *Philip*, into Chesapeake Bay, but in July she arrived at New York, and a few days later anchored off the point now known as Elizabethport, New Jersey, and landed her thirty emigrants. At the head of these people, Carteret, with a hoe over his shoulder, marched to the spot he had chosen for a settlement, two or three miles inland, and to which, in honor of the Lady Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Carteret, he gave her name. He found at the point where he and his people

The grant of
New Jersey.Arrival of
Carteret.

¹ Achter Cul, or Kol = the cul achter (behind) the great Bay; corrupted into After Cul, and then Arthur Kil, and now applied to Staten Island Sound.

² Letter of Nicolls to the Duke of York in the State Paper Office, cited by Chalmers and others; also Letter to the Earl of Clarendon. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 1869.

landed four families who had taken possession of lands under the grant which had been made by Nicolls.¹ The new-comers brought with them the title of a new English province, and, though more than one settlement had been earlier made by the Dutch on this side the Bay of New York, this was the actual beginning of the State of New Jersey at Elizabeth.

Four years before, the West India Company had discerned and sought to take advantage of the discontent and apprehension felt by so many of the English, both at home and in the colonies, at the restoration of Charles II. The Directors invited them to settle on the Raritan, or in its neighborhood, and offered them most favorable terms. Three of the magistrates of New Haven, — where this discontent was very general, — Matthew Gilbert the Deputy Governor, Benjamin Fenn, and Robert Treat, entered into negotiation with Stuyvesant upon this subject, on behalf of some New Haven people, and found no difficulty in getting from the Dutch governor the promise that a hearty welcome would be given and religious freedom be secured to any Puritan colony that should plant itself within the Dutch jurisdiction. But the English asked also for political independence, and the negotiations were suspended. The question of civil relations Stuyvesant felt must be referred to his superiors at home.

Even that concession, he was instructed, the Directors were disposed to make to almost any degree, provided that Dutch supremacy was acknowledged in the last appeal. The New Haven people were the more eager to set up anew for themselves when the Winthrop charter brought them within the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and they would, perhaps, had there been time enough, have yielded somewhat in their demands. But while diplomacy hesitated events made no halt. Before any agreement could be reached, satisfactory to both parties, New Netherland ceased to be a Dutch colony, and the Duke of York had granted to its new proprietaries the whole region from the Hudson to the Delaware.

Treat and his friends, nevertheless, were not turned from their purpose. They could at least free themselves from obligations and ties that had become intolerably irksome, though new ones had to be made. But the constitution Carteret brought with him was as liberal as a proprietary government could be; religious liberty was guaranteed, with the usual reservation providing

¹ In the litigation which arose out of these conflicting claims, it was asserted on behalf of the first settlers, that the place was named for Queen Elizabeth. But this was an afterthought. Carteret undoubtedly called the place Elizabeth, in honor of his brother's wife. *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, by William A. Whitehead.

Previous negotiations of the New Haven people regarding New Jersey.

Their design continued under Carteret.

against license and civil disturbance, but granting to all the ministrations they preferred; a popular Assembly was to have its share of power; the grants of lands to actual settlers were liberal.¹

In the spring of 1666 the site of Newark was purchased of the Indians, and possession taken by a party from Milford, Connecticut, led by Treat.² In the autumn others joined them from Guilford and Branford. A preliminary agreement had been entered into between Carteret and Treat, but its precise character is not known.³ That it secured, however, to the new colony self-government, independent of the proprietaries and their promise of

Settlement
of Newark.



View of Newark, New Jersey.

religious freedom to all comers, is probable. For the Branford people made it a condition of their joining the company that none should be admitted as freemen, or should have the right to hold office, or to vote, who were not members of a Congregational Church. To this the emigrants from Milford assented. Abraham Pierson was chosen minister of the first church, and the place was named Newark in his

¹ Gordon's *History of New Jersey*.

² The price paid for the tract purchased of the Indians — which included the present villages of Bloomfield, Belleville, Orange, and Caldwell — was "fifty double hands of powder, one hundred barrs of lead, twenty axes, twenty coats, ten guns, twenty pistols, ten kettles, ten swords, four blankets, four barrels of beer, two pairs of breeches, fifty knives, twenty hoes, eight hundred and fifty fathoms of wampum, two ankers of Liquors, or something equivalent, and three troopers coats."

³ Whitehead's *Historical Memoir of Newark*. *Coll. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vi.

honor, as he came from that place in England.¹ Pierson came to the new settlement at the head of nearly all his parishioners, for Branford — whose church was the town — refused to be annexed to Connecticut under the Winthrop charter, to which New Haven and other towns had by this time assented.²

In later years the title of Berkeley and Carteret to lands occupied by Elizabeth and Newark was disputed. In both cases they had been purchased of the Indians, — at Newark by consent of Governor Carteret; at Elizabeth, before Carteret's arrival, and under warrant from Governor Nicolls. To the division of the province he was appointed to govern, Nicolls had no alternative but to submit. The Duke, his master, was as much the source of power in New Jersey as in New York.

Elsewhere, however, there was room for anxiety and negotiation. New Haven and the other towns along the Sound, which had strenuously resisted annexation to Connecticut under the Winthrop patent, ceased all opposition to that measure when confronted by one far more to be dreaded. The grant to the Duke of York included all the country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the Delaware. Local differences were put aside to meet this common danger. Puritan New England could hardly conceive of a greater calamity than to come under the rule of the popish brother of the king.

No feeling of this kind, however, was permitted to interfere with the friendly reception given to Nicolls. He had, as we have seen, the cordial coöperation of the Connecticut people in the subjection of New Netherland. It was only Massachusetts that held back. There was little sympathy in Boston with the impatience felt in the colonies along the Sound at the presence of the Dutch. But there was unceasing vigilance lest the government at home, whether king or parliament, should interfere with that independence which Massachusetts always aimed at and so often abused. While that colony, therefore, from the outset received the commissioners with coldness and distrust, Connecticut, New Haven, and their neighbors, gladly gave their aid against the Dutch, and then combined to preserve the integrity of their own territory against the claim of the Duke of York.

The General Assembly of Connecticut voted that five hundred bushels of corn should be presented to the English commissioners. A further gift of horses was made when Governor Winthrop with six associates went to New York to enter upon negotiation with regard to the boundaries. In our less austere

Questions as to Carteret's and Berkeley's title.

Anxiety in New Haven over the Duke's grant.

The feeling in Connecticut.

¹ Whitehead's *Memoir*.

² Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

age such offerings would have been presented on the one side, and received or rejected on the other, as a bribe. The result in this case justifies no such suspicion. Both parties seem to have been disposed to make an honorable compromise between conflicting claims. The Connecticut patent and the grant to the Duke of York covered the same territory. Connecticut had, besides her patent, the right of possession. Should she be deprived of this, gained by so much toil and sacrifice, by virtue of a sheet of parchment and a royal seal? But the Duke had wrested by force of arms a portion of his grant from a foreign power. What just claim could Connecticut offer to territory she had never occupied though covered by her patent?



Meeting of the Connecticut and New York Commissioners.

To these considerations due weight, apparently, was given. The Connecticut delegates conceded that all Long Island, — which was granted

expressly by name to the Duke, and much of which was a part of New Netherland, — properly belonged to New York.

But in the settlement of the boundary on the mainland a singular want of knowledge of the topography of the country was shown on both sides, unless there was, as has sometimes been suggested, a sharp advantage taken by one side of the ignorance of the other. The line, it was understood in general terms, should be run about twenty miles east of the Hudson River. That agreed upon was to start at tidewater on the Mamaroneck creek and

Discussion of the boundary question.

run thence north-northwest to the southern boundary of Massachusetts. But the mouth of Mamaroneck creek is much less than twenty miles from the Hudson, and a line drawn from it north-northwest would cross that river within fifty miles of New York.

This boundary would give to Connecticut a large, and the most valuable, portion of the late province of New Netherland.

The settle-
ment. That Winthrop and his associates understood this, and purposely imposed upon the ignorance of the English Commissioners, is incredible. They were anxious to retain the territory they already occupied; they were willing to release all claim to Long Island if



Mouth of Mamaroneck Creek.

they were not disturbed on the mainland; and they were neither knaves nor fools. As a blunder¹ it was very soon exposed, as it was

¹ That the beginning was twenty miles from the Hudson was clearly a mistake. It is not quite so clear that the commissioners did not understand that the line crossed the river and agreed to it with their eyes open. Nicolls in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon (see *Clarendon Papers*, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1869, p. 76), writes: "Your L^dpp will allsoe perceiue by this inclosed determinacōn, betweene the Comission^{rs} with the Governor & counsell of Conecticut that those Townes upon the maine to the Eastward of N. Yorke did properly belong to their precedent pattent, soe that there remaynes only, One small Towne to his Royall highnesse of all that tract of land from Conecticut Riuer to Hudsons Riuer which is all the North part, and soe cold that few or none will bestow their Labours. Only one Towne is seated wth Planters to which or very neare the Indenture reacheth. about that 70 myles is Albany seated, who are noe planters but only a towne of Trade, with the Indians, Thus the extent of the Dukes Pattent is described to yo^r L^dpp."

By the one town "to which or very near the Indenture reacheth," seventy miles below Albany, the Governor must have meant Esopus. A line from the mouth of the Mamaroneck running north-northwest and touching Esopus would necessarily if produced cross the river at that point. Believing this "north part so cold that few or none will bestow their labors" upon it, he may have thought it of little consequence to which jurisdiction the

certain to be even had it been a fraud. What was done in haste was considered at leisure, and the Duke of York refused his assent to the agreement. Twenty years later, a new line was drawn and surveyed beginning at Byram River, which is essentially the present boundary of the States of New York and Connecticut.

To Long Island, thus made, as it has ever since remained, a part of New York, the name of Yorkshire was given. That, with the neighboring country, was afterward divided into three judicial districts or ridings, in each of which a court was to sit three times a year. The present Queen's County (excepting the town of Newtown) and Westchester formed the North Riding; Newtown, the present King's County and Staten Island made the West Riding; the present Suffolk alone was the East Riding. There was, however, some question whether Staten Island belonged to New Jersey or New York, which was not settled till 1668, and seems to have been referred to the proprietary in England. Samuel Maverick, one of the commissioners, writing in February, 1669, to Governor Winthrop, says, on the authority of a letter from Nicolls — who returned to England the previous autumn: "Staten Iland is adjudged to belong to N: Yorke." It is, he says in another letter, "the most commodiosest seate and richest land I haue seene in America." ¹

New divisions and names of the Duke's territory.

The Indians parted with it so reluctantly that the Dutch had been compelled to make repeated purchases; but the chiefs gave a final and lasting title in 1670 to Governor Lovelace, Nicolls's successor, receiving as recompense four hundred fathoms of wampum and a number of guns, axes, kettles, and watch-coats.

The King in his grant to the Duke of York had empowered him to make all laws for his new territory, with the usual proviso that these be not contrary to the laws of England. The Duke in turn had granted this power to Nicolls as his deputy. Having settled the boundaries of New York for the time, renamed its different parts, put English garrisons and officers at Albany, Esopus, and elsewhere, and brought the affairs of the distant Delaware region into proper train, the Governor assumed the duties of a legislator. He took for his guidance the Codes of the New England colonies in civil affairs, but disregarded their severe provisions relating to religion.

Preparation of "the Duke's Laws."

"The Duke's Laws" — as the code prepared by Nicolls and his territory belonged. But as if doubting the wisdom of this settlement of the boundary he adds: "I humbly begg your L^dpp. to take the whole matter into serious consideracon, for if the Duke will improve this place to the vtmost, Neither the trade, the Riuer, nor the Adjacent lands must bee devided from this Collony, but remayne Entire."

¹ Maverick's Letters in the Winthrop Papers. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series. vol. vii.

councillors was called — were promulgated at a meeting of delegates from the towns of Yorkshire, held at Hempstead on February 28, 1665. The people of these towns alone — the great majority being Englishmen — seem to have felt much interest in the character of the new government about to be established. For this reason, no doubt, they only were summoned to send representatives. Certainly the code had been drawn up more with a view to their wants, as Nicolls understood them, than to those of any other portion of the province. Being emigrants from New England, the Long Islanders especially hoped for the concession of all the popular rights which the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut enjoyed. They did not gain them; it was not within Nicolls's power to grant them, indeed; but they received, with considerable grumbling and discontent, the next best system — as wise and liberal a code, perhaps, as it was possible for the deputy of a proprietary government to bestow.

The Duke's Laws prescribed the annual holding, on the last Thursday in September, of a court of assizes at New York, which should be the court of highest resort in the province; the holding of courts of sessions, next in rank, in each of the Yorkshire "ridings" thrice a year; arbitration was allowed in trifling cases, but a local court of a constable and six overseers might be held for the trial of cases involving less than five pounds. The executive power in Yorkshire was in the hands of a high sheriff appointed annually by the Governor, the three ridings in turn furnishing the candidate. Each town had eight overseers, chosen by the freeholders, the freeholders selecting one of the eight to act as constable. The town officers made the assessments for taxes. Old land grants were to be looked upon as valueless unless submitted to the provincial authorities and confirmed by new patents issued by the Governor in the Duke's name. Trade with the Indians was restricted — that in arms, ammunition, liquor, and furs being permitted only under special license. Disputes between Indians and whites were to be fairly adjusted by the authorities as if between Christians. Slavery was recognized as legal, as there were many negro slaves already in the province; but kind and humane treatment for them and for servants was enforced by penalties. The militia law included all persons over sixteen years old, the militia expenses to be equitably shared by all the towns. One form of blasphemy ("denying the true God"), treason, murder, some offences against nature, the striking of parents in case the offender were over fourteen, and kidnapping, were capital crimes. A very great number of regulations provided for all minor matters of discipline, for licenses, trading and shipping laws, and so

The Long Island people and the new legislation.

Provisions of the Duke's code.

on. Trial by juries was provided for ; but, except in capital cases, the jury was not to exceed seven men. No person who “professed Christianity” was to be molested for minor differences of opinion. There were a few regulations about church matters, applying equally to all sects, but no Indian was to be permitted “to powow, or perform outward worship to the devil.”

Nicolls enforced this code immediately and thoroughly in Yorkshire only, leaving the changes to be very gradual in New York and along the river, where the Dutch could not conform at once to English ways. In the city there was for a little while loud complaint that the English official titles of mayor, alderman, and

The code in
New York.



Inauguration of the First English Municipal Government at the Stadt Huys.

sheriff were substituted for the old Dutch terms of schepen, burgo-master, and schout ; and when, in June, 1665, Thomas Willett was appointed mayor, and other Englishmen were put upon the board of aldermen, Nicolls was accused of disregarding the articles of capitulation. Such complaints the Governor met by pointing to his instructions, which required him to conform to English custom in his rule of the province. In the appointment of Englishmen to office his wish was, he declared, to provide for the peace and quiet of the whole community by having in office men of both nations. The discontent was speedily allayed, for no fault could be found with the selection of officers made among the English. The mayor, Willett,

English offi-
cials.

especially, was greatly esteemed among the Dutch, whom more than once he had served in important trusts in the time of the late governor. Moreover, there could be little real fear of injustice, for the sheriff, or schout, and the majority of this new board of aldermen, were still Dutch.

Only on the day before the inauguration of this first municipal government in the town so lately called New Amsterdam, the Dutch and English at home were fighting the great naval battle off Lowestoft in the North Sea. The furious cannonading was heard on the banks of the Thames in England — almost in London. While Nicolls peacefully debated with the burghers in the Stadt Huys, the Duke of York was face to face with Dutchmen in quite another way, and one that came well-nigh giving to the Governor a new master; for as the Duke, who was in command of the English fleet, stood on the deck of his flag-ship, the *Royal Charles*, three of his officers were shot down at his side, so that their blood “flew in the Duke’s face.”¹

The war had at length come, to which the disturbed relations of the two governments had been gradually leading since the restoration of Charles, and which now the conquest of New Netherland made inevitable. Angry competition on the coast of Africa had given rise to actual conflicts, and the English had driven the Dutch out of the forts they had built. In the East, the Dutch East India Company and the English merchants were virtually at war. The news from Africa and from Manhattan had reached England in the same week, to be received with open approval at court. Carteret told Pepys that “the king did joy mightily at it,” but asked him, laughing, “How shall I do to answer this to the ambassador when he comes?”² He answered it by the insolent claim of priority of ownership of the New Netherland territory, and the English ambassador at the Hague treated the matter with an equally high hand. De Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, answered sharply for the States General that the American province must be given back; at the same time the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, was secretly ordered to retaliate upon the English on the Guinea coast — which he did effectually a short time after. The English seized such Dutch vessels as were in their ports, and thus the two nations were already at war, though this was only December, 1664, and no formal declaration was made till the fourth of March following, after considerable further negotiation on Holland’s part had proved fruitless.

It was in this war that the battle off Lowestoft had been the first — though a useless — English victory. These events belong to Euro-

¹ Pepys’s *Diary*.

² *Ibid.*

Breaking
out of the
war between
England and
the Nether-
lands.

pean, rather than to American history, except that by the treaty of Breda — 1667 — the possession of New York was confirmed to the English. The only immediate effect of the declaration of war upon that province was to compel Nicolls to take all possible measures for its defence, lest De Ruyter should come that way on his mission to “inflict . . . as much damage and injury as possible”¹ upon the English. The apprehended attack, however, never came. There were no dissensions between the old and new masters of New Netherland, and through the summer and autumn of 1665 Nicolls was left unmolested to quietly bring the whole province into obedience to his rule.

The next spring, however, brought the necessity of quelling some disturbances in eastern Long Island, where there was still much dissatisfaction because the Duke’s code denied the people the popular elements of New England, especially of Connecticut, government. When the Governor had quieted these disorders by tempering vigorous measures against the chief offenders with indulgence to the rest, new trouble arose in the same region in resistance to the enforcement of the law of renewal of patents — a matter requiring the wisest management. The Court of Assizes decreed in September that the neglect of the Long Island towns and of individuals to renew their land grants under the Duke of York could be no longer tolerated. It required all Nicolls’s skill and firmness to carry out the measure, accompanied as it was by the exaction of fees and quit-rents. After much discontent, however, all the towns of consequence, except Southold and Southampton, yielded, and these complied with the conditions a year or two afterward.

Though the war in Europe left Nicolls thus free to establish order in his new government, it was not to pass away without disturbance to the American colonies. The alliance of Louis XIV. with the Dutch against England, in January, 1666, had of course made enemies, nominally at least, of those colonies and the French in the new world. King Charles sent out letters in February directing his American subjects to begin whatever hostile measures they could against Canada, doubtless expecting that New England and New York would undertake at once a vigorous campaign against their northern neighbors. But he little understood the comparative indifference to European affairs felt by the colonists. His instructions were received with little enthusiasm, and the only measures taken were some attempts to excite the Mohawk Indians to enmity against the French settlers. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Nova Scotia agreed that it would not be wise to undertake an expedition against the French settlements in Canada.

¹ Dutch document cited in Brodhead, ii., 58.

Before any news of the French declaration of war had reached America, however, — indeed, before it had been formally made, — Courcelles, the Governor of Canada, had started from Quebec with some five hundred men, and marched into the Mohawk country, to reduce that powerful tribe to the subjection which several of the other Indian nations beyond the great lakes had already acknowledged. The Canadians did not yet know that New Netherland had passed from Dutch into English hands. But when Courcelles reached Schenectady (which the French called “Corlaer,” from a settlement the Dutch commissary Arendt Van Curler had formerly made there), he was met, to his great surprise, by delegates from Albany, who had been sent out, on a report from the Mohawks, to know the purpose of Courcelles’ invasion.

Though he already knew the probability of a war between France and England, the Canadian governor did not dare to make any hostile demonstration against the comparatively strong Albany garrison. He declared that his purpose was only to subdue the Mohawks, and the Albany people charitably gave succor to his wounded men, and supplied provisions to his worn-out troops, who had suffered terribly from the long winter’s march through deep snows. Beyond a few indecisive skirmishes with his Indian foes, most of whom kept out of sight, he did nothing, and soon after began his homeward march, about the time that news of his expedition reached Nicolls at New York. The Governor, though he expressed some indignation at the inroad, fully approved of the friendly reception given to Courcelles at Albany, and even exerted himself in common with them to bring about a treaty of peace between the French and Mohawks. This was at last so far successful that the Indians expressed their desire for peace to the wounded French left behind at Albany, and letters were sent announcing this to the officers at Quebec, — certain Oneida chiefs undertaking to carry and deliver the important news.

This was toward the end of March, but the slow messengers did not reach Canada till the beginning of July. Meanwhile another expedition of four hundred men had marched against the Mohawks. But this was now recalled, and messengers were sent by Tracy, the French commander at Quebec, with a treaty to be ratified by the Indians.

This friendly deputation had been gone a few days only when they also were recalled to Quebec. The Mohawks had shown that their offers of peace and friendship meant nothing. A hunting party of French officers had been surprised by an Indian band on or near Lake Champlain, who treacherously murdered

Expedition
of Cour-
celles.

His reception
by the Al-
bany people.

French ne-
gotiations
with the Mo-
hawks.

A new
French ex-
pedition.

several of them, — of whom one was a nephew of Tracy, the *Sieur de Chazy*, — and had carried off the rest as prisoners. A fresh force of three hundred men started at once to carry destruction into the Mohawk country.

The exasperated Frenchmen had almost reached the Mohawk villages when they were met by an Indian deputation. They begged for peace. The attack upon the hunting party, they declared, was neither ordered by nor approved by their chiefs and people; the captives, they promised, should be restored, and reparation made for those who were killed. The ex-



Arrest of Chazy's Murderer.

planation was accepted, and the troops returned quietly to Quebec, taking the Indians with them.

It was only to find that they had again been overreached by savage treachery and cunning. It was one of these very Mohawk ambassadors who had buried his tomahawk in the brains of Tracy's nephew. The boastful spirit of the savage, aroused probably by drink, led him to avow at Tracy's own table that it was he who split the head of that young officer. He was seized and hanged on the instant, and his companion thrown into prison.

Treachery
of the sav-
ages.

Tracy, thus repeatedly betrayed and baffled, wrote bitterly to the Albany authorities who had sent him the first overtures of peace,

complaining that they had deceived him intentionally. A few weeks later he set out in person at the head of twelve hundred whites and a hundred Indian allies, passed down Lake Champlain in fleet of boats and canoes, and in the month of October marched through the Mohawk country, burning the villages, which were generally deserted at his approach, and setting up the arms of France in the chief fort. Returning to Quebec, he now sent by his prisoners such terms of peace as he would grant to the tribe, which they had till the next summer to consider.

In this expedition the French had made no hostile demonstrations against Albany, though the question of doing so had been debated before the march was commenced. Indeed, Nicolls had written in a moderate and friendly spirit to Tracy in reply to his letter accusing the Albany officers, and had told him that he should always prefer the "European interest" as against the "heathen," provided the English possessions were not invaded, as in the case of Courcelles' expedition, at which he again expressed surprise. The Albany authorities also wrote to explain their conduct in the matter of the Mohawk proposals for peace. Tracy answered both letters civilly in the spring, acknowledging that he had judged too hastily. Friendly relations were thus again apparently restored between New York and its northern neighbor.

Nicolls, however, not knowing how far the French were to be trusted, could neglect no precaution, and was kept in a state of constant anxiety. After strengthening the river garrisons, he advised the Mohawks, who sought counsel at Albany in regard to the French terms of peace, that they should stipulate for the destruction of the posts the Canadians had planted along Lake Champlain; and should declare that they (the Mohawks) acknowledged English rule, and would make no peace unless it should be agreed that no more armed forces should enter the English territory. Many were the debates held with the Indians during the winter. The English were earnest in their assurances of protection; eloquent in portraying the advantages an alliance with them would be against a common enemy. But with the Indians, the memory of recent calamity was more vivid than any promise of future good. They recalled their dismantled "castles" and burning villages; their women and children flying to hide themselves in the forest; their stores of corn destroyed or eaten by the French, while they were left to starve; their young men lying dead with only the leaves of autumn to cover them. Then their ears were closed to the words of the English; it was wiser, they thought, to be friends with these terrible Frenchmen who could fight better than an Indian, and were quite as much at home in the woods as he.

Tracy's re-
venge.

Correspond-
ence be-
tween Tracy
and the
English.

English ad-
vice to the
Indians.

When the summer came a deputation of Mohawk and Oneida chieftains appeared at Quebec, with promises of submission. The war in Europe had recalled Tracy to France, where the services of the brave old man were more needed than in Canada, and Courcelles had succeeded to the command at Quebec. The Indians brought their families with them as pledges of their sincerity, and the new Governor had no difficulty in securing a treaty by which they promised allegiance to the King of France, and consented to accept the teachings of the Catholic priests. It was a treaty meant to be kept, and for many years the English, whose whole northern frontier was now left exposed, had reason to remember it.

French
treaty with
the Mo-
hawks.



Submission of the Mohawks.

The peace of Breda, between England and Holland — negotiations for it having been long in progress — was signed on the last day of July, 1667; and

The peace
of Breda.

a separate treaty of the same date closed the war with France. To the colonists in America, whose intercourse with England was seriously interrupted while the war continued, this seemed a sudden as it was a welcome termination of the struggle. To those at home, however, disgusted with the subserviency of their own King to the King of France, the profligacy of the court and the corruption of the government, it brought little satisfaction. Englishmen found no pleasure in a treaty which gave up two colonies in the East Indies, and Nova Scotia in America, and secured in return only New Netherland, the value of which was as yet but little understood. In Northern New England, at least, it was a question, whether such an acquisition was not dearly paid for by the surrender of Nova Scotia,

which brought the Canadian frontier so much nearer to their outlying settlements.

However, the war was over, and immediate danger was past ; and if this news was welcomed with pleasure anywhere outside of Holland, it was among both Dutch and English in New York.

News of
peace in
New York.

On the first of January, 1668, Nicolls caused the glad tidings to be proclaimed throughout the province. The English had good reason to rejoice that the question of jurisdiction was now settled by treaty. The Dutch were quite reconciled by the judicious rule of Nicolls to the change of masters ; but they heard with satisfaction, that for seven years a limited trade with Holland would be permitted. For this they were indebted to their old governor, Stuyvesant, which made it, no doubt, the more generally acceptable. He had returned in the spring of 1665, to Holland, to answer for his conduct at the time of the surrender, for which the directors of the West India

Trade with
Holland
conceded
to the
colony.

Company were disposed to blame him without measure. But the treaty ended all discussion of that point. Stuyvesant thoroughly understood the wants of the colony, and before returning thither — for he meant it should still be his home — he secured in England this concession of trade for the benefit of the colonists, to whose comfort certain kinds of goods from the Fatherland were indispensable.

Nicolls had more than once asked that he might be relieved from his government and permitted to return home. After the loss of New Jersey, he seems to have thought the remainder of the grant to the Duke of York hardly worth possessing — much less governing. His request was at length listened to, and Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed to succeed him.

Nicolls suc-
ceeded by
Lovelace.

Lovelace was not unfamiliar with affairs in America, and had been both in New Netherland and Virginia. He arrived in New York in the spring of 1668. But he and Nicolls spent the summer in arranging the affairs of the government which was about to be transferred from one to the other ; and it was not until the end of August that the freemen of New York mustered under arms and in military order at the lower part of the town, to bid a ceremonious as well as a heart-felt farewell to the Governor, who had ruled them so justly that he left no enemies behind. For four years (his fellow-commissioner

Services of
Nicolls.

Maverick wrote) he had served in the province “ with great reputation and honor.” He had done “ His Majesty and his Royal Highness very considerable service in these parts,” indeed, “ having, by his prudent management of affairs, kept persons of different judgments and of diverse nations in peace and quietness, during a time when a great part of the world was in warrs.” He had

brought the "several nations of the Indians" "into such a peaceable posture and faire correspondence" as had never been known before.

On the 28th of August he left New York, bearing with him an address from the people to the Duke, setting forth his good service and the peacefulness of the province, and leaving behind a name which stands preëminent among the royal governors in America for moderation, justice, and wise forbearance. He had spent much of his own means in promoting the welfare of his "station," and had once at least

His departure.



Departure of Nicolls

been obliged to pledge his personal credit to secure funds for the depleted provincial exchequer.

The province had now reached the period most favorable to the growth of a new state. The hardships of the first years of settlement, the trials of early misgovernment, the difficulties of a change of masters, and the perplexities attending a new code of laws, had all been in great measure overcome. The individual citizen felt secure in person and property. Sixty years of slow but constant growth had brought the "village at the Manhattoes" to a size and importance which almost entitled it to its new name of "city"; "the best of His Majesty's towns in America," as Nicolls had called it on his arrival, was beginning to give tokens of its future leadership in commerce—a fact, said its Governor, of which "the brethren of Boston were very sensible."

Progress of the province.

The little sea-port, in this time of its transition under the earlier

English governors, had characteristics not belonging to any other of the colonial towns—peculiarities arising partly from its singular mingling of races, and partly from the reproduction of the manners and customs of another nationality. Looked back upon through two centuries, the life of New York in these first days of its English name has a picturesque quaintness that is sharply marked against the colder background of New England.

Though a good deal of English energy and activity had already begun to pervade its streets and wharves, yet its customs long remained those which its first settlers had brought with them out of the Dutch fatherland. Its architecture, most of its local names, and even its more common speech, were Dutch. Its domestic and social life was regulated by the customs of Holland. If it was simple and somewhat heavy, it was at the same time healthy, virtuous, and full of kindness and hospitality. If the stout burghers moved slowly, thought only of the practical side of things, and went to bed at nine o'clock, they also worked steadily, governed their households wisely, and persecuted nobody. If they introduced for a brief period into their new home the law they brought from Holland, of the great burgher-right and the lesser burgher-right, those who received the former were worthy of the dignity, and those who were confined to the latter valued their citizenship and educated their children none the less carefully. The town that now occupied the lower end of Manhattan Island, with its substantial brick houses and its clean streets, had been their work. It is worth while to recall what kind of city they left to their successors as the nucleus of a metropolis.

During the decade between 1660 and 1670 New York covered that part of the island which lies below the present Wall Street, which still commemorates by its name the line of stout palisades that there formed the northern limit of the thickly settled portion of the town.¹ A gate in the palisade—the “Land-gate,” which the city watchmen shut at nightfall—gave entrance to the wide road called the “Heere Wegh” without and the “Heere Straat” within the wall. This was the thoroughfare that has become the Broadway of the present city, its name preserving a literal translation of the old Dutch title. The “compact and oval” group of houses in which the burghers lived was divided into two nearly equal parts by this street. Altogether there were about four hundred buildings; “the meanest house therein,” says one old writer, “being valued at one hundred pounds,”² so that they must have been solid and well constructed, “much after the manner of Holland.” They were “built

Life in the
city of New
York.

Topography
of the town.

¹ Vol. i., p. 462.

² Josselyn's *Two Voyages to New England*, 1672.

with Dutch brick, *alla-moderna*," "covered with red and black tile,"¹ and their gable-ends faced the streets after the fashion of the fatherland.

Solid citizens, men of much consideration, occupied the greater part of this, the town proper, the majority of the poorer class of colonists being scattered on farms

or in hamlets outside. Yet there was a distinction between the west side of the Heere Straat, where all the land was good, and the east side, where were all sorts of disadvantages which modern New York long ago covered up, so that they have left no traces but in local names. On the west, from the West India Company's great gardens (which stretched from



Old House in New York, built 1668

the Heere Straat to the Hudson, and covered the ground where Trinity Church now stands),² to the fort just below the Bowling Green, were the dwellings of the leading men, and their great gardens and orchards that often stretched across all that half of the town and overlooked the water. Here was the churchyard,³ and the Dominie's house, and the schoolmaster's; and along a part of the river-bank behind the Company's ground were "the locust trees,"⁴ shading a path which was a favorite resort for all classes, and an admirable outlook over the river and the bay.

The region between the Heere Straat and the East River, on the contrary, was covered with marshes and a tangle of water-courses, of which the city of to-day shows no trace whatever. A group of little hills, hardly more than knolls, surrounded a low boggy pasture, — the "Company's Valley," or "the sheep pasture," — which of itself might have made the quarter untenable for any but true Hollanders. But they contented themselves by partially draining it by a ditch along the Bever-graft (Beaver Street), and one along the upper part of the present Broad Street, — the lower part of which was occupied by something still more characteristic of the fatherland, — a canal from tidewater, extending up to Exchange Place. The busy place was then traversed chiefly by the cattle coming up from the meadow, marking out the future street by their

The eastern quarter.

¹ Denton's *Description of New York*, 1670.

² Gerard's *Old Streets of New York*.

³ But it was not so used after 1677. Gerard, 20.

⁴ Ibid.

muddy trail. Between the Heere Straat and the Company's Valley the ground was high; and the boys of New Amsterdam used, in the winter, to bring out their sleds to the "Verlettenberg," and slide down hill directly over the site of the New York Stock Exchange; while in summer they ran down the slope to drive home the cows that fed where the custom-house stands, or collect the sheep that pastured where the vaults of the sub-treasury now undermine the street.

The central point of commercial matters was, however, then as now, in this neighborhood; for Governor Lovelace, to facilitate the business of the town, ordered in 1670 that the bridge over the canal, at the corner of Bridge and Broad streets, should be a meeting-place — an Exchange, or a kind of Rialto — for

the New York merchants. There they met every Friday, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to discuss and to trade. Near them were the chief warehouses, — the five stone buildings of the West India Company on the Winkel Street, which ran from Bridge Street to what is now Pearl Street, but what was then a road along the edge of the East River, from which a stout planking defended its outer side. This



View of Wall Street

was "T'Water," or "Waterside;"¹ but some parts of it had different names, from one of which — Paerel Straat — the present title comes. On Bridge Street — so near the "Exchange" as to overlook it — lived many of the merchants and traders; and close by were the most prosperous industries of the little town, the breweries, enough to give their name to a street — Brouwer Straat, now Stone Street, — the tannery, and the shops of smiths and shipwrights.

But though the exchange had its one busy day, the real centre of

¹ Gerard, 36, 37.

bustle and activity was only reached when one had passed the stone house of the Governor, built by Stuyvesant to replace the one formerly used in the fort, and called by the English "the Whitehall" — whence Whitehall Street, — and had come to the Marckvelt — the market-place of the town. This included a large space just east of Whitehall Street, and south of Beaver; and here the farmers, when they had left their wagons ranged side by side, and their horses picketed to graze on the Common (now the Bowling Green), spread out their goods for sale. Some came by boats which they brought up the Broad Street canal and tied to the bridge; others came only so far as the single dock which New York then had, on the East River, a little below the mouth of the canal, where was a smaller market and a weigh-house.¹ Barter went on briskly, but little coin changed hands; wampum and beaver skins were the currency, and their value varied with the supply.

Overlooking all this busy quarter was the fort — Fort Amsterdam under the Dutch, and Fort James under their successors. The Fort. Bridge, Whitehall, and State streets, and the Bowling Green, now bound the square which it occupied with its imposing, if not very formidable walls. It was "capable to lodge three hundred soldiers and officers;" it had "four bastions, and forty pieces of cannon mounted;" and was "of stone, lined with a thick rampart of Earth; well accommodated with a spring of fresh water, always furnished with arms and ammunition against accidents."² Within it was the stone church, — the one which Kieft had built, — with double roof, and a little tower between the two gables at the end toward the bay.³ The old brick mansion of the Governor also was within the walls, and houses for the garrison. In one bastion towered a windmill; though the chief windmill was probably outside, near the Hudson, about the foot of Battery Place. As a structure the fort lent considerable dignity to the little island town. But as a fortification it was almost ludicrously useless, and its garrison might have been picked off with pistol bullets from the high ground near by. A block-house would have been as good defence against the Indians as its elaborate bastions and stone-faced walls; how useless they were against a civilized foe there was evidence enough on two occasions.

"His Majesty's town of New York," which thus covered the point of Manhattan lying below the line of palisades, was hardly more quaint than its surroundings. The environs of the city. Along the Heere Wegh toward the upper end of the Island the houses and bouweries stood close together for a little distance outside the wall. Then came the thickly-wooded and wilder region to the north. The pleasant

¹ Gerard, 22.² Ogilby.³ Ibid.

valley-road called the Maagde-Padtje — Maiden Lane ; the deep, still pond surrounded by green hills, which lay where the prison of the Tombs now stands ; the “ Flats ” or “ Common,” covering the site of the City Hall and its park ; the “ Kissing Bridge ” about the corner of Chatham and Roosevelt streets—over which no right minded young Hollander suffered his buxom companion to pass unsaluted ;¹ all these were near enough to be favorite resorts of the burghers and their English fellow-townsmen. Then came the farms ; and after a long interval of partly cleared land, the “ Great Bouwerie ” (from which the present Bowery takes its name) of Governor Stuyvesant. Here the old Dutch Governor retired after his return from Holland and England, to take no part in government matters under the English, but to live for a few years in quiet, until, in 1672, he died



The Bowling Green.

at the ripe age of eighty, and his towns-people buried him in the little chapel he had built here upon his farm. The Governor's house must have stood near Tenth Street of modern New York, and a little east of Third Avenue. Beyond it stretched swamps, woods, and clearings, interspersed with outlying plan-

tations, over the rest of Manhattan, to New Haarlem, a little village at the junction of Harlem and East rivers.

From the Westchester villages along the Sound, the people always reached New York by water, preferring to the woods and marshes, the terrible perils of Hell-Gate. The old descriptions of this dreaded strait show careful observation. “ A place called Hell Gate,” one calls it ; “ which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, which the Current sets so violently upon that it threatens present shipwreck ; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing any further, and

Hell-gate
and East
River.

¹ Gerard, *passim*.

to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the West end of Long Island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island doth force them within command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best Pieces of Defence in the North parts of America.”¹



Hell Gate (from an Old Dutch Print).

With the nearest part of Long

Island, the communication was by a ferry near the present Peck Slip, where such passengers as would cross might summon the ferryman by blowing a horn that hung to a neighboring tree. The ferryman's boat carried its passengers to Breukelen, described as a village with “a small and ugly church standing in the middle of the road;” whence the traveller might turn to the right to go to Gouanes — Gowanus, — to 't Vlacke Bos — Flatbush, — to Rust-dorp — Jamaica, — Heemsteede, and the hamlets and farms beyond.

The Long
Island
towns.

Along the bank of the Hudson, and kept in communication with the capital by the little shallops of the settlers, or the larger vessels that constantly passed up and down with goods and peltries, were scattered farms and little settlements; while Esopus, Rensselaerswyck, and Albany were garrisoned places — the latter already beginning to present some evidences of rapid growth. To the northwest of Albany, on the beautiful Mohawk, lay the very outpost of civilization, the hamlet of Schaenhechtede — Schenectady, — which had been laid out in 1664 by Arendt van Curler, the former manager of Rensselaerswyck, and who was so popular with the Iroquois that they called the governors of New York “Corlaers” from his name. Regretted by Hollanders, English, French, and Indians alike, he met his death in a storm on Lake Champlain, in 1667, while on his way to Quebec as an ambassador from Nicolls.

The settle-
ments on the
Hudson.

It was long before the English conquest made any essential impression upon the aspect or character of these Dutch towns. The colonists were faithful to the customs, the traditions, and the habits of

¹ Denton's *Description of New York*, 1670.

the Fatherland. Everywhere was the same Dutch picture. It has been often enough described. The Hollander, and his son, and his son's son after him, for generations, sat by the same large tiled fire-place; in his hand was his long clay pipe; the floor about him was strewn with clean sand swept into curves and figures, and the low-studded room scrupulously clean with frequent scouring; his garden was filled with tulips and hyacinths; over the Dutch gable of his house swung the traditional weather-cock; the porch or *stoep* had its benches, where the family collected on summer evenings. Within, in the living room, the settle and straight-backed leather chairs, the great glass-doored cupboard for delft and pate, the huge linen-chest, the ponderous curtained bed shut into its alcove or closet, replaced in the poorer houses by the mere "banck" or bunk along the wall,—all recalled the furniture of Holland, whence, indeed, most of it had been brought. The pages of Knickerbocker's History rather reproduce than caricature these homes of the early Dutch colonists. Hospitality was boundless; and with the hard work of every-day life was mingled a good deal of jovial festivity. In the winter were the quaint tea-parties for the elder people, and the balls for both young and old at the town tavern — afterward the Stadt-Huys — on Paerel Straat, from five until the watch made their round at nine and warned all to go home. Even the staid city and provincial officials had their times of unbending. "There is good correspondence kept between the English and Dutch," wrote Commissioner Maverick in 1669; "and to keep it the closer, sixteen (ten Dutch and six English) have had a constant meeting at each other's houses in turns, twice every week in winter, and . . . in summer once. They meet at six at night, and part about eight or nine."¹ And other authorities speak of the "Fiall, Passado, and Madeira," to say nothing of punch, both of brandy and of West India rum, which the Dutch called "kill-devil." There were out-door sports in the day-time on the snow and ice. If they had not the canals of Holland, New Amsterdam was a place of ponds, and the undisturbed waters of the two rivers and the bay were no doubt much oftener covered with solid ice than now. "Its admirable," wrote the English chaplain of the fort, "to see Men and Women as it were flying upon their Skates from place to place, with Markets upon their Heads and Backs."²

In the summer were excursions to gather peaches and strawberries — the trees of the villages of the rich virgin soil about New York being literally borne down with the former fruit, and the ground covered with those that had fallen. As for the strawberries, on Long

¹ Quoted in Brodhead, ii., 153.

² *A Two Years' Journal in New York*, by Charles Wooley, 1679.

Island there was such abundance "that the fields and woods are died red: Which the country-people perceiving," says an old writer, "instantly arm themselves with bottles of wine, cream and sugar, and, instead of a coat of Male, everyone takes a Female upon his horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave 'till they have disrob'd them of their red colours, and turned them into the old habit."¹

Contrasting the simplicity, the contentment, the easy-going industry, and the love of harmless amusement in these Dutch communities with the restless character which belonged to the Southern colonies, and with the bitter theological and political controversies which shook those of New England, it is plain that New York must have been at this time the happiest, though not the most progressive of the American provinces. Lovelace's rule was judicious and for the most part quiet. But some disputes between the English and Dutch at



Burning the Votes.

Albany called for the sending of commissioners thither in the spring of 1670, and their report was followed by the dismissal of the English commander, Captain Baker. There was some discontent in the Long Island towns, several of which refusing to contribute to renew the New York fortifications, Lovelace ordered their votes to be publicly burned. This arbitrary measure, however, was only a temporary disposition of a question which was a source of subsequent trouble. On the northern and northwestern borders of the province, the movements of the French and their great progress in the exploration and occupation of the country also gave the Gov-

Lovelace's
administration.

¹ Denton's *New York*.

error some uneasiness, though less, perhaps, than they caused in New England. But there was neither opportunity nor excuse for action in the matter, and he contented himself with reassuring the Albany people that it was very improbable that when there was no war in Europe, Courcelles would begin one in America. On the whole, the few disquieting matters of Lovelace's administration may be said to have happened on the frontiers, while at the capital all went well, and the province daily grew in strength and numbers.

Recommendations from England to be prepared against all attacks, which reached Lovelace in February, 1672, were followed during the next month by explicit instructions from the King to erect an additional battery in New York, and to see that ships going to Europe should sail in companies for safety. Excepting vague rumors, this was the first news that reached the colony, that war had broken out again between England and Holland.

Charles II. had shamelessly abandoned the famous Triple Alliance by which, in 1668, the plans of Louis XIV. had been thwarted, and England had joined with its Dutch rival in one of the strongest combinations ever formed against a European power. The league had been entirely successful in its objects, and was universally popular; in the House of Commons it had been called "the only good publick thing that hath been done since the King come into England;"¹ yet Charles's heart had never been in it, nor had he ceased for a moment to treat secretly with the French king. In May, 1670, he concluded with Louis the infamous treaty of Dover, according to which, in consideration of large subsidies and military aid from France, Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and use his utmost endeavors to change the "state of religion in England for a better;"² while France and England were to join in a war against Holland. The opposition of Parliament was the only remaining bar to the carrying out of the latter design, which was to precede the fulfillment of the other; but a way was found by which Parliament was deceived. A large appropriation was asked of it, ostensibly to strengthen the fleet for the purposes of the Triple Alliance; and no sooner was this subsidy obtained than parliament was prorogued (April, 1671). Charles, with characteristic effrontery, openly declared that he meant to keep it apart for nearly a year. Then, for the sake of additional supplies, followed the iniquitous measure of closing the exchequer. The King's object was attained. France and England declared war against the Netherlands on March 17, 1672, and the first battles, both by sea and land, followed soon after. In the first naval

New complications in Europe.

Renewed war against the Dutch.

¹ Pepys.

² Green's *Short History of the English People*.

conflict, in the Solebay in Suffolk, where De Ruyter attacked the French and English ships, Richard Nicolls was standing near his master, the Duke of York. In the midst of the action he was shot down by a cannon ball from one of the Dutch fleet.

The news of the war, and the explicit instructions that came with it, might well excite the anxiety of Lovelace. But he did not foresee — indeed he had no reason to look for — the serious consequences that were to follow to his own province. The remainder of the year 1672 passed away quietly enough, but in the spring of 1673, when the Governor was temporarily absent, his lieutenant, Manning, sent for him in haste to come back to New York, for a rumor had reached the town that a Dutch fleet was already on its way northward from the West Indies. The Governor thought fit to “slite” the intelligence, and characterized it as “one of Manning’s larrums.”¹ But he nevertheless concentrated a considerable force at New York, only to be dispersed again when the rumor came to nothing. Only about eighty men were left in the dilapidated Fort James. The blow was coming, and was to fall upon the English with even more suddenness than theirs had fallen on Stuyvesant nine years before.

On the seventh of August, 1673, twenty-three Dutch ships, carrying sixteen hundred men, under command of Cornelis Evertsen and Jacob Binckes, anchored in the outer bay of New York, just below Staten Island. The fleet was last from Virginia, where it captured a number of English merchantmen, some of which were burnt, and others added to their own force. The ships were in need of wood and water, and would have run, could pilots have been procured, into Delaware Bay. It was accident, therefore, rather than design, which took them to New York; for though they were assured by one of their English prisoners that the place was incapable of defence, another declared that there were a hundred and fifty guns mounted at the fort, and that five thousand men could be mustered in three hours. The necessity of recruiting compelled the Dutch to seek the nearest port, and they entered the bay, “rather afraid,” says a contemporary writer, “of receiving some disturbance from New Yorke than giving any to it.”²

The Dutch on shore hailed the arrival of their countrymen with delight, and soon made them acquainted with the real state of things. The fort was garrisoned by only seventy or eighty men; the guns were either dismounted or their carriages rotten; the Governor was absent, and no efficient commander was in his place; and the people generally were discontented with English rule. Encouraged by such

The Dutch
fleet before
New York.

¹ Manning’s answer to charges against him. *Documentary Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. iii., p. 57.

² Letter of Richard Wharton (contributed by George H Moore), *Hist. Mag.*, Second Series, vol. i., p. 297.

intelligence, the fleet was taken within the Narrows and anchored off Staten Island.¹

Manning, meanwhile, was not idle. Messengers were hurried off to recall Lovelace; orders were issued to the military captains of the towns to hasten to New York with their companies; the drums were beaten through the streets for volunteers; the smith was set to work to repair the arms; the commissary was sent out to gather provisions to victual the fort in case of siege; and to gain time, a deputation was dispatched to the fleet to demand the meaning of the approach of this hostile force. Manning — it was afterward granted, when courts sat in judgment of his acts — was not a coward, and, no doubt, he did all that any man could do under the circumstances in discharge of his duty. But his efforts were in vain; there was not time for the Governor to get back from Connecticut; the militia of the country towns refused to rally, even where — as was the case in only two or three instances — their captains responded to the summons from Manning; the drums stirred no martial ardor in the breasts of the citizens; the labors of a single smith on firelocks could avail but little in a fort where nobody would come to use them, where six only of the large guns were on platforms, and to the whole there were only four sponges and four ladles. Even his attempt to gain time by sending a flag to the fleet probably only betrayed weakness and fear to the enemy. The next day their guns were frowning upon Fort James from as many ships as the stream in front could conveniently float.

To the repeated demand for surrender Manning could only ask a little more time. The Dutch commanders would give at last but thirty minutes, and turned over an hour-glass to mark the time. As the last sand ran out they opened fire, and some in the fort were killed and some wounded. Any defence, of course, was utterly hopeless, though the fire seems to have been returned; but at the same time a force of six hundred Dutch landed on the banks of the Hudson in the rear of the present Trinity Church in Broadway, and moved to the assault. There was nothing left but immediate capitulation. Just as the sun went down the Dutch troops marched into the fort out of which Stuyvesant had stumped nine years before at the head of his men. How happy would he have been could he have lived to see that sight!

Again with a change of rulers came a change of names. The province of New York was once more New Netherland; Fort James received its third designation, and became Fort William Hendrick, in honor of the Prince of Orange: the town itself, a few days later, was declared to be for the future New

Attempts at
defence.

New York
surrendered.

New names
and other
changes.

¹ Colden's Letters. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1869.

Orange, instead of New Amsterdam, as it had been under the rule of the West India Company. Mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, gave place in name as well as officially, and burgomasters, schepens, and schouts, were again hailed as magistrates. Dutch supremacy was asserted, and Dutch influences were again felt to be paramount in all the relations of society.

But the affairs of every-day life soon resumed their usual channels. Personal hostilities, perhaps, may have seized such an opportunity for their indulgence, but now, as nine years before, there seems to have been little disturbance of the neighborly harmony and friendship existing between the two peoples. Here, indeed, was then no large



The Dutch Ultimatum.

city ; no dangerous class was hidden away in dark cellars and obscure attics, to swarm in unexpected numbers, ready for bloodshed and plunder at the first sign of temporary anarchy. But, nevertheless, the capture of New Amsterdam by the English, and the recapture of New York by the Dutch, are among the most remarkable instances in history of peaceful revolutions. There was the confiscation of public property, and its conversion to the use of the victorious party, which, if not absolutely necessary, is not surprising. But the private suffering seems to have been hardly enough to be counted as an act of war. It is doubtful if any private property was molested, except that the houses of Lovelace and Manning were plundered ; and to this — which was done by some disorderly soldiers — a stop was speedily put. Thus in those times as in ours, it seems almost to have

been accepted as a decree of Providence that New York should always be open to occupation by any alien race that thought it worth its while ; and that any rule should be acceptable to its citizens, provided there was no personal outrage, and that robbery should be disguised under the form of municipal government.

The Dutch had retaken New Netherland ; and the two commanders who had accomplished the conquest, after they had appointed Anthony Colve to be temporary governor, and issued provisional instructions to him pending advices from the Hague, leaving him two ships of war for protection, sailed away at the end of September with the two departments of their fleet — Evertsen for the West Indies, and Binckes for home. Colve issued provisional instructions to his new subjects. The towns on the Hudson had submitted without resistance to a small force sent against them ; New Jersey and Delaware had quietly acknowledged, through delegates from the chief towns, the Dutch restoration. The six towns at the western end of Long Island had done the same ; others had submitted upon being sharply summoned ; and finally, even those at the eastern end were forced to yield. Lovelace imprudently ventured back to New York after some parley, and arrived there three days after the surrender. He was kindly treated, and not held as a prisoner by the commanders and their council of war ; but though the hand of military law spared him, he had been only three days in the town when he was arrested for debt ; and during all the rest of the Dutch negotiations he remained virtually a captive among the new masters of the province. A few days before their departure, the commanders, after some consideration, issued a decree confiscating all the property they had formerly attached ; and the unfortunate Lovelace, thus stripped of his last guilder, was quietly told that if he would now pay what he owed, he would in six weeks be permitted freely to leave the country. But though the property of his subordinate officers and of some other Englishmen was taken, and the right of confiscation against all Holland's enemies in America was assumed, it was declared that "for sufficient reasons" that of "actual inhabitants" of New England, Virginia, and Maryland, might be for the present exempt.

At the end of September Governor Colve found himself left in undivided authority over the mixed population of New Orange ; the "Achter Col" (such was the new name of New Jersey) ; the Hudson River villages, with "Willemstadt" (Albany), and Esopus ; Westchester and Long Island ; and all the rest which had made up the ancient domain of New Netherland under his Dutch predecessors. He might well assume the state of "a coach and three horses ;" yet he and his compatriots, exultant as they

The province again in Dutch possession.

Confiscations of property.

Administration of Colve.

were over the restoration of its lost jewel to the Fatherland, trembled when they thought of their weak condition, surrounded by and mingled with the enemies over whom they had achieved their victory. Reinforcements, which the schout and schepens of New Orange had already written for, must be sent out at once, and Holland must take them under its especial protection; for it was not to be expected that the few thousands of subjects which the States had in America could long withstand the anger and the retaliation of the French and English, by whom New Netherland was surrounded. Secretary Van Ruyven, sailing for home in September, had been charged with these urgent appeals; but his vessel, having almost suffered shipwreck, had to put into Nantucket, whence the secretary, to the surprise and disappointment of every one, made his reappearance in New Orange during the following November. The news he carried was destined to reach Holland by other hands. Would it arrive in time to secure the province from the possibility of English recapture?

New England was naturally both indignant and alarmed to hear that the Dutch were again established on its borders. The commissioners of its colonies met at Hartford early in September, less than a month after Evertsen's easy conquest, and passed a recommendation that each member of the New England confederation make preparations for defence against a possible Dutch attack. Nor were those wanting who urged upon the meeting a more aggressive policy. But want of union, and a natural disinclination for war, prevented. Massachusetts refused to take advantage of the offer of an English captain, whose ship lay at Boston, to retake New York with no other aid than that of supplies and a reinforcement. Unless the conquered region could be annexed to her own territory, that colony did not care to engage in any efforts for the recapture of New York. Plymouth was indifferent in the matter, so long as freedom from Dutch interference with her coasters was secured. Connecticut resolved to do what she could to retain eastern Long Island, at all events. The authorities at Hartford sent a threatening letter to Colve, by a special messenger; and at the same time two commissioners were appointed to visit the island, ascertain the state of affairs, and warn such Dutch authorities as they might find there of the possibility of extreme measures. To the letter Colve replied sharply that it was "impertinent and absurd," and that he could hardly credit its coming from Winthrop. The commissioners were met off the Long Island coast by three officers whom Colve had previously sent out to visit the eastern towns, and receive their submission. Treating each other civilly, the two parties of commissioners went together to Southold,

News of the recapture received in New England.

Conflicts between the Dutch and English authority.

where the Englishmen triumphed in so far as to find the inhabitants almost unanimously in their favor, so that Colve's men retired without accomplishing anything. The Connecticut messengers returned to Hartford and reported, and some volunteers were sent over to help the Long Islanders. But no conflict followed, and the whole matter went over quietly until it was swallowed up in the more important events which were soon to follow.

So also passed a momentary prospect of direct conflict with Massachusetts, excited by Colve's prompt confiscation of four Massachusetts coasters, in retaliation for the carrying away of the wreck of Van Ruyven's vessel from Nantucket, as the prize of an English privateer. Massachusetts fitted out a war vessel, and made some preparations for reprisals. But she did nothing more; nor did Plymouth, in spite of the urging of Connecticut. Rhode Island — not belonging to the New England confederacy — looked after her own defence. The year 1673 closed with the rivals in America occupying this position of passive hostility; but it was threatening enough to the Dutch at New Orange to make them long the more anxiously for aid from home.

Once more, as in the past, the course of events in Europe was to decide the fate of New Netherland without the knowledge of its people or its neighbors. During the first few days of May, 1674, while Colve and his officers were hard at work at the labor which had chiefly occupied their minds throughout the spring — the strengthening of the town against a possible "New England army," — two men came to Manhattan from Connecticut, despite an edict forbidding the coming of New Englanders without passports, and brought the first rumor of a treaty restoring the Dutch province to the English crown. So enraged were the citizens of New Orange at the mere report, that they arrested and punished these bearers of evil tidings. They collected in excited groups in the streets, cursing the rulers at home who would give up so readily the greatest colony of the Fatherland. One of the messengers, returning to Connecticut, declared there that the New Netherlanders vowed in their wrath that no demand or authority "of the States or Prince" should make them surrender again; but that they would keep their territory "by fighting, so long as they could stand with one leg and fight with one hand."

This warlike ardor cooled with time, however, and the rumor proved too true. On the sixth of March, the treaty of Westminster had been proclaimed at London, and at the Hague, whereby New Netherland was surrendered to England. On the eleventh of July, the Governor gave official notice at the Stadt Huys

Rumors of
the cession
of New
Netherland.

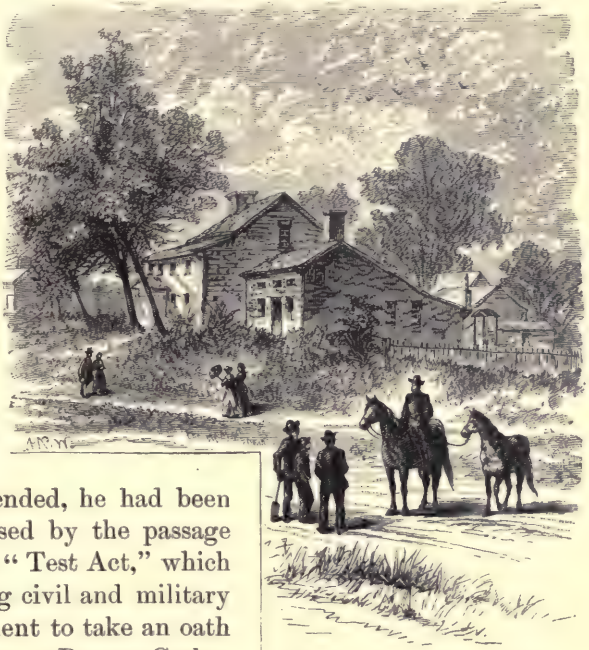
New Nether-
land again
given up to
England.

that peace was made between England and Holland, and that on duly authorized demand he must give up the province over which he had ruled for less than one short year.

The events which brought about the Peace of Westminster are familiar passages of English history. In the hot conflict between King Charles and his party on the one hand, and the Commons and people of England on the other, over questions that

Events in
England.

were believed to involve the safety of Protestantism in the kingdom, Charles had been for the moment worsted. At first forced into recalling his "Declaration of Indulgence," whereby all "penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Non-conformists or recusants" were suspended, he had been at once closely pressed by the passage in Parliament of the "Test Act," which compelled all holding civil and military office under government to take an oath which was impossible to Roman Catholics. This compelled the resignation of the Duke of York as Lord High Admiral of the fleet, of Sir Thomas Clifford as a cabinet minister, and of many others. Some of the cabinet would have carried resistance to this act to any length; but the King, once driven to yield, refused his support. He only turned savagely upon his chancellor and most able minister, Lord Shaftesbury, who had aided the Parliament, demanded from him the seals, and so drove his strongest adviser into a determined opposition. The effect of this was quickly seen in the increased bitterness and strength of the Protestant measures now pressed by Parliament. The war against the Protestant Prince of Orange and his nation, which even in a military point of view had been unsuccessful, grew more unpopular every day. Defeated at home by the masterly use made by Shaftesbury of the opposing elements, discouraged by events abroad, and unable to



Old House, Southold, Long Island.

sufficiently repair his exhausted resources even by his old shameless means of a resort to France, Charles was driven into a third surrender. He adopted a policy of concession and conciliation at home; and he consented to make peace with Holland.

These were the events which had unexpectedly reacted on the fate of the Dutch province in America. New York was to remain in English hands from this time forth; and though virtually winners of a peace on their own continent, the Dutch were to give up for it their only stronghold on this. A new patent to the Duke of York was issued in June, 1674. He appointed as his governor Major Edmund Andros, an officer of distinction, whom the King had already in March appointed to receive the surrender of New Orange under the treaty; and on the first of November the British frigates *Diamond* and *Castle* made their appearance at the anchorage off Staten Island.

On the ninth of the month, Colve, who had asked a week's delay to make all final arrangements, absolved the city officials, in solemn conclave at the Stadt Huys, from their oaths of allegiance to Holland; and on Saturday, the tenth, "the New Netherland and dependances" were formally given over to "Governor Major Edmund Andros on behalf of His Britannic Majesty." The English names were restored, the English laws reestablished, as they had been under Nicolls and Lovelace. A great number of the provincial and local officers were reinstated; the Mayor's Court was again convened at New York; the routine of public business and private life went on as before. The few months of Dutch occupation had hardly left a trace on the government which Nicolls had been the first, since the settlement of Manhattan Island, to bring into a really smooth, continuous course of prosperity.



Tomb of Stuyvesant

CHAPTER XV.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON FOUNDED. — WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — GOVERNOR MORETON. — JOSEPH BLAKE. — LORD CARDROSS'S SETTLEMENT AT PORT ROYAL. — PIRACY AND SPANISH HOSTILITY. — CARDROSS'S COLONY DESTROYED — SOTHEL DEPOSED AND BANISHED FROM ALBEMARLE. — HE LEADS A REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH. — HIS CAREER. — THE COLONIES UNDER ONE GOVERNOR. — INTRODUCTION OF RICE. — JOHN ARCHDALE GOVERNOR. — PROSPERITY OF THE COLONIES UNDER HIS RULE.

WHILE northern Carolina had been passing through a time of such disturbance and adversity, the people at the south had enjoyed a period of quiet and comparative prosperity under the skilful rule of Joseph West. Not that the settlements at Cape Fear and Ashley River were free from the troubles which disturbed every American colony — differences of religion, and feuds between the Puritans of New England and the Royalists who had come out under the Proprietors' patronage; — but these were held in check by the Governor, and were little interruption to the general course of affairs. There was a steady flow of emigrants from England; and Huguenots from France sought a refuge from persecution at home in a region whose pleasant climate had for them a peculiar attraction. In April, 1679, the King gave a token of favor to the Proprietaries and the new colony in sending out at his own expense two vessels with a band of Frenchmen skilled in vine growing and silk-producing, who brought with them vine-slips and silkworms' eggs for the establishment of those industries.

The Southern Colonies.

During the years that had passed since their first settlement, the Ashley River people had not failed to see their mistake in settling so far up the stream. Some, indeed, seem not to have made this error at all; for the old records speak of people both from the Ashley settlement and from Cape Fear, "resorting to Oyster Point" from the earliest times of the colony; and, doubtless, dwellings had been built there at the same time that the town had been founded on the more inland bluff. This "Oyster Point" was at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers; and the tendency to resort thither had grown so strong by the beginning of 1680 that the authorities yielded to it.

as they should have done long before. The old town was abandoned altogether in the spring of that year, and the foundations of a new Charles Town — the present city of Charleston — were laid on what had from the beginning been pointed out by nature as the proper site for the colonial port.

The new town was judiciously planned. A visitor, in the first year of its existence, described it as “regularly laid out into large and capacious streets, which to Buildings is a great Ornament and Beauty. In it they have reserved convenient places for Building of a Church, Town House, and other Publick Structures, an Artillery Ground for the Exercise of their Militia, and Wharves for the Convenience of their Trade and Shipping. At our being there was judged



Abandonment of Old Charles Town.

in the Country a 1000 or 1200 souls; but the great Numbers of Families

from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribbees, which daily Transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that Number” [that is, between the visit, 1680, and the publication, 1682].¹ The extreme unhealthfulness of the place soon passed away, a “fortunate revolution” which “men of discernment . . . attributed to the dispersion or purification of the noxious vapour by the smoke issuing from the numerous culinary fires.”²

Contemporary testimony does not give the most favorable account of the discipline and manners which prevailed in the promising new

¹ *A Compleat Discovery of the State of Carolina*, by T. A., Gent., London, 1682.

² Chalmers.

town; and the looseness and turbulence which ruled there, though not of a kind to make political disturbance, brought upon the colony an evil which for a time threatened seriously to check its progress. "The most desperate Fortunes first ventured over to break the Ice," explains one chronicler, in accounting for the character of his fellow-settlers, "which being generally the Ill-livers of the pretended Church-men, altho' the Proprietors commissioned one Colonel West their Governour, a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person; yet having a Council of the loose principled Men, they grew very unruly, that they had like to have Ruin'd the Colony by

Character of the Charleston people.

Abusing the Indians, whom in prudence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree."¹ It was the usual story of abuse in trade, the taking of the Indian women, and the oppressive punishment of trifling offences often brought about by rum or ignorance; and the Westoes, the tribe of the neighborhood, were a warlike people, and not slow to retaliate. After a series of petty raids, actual war broke out with them in 1680, — the first year of the new seaport.



An Indian sent into Slavery.

Fortunately for the colony, it was comparatively strong, well-armed, and, above all, well led by West; and the war was a vigorous and short one, the savages gladly making peace within a year after its beginning. But the conflict had worse results than the actual fighting. To obtain the money for carrying it on, West and his Council had adopted the plan of offering a price for every In-

War with the Indians.

¹ *A New Description of That Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, etc.* By John Archdale, late Governor. London, 1707. In *Carroll's Historical Coll.*, vol. ii.

dian captive, and then selling all who were brought in to West Indian slave-traders, who again disposed of them profitably in the Islands.¹ The war had thus changed, before its close, from one of defence to one of pure greed. The colonists gained money with every captive they sold to the authorities ; the authorities, with every one they sold to the traders ; and this flourishing traffic went on uninterrupted until it was brought to the notice of the Proprietors, who for once interfered promptly and successfully.

Expressing their strong disapprobation of "this barbarous practice,"² and sharply pointing out the necessity of conciliating the Indians by just treatment, they gave strict orders against the kidnapping of any savages, now that peace had been concluded, and appointed a commission of four members to try all causes of dispute, and to do full justice to any on either side who might wrong the other.³ But these measures were not enough. The Council openly supported the continuance of a traffic which had proved so profitable ; and even West, contrary to his usual moderation and wisdom, opposed his superiors in this. The enemies he had made among the turbulent but influential church-party in the colony, took advantage of the attitude he thus assumed to turn the Proprietors against him ; and in 1683 he was removed by their order, after nine years of successful administration, and Joseph Moreton was appointed Governor of Southern Carolina in his place.

Moreton not only had the old dissensions to quiet, — in attempting which he had little success, — but he was almost immediately confronted by new troubles. West had held a "parliament" at Charlestown in 1682, which had made a few disciplinary laws, and organized a militia ; and soon after his appointment Moreton called a similar one, to organize further the affairs of the province. The Proprietors had now made Charleston the capital of Southern Carolina, or at least had ordered elections and parliaments to be held there ; and all the southern part of the province had, in 1682, been divided into three great counties, — Craven, including much of that formerly called Clarendon ; Berkeley, the region immediately surrounding Charleston ; and Colleton, the country to the south, extending to the region about Port Royal. It had been ordered that the lower house of the parliament — for there was still an attempt to make that body somewhat resemble that prescribed in the "Grand Model" — should consist of twenty members ; and it was with regard to the election of these that the colonists met the first of a long series of legislative difficulties.

It is evident that a large number of scattered settlers had by this

¹ Chalmers. Oldmixon.

² Chalmers.

³ Oldmixon.

Sale of Indian prisoners pressed.

Moreton Governor. New difficulties.

time established themselves along the coast to the southward, or inland at some distance south and southwest of the capital. For although Craven County was considered to have so few inhabitants that it was not worth while for it to elect deputies at all, yet Colleton County was allowed to choose ten of the twenty members of the new Parliament, the rest representing Berkeley. It was this allotment which caused the trouble. The Berkeley people would not permit their scattered neighbors to have a delegation equal to that of the crowded town, and quietly took the matter into their own hands by choosing themselves all the twenty members. There may have been other reasons for this action than the alleged one of inequality of population. The people of the inland country may not have been willing to support the people of the port in the traffic in Indian slaves, — the retaliation of the savages having naturally more terrors for them than for the inhabitants of a town. Whatever was the cause, the usurpation of power by the capital was successful; the twenty Berkeley delegates met, and made laws which were approved by Moreton and his Council. Nor would they disperse at the command of the Proprietors, who indignantly ordered them to do so, and not to meet again until they should have obeyed instructions. Not this Parliament only, but subsequent ones, seem to have utterly disregarded the proprietary orders; until at last, apparently in despair, the Proprietors gave the Berkeley people their own way, and the one-sided system of representation continued till the inhabitants of other counties grew numerous enough to take the matter into their own hands, and put a stop to it.

Choosing
delegates to
the Parlia-
ment.

Success of
the Berkeley
delegates.

The laws passed by the Parliament were of little moment, save one following the example of Albemarle by suspending "all prosecutions for foreign debts." So indignant were the Proprietaries at the passage and signature of such an Act, — so "contrary to the King's honor," being "in effect to stop the course of justice," — that they ordered all officers to be "displaced, who had promoted it."¹ It was probably for this, among other things, that Moreton, like West before him, was made a scapegoat. He seems to have tried honestly to carry out the Proprietors' wishes, — to have checked the Indian slave traffic, and to have made himself unpopular on this account; while there is no evidence that he was in any sense a "promoter" of the acts of a Parliament which was too strong for him. Whether he resigned because of popular enmity, or was deposed by his superiors, he ceased to govern within a year after his appointment, and the Council made West governor again until a new officer should be sent out from England.

Legislation
favoring
debtors.

West again
Governor.

¹ Chalmers

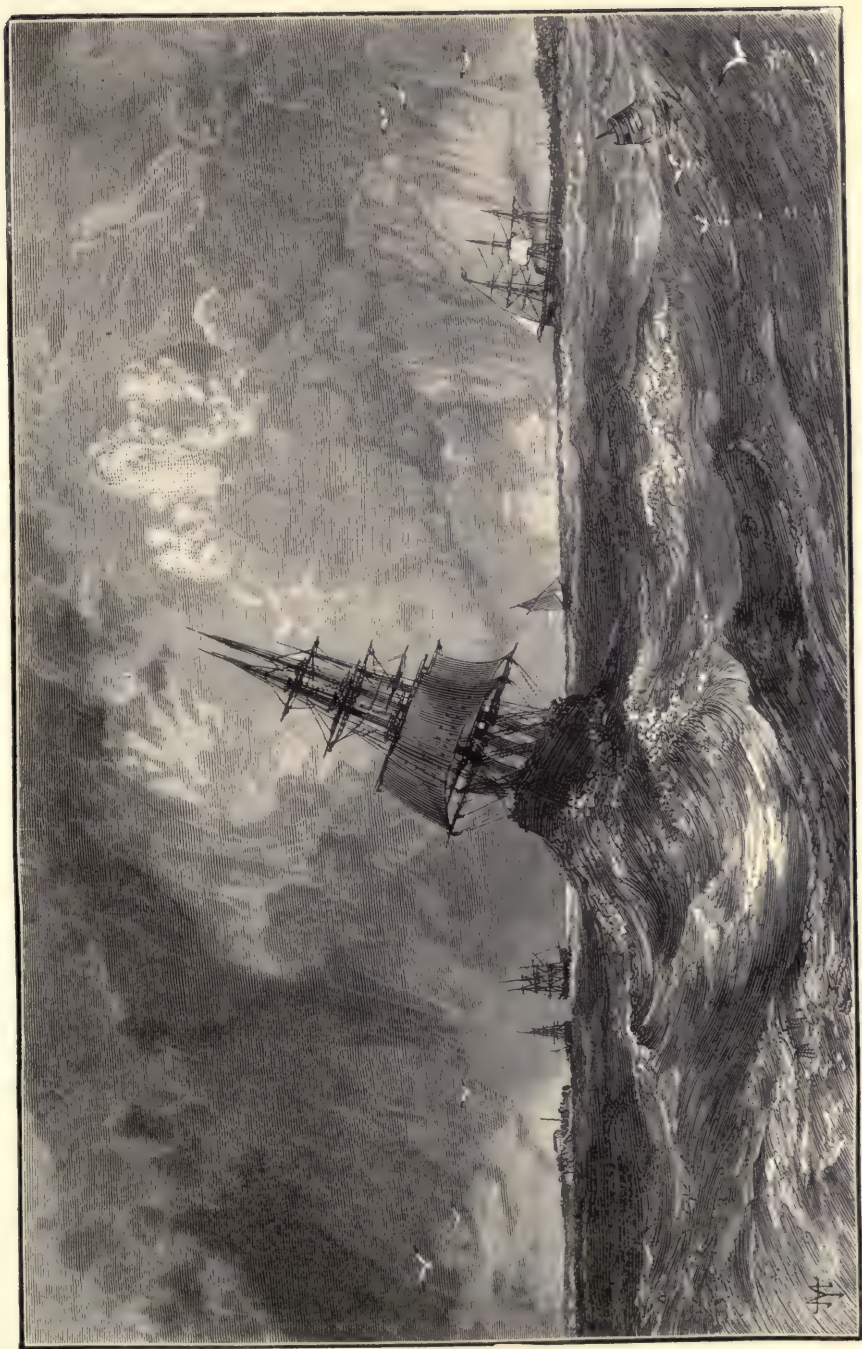
Meanwhile the colony received additions, promising better for the future than did the original settlers. In 1683 Joseph Blake, the brother of the famous English admiral, and a dissenter of great influence, led a new company to Southern Carolina. They were of his own way of thinking—men who believed “that the miseries they endured” in their native Somersetshire “were nothing to what he [Blake] foresaw would attend the Reign of a Popish successor.”¹ “Many honest substantial Persons” were among these emigrants, who must have found themselves strangely at variance with the turbulent people of Charleston, in and near which they seem to have made their homes. A company of Irishmen, who came out about the same time under the leadership of one Ferguson, and who “instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants,” were more welcome.

During West’s brief second administration, the county of Colleton also received an important accession of good colonists—a company of Scotch Presbyterians who, under the leadership of Lord Cardross, afterward the Earl of Buchan, made a settlement at Port Royal, in 1684. They understood that their agents had secured beforehand from the Proprietors in London the same rights and privileges that had been granted to the government at Charleston—that they were to be an independent colony. But they found on such a question the people of the country more powerful than the Proprietors, and that assent to so divided a jurisdiction would never be given. Cardross left the colony in disgust, but his companions were compelled to accept a condition which they had not the means to escape from nor the strength to resist.

During these two years governors—Kyle, Moreton, West, Quarry—followed each other in rapid succession, none of them remaining long enough in office to influence essentially the history of that period either for good or evil, or influencing it only so far as they fell in with the temper of the times though without controlling it. The western Atlantic, and especially the region about the West Indies, had been for years infested with adventurers who had in most cases begun as privateers, but who continued their depredations after the wars had ceased. They preyed chiefly upon Spanish commerce, and while this assured them of immunity from the English government, they were certain of the sympathy if not the coöperation of the southern English colonists, to whom fear of Spanish incursion was familiar.

The Spaniards had not abandoned their ancient claim to all the territory which the English had included in the region of Southern

¹ Oldmixon.



HILTON HEAD, AT THE ENTRANCE TO PORT ROYAL, S. C.

Carolina. In 1670 an expedition started from St. Augustine to root out the settlement just made on Ashley River ; but, having gone only so far north as Stono Inlet, returned on learning that the English were prepared to receive them. Threats of a more serious invasion were often made. In Charleston there was a hearty welcome for Buccaneers who preyed upon Spanish commerce. The port was a convenient recruiting station ; the pirates were lavish of their ill-gotten gains ; the love of adventure

Spanish hostility creates sympathy for the Buccaneers.



Pirates in Charleston.

appealed to the lawless ; the hope of the capture of Spanish ships laden with treasure excited the cupidity of the more sober-minded. Piracy of this sort did not want for encouragement directly from the reckless sailors about the wharves, indirectly even from governors and councils.

Not only the Proprietaries but the King took immediate notice of

this spirit in Carolina, as soon as it was openly manifested under the administrations of West and Quarry. As early as April, 1684, "a law against pirates" or their encouragement had been sent out with the most stringent directions of the Proprietors that it must be at once obeyed. But this, like repeated instructions which followed later, and like the removal of Quarry, and other measures of suppression, proved altogether unavailing. The difficulty was not to be ended during Charles II.'s reign; and it was not until James II., in 1687, sent a fleet to put down the pirates with a stronger hand than that of written law, that the Carolinians were frightened into obedience.

One sharp and unexpected act of retaliation on the part of the Spaniards struck, perhaps, the least blameworthy of all the Carolina settlements. In 1686, a year after Moreton's re-appointment, three Spanish galleys suddenly appeared before Lord Cardross's little colony of Scotchmen at Port Royal. The crews landed, and meeting but little resistance from the settlers, "killed and whipped a great many, after taken, in a most cruel and barbarous manner;" and having destroyed the place, took ship again and sailed up the coast. Landing again at an outlying settlement called Bear Bluff, on Edisto River, a little south of Charleston, they sacked the place, and took prisoner Governor Moreton's brother, the leading colonist there. They would have gone farther, perhaps to venture on an attack in the immediate neighborhood of the town, but were prevented by a hurricane, in which one of their galleys was driven ashore so far that she could not be got off. So that, "the Country being by that Time sufficiently Alarmed, they thought proper to make a Retreat; but first set Fire to that Galley on board which Mr. Morton was actually then in Chains, and most inhumanly burnt in her."¹

Naturally enough the Carolinians proposed an immediate return for this injury, and preparations were made at once for an expedition against St. Augustine, which they do not seem to have doubted their ability to take. But the Proprietaries promptly forbade it. "Every rational man," they wrote, "must have foreseen that the Spaniards, thus provoked, would assuredly retaliate; . . . the clause in the patent that had been relied on to justify the measure" (the section permitting the colonists "to make war and pursue the enemies aforesaid," etc.), "meant only a pursuit in heat of victory, not a deliberate making war on the King of Spain's subjects within his own territories: nor do we claim any such power: No man, however, can think that the depen-

The Port
Royal colo-
ny destroyed
by the Span-
iards.

The Proprie-
tors forbid
retaliation.

¹ Introduction to *Oglethorpe's Report on the Expedition against St. Augustine.*

dencies of England can have power to make war upon the King's allies, without his knowledge or consent."¹ The Charleston people yielded, and abandoned the enterprise, though whether owing to these persuasions or to the difficulties of the proposed expedition, must remain a matter of doubt. At all events, the authorities received a rather grim congratulation from their superiors, who wrote, "We are glad you have laid aside your project, as, had it proceeded, Moreton, Godfrey, and others might have answered it, perhaps, with their lives."² Furthermore, they received the somewhat aggravating



Burning of the Spanish Galley.

instruction to write a "civil letter" to the St. Augustine commander, inquiring by what authority he had acted. Whether the letter was "civil" or not, it is not surprising that all the older chroniclers of Carolina date from this time a rooted animosity between the colony and its southern neighbors.

In spite of the reproof of the Proprietors Moreton certainly seems to have had as good intentions and to have tried as hard to rule the southern province well, as any governor they had sent out. An intelligent and honest man, in sympathy with the better element among the settlers, married to the sister of the generally respected colonist Blake, and throwing his whole influence on the side of law and order, he appeared as good an officer as could

Moreton de-
posed. Col-
leton Gover-
nor.

¹ Chalmers.

² Chalmers and State Papers.

have been chosen for turbulent Charleston. But either because he could not control the worse part of its people, or because his enemies persuaded the Proprietors that he was acting against their designs, he was deposed, after a governorship of but little more than a year, and his successor, James Colleton, was instructed to punish him and his council for disobedience.

As well might one man, without any physical force to aid him, have been told to punish the whole population of the province. For though Moreton had been unpopular so long as he tried to enforce the proprietary decrees, the anti-proprietary party, grown strong beyond control, promptly espoused his cause, now that he was in opposition. If Moreton had tried to keep them under during his rule, they laughed at a successor for whom they appear to have had much less respect. The Proprietors, weak enough in any case, were now, that James II. had become King, more feeble than ever, fearing that their charter should go the way of the New England patents. They could give their Governor but little help.

Surrounded by factions, "as rampant" says Oldmixon, "as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity," Colleton called a Parliament in the autumn of 1686. But he no sooner attempted to organize it than the majority of its members refused obedience to the Constitutions, basing their objection on the pretext that the completed version was different from the original draft and the temporary laws sent over long before. They then proceeded to draw up a code for themselves, though they were formally excluded from the house by the Governor; and even sent their version under the title of "standing laws of Carolina"¹ to the Proprietaries for approval. It was indignantly rejected, but this did not check the opposition party, which grew daily stronger. A new Parliament was called in 1687. Its members were instructed to "oppose whatsoever the Governor requested; insomuch that they would not settle the Militia Act, tho' their own security (in a Natural way) depended on it."² Grievances and complaints poured in from every quarter. The measures of the Governor were in the highest degree injudicious, though honestly intended to secure their just political and financial dues to the Proprietors; and finally, seeing himself surrounded by threatening factions on every side, Colleton took the rash step of declaring martial law in a colony where the only soldiery were the people.

All that the discontented party among the colonists had hitherto wanted, in order to completely overthrow the government they opposed, was a leader; and as the southern settlements had formerly

Determined
opposition to
the Proprie-
tors

¹ Oldmixon in Carroll, vol. ii., p. 412.

² Archdale.

given a chief, in the person of Culpepper, to the insurgents in the north, so Albemarle, at this critical moment, returned the favor by contributing an organizing head to the revolutionary movement at Charleston.

Seth Sothell had no sooner assumed the government of Northern Carolina, in 1683, than he proved equally false to Proprietors and settlers. Deliberately disobeying the orders of the former, who appear to have desired to deal impartially and leniently with the people lately in rebellion, and neglecting the collection both of the customs and the proprietary revenue, he used his official power merely as a means of enriching himself. For five years he kept up an administration under which every class of settlers in Albemarle suffered from his injustice and rapacity, until, at the end of that time, the unconcealed indignation of the people took effect in stronger measures than the appeals they had made to England. By an insurrection, even more decisive and unanimous than that under Culpepper, they deposed and arrested Sothell in 1688, and prepared to send him to London with agents of their own, to defend himself before the Proprietors for his abuse of power. But the delinquent Governor feared his superiors more than the colonists, and begged for mercy, declaring his willingness to undergo trial by the Albemarle Assembly on any charge the people would make against him. His trial was a long one; thirteen specifications appeared in the indictment against him, and on all of these he was found guilty. Sentenced to perpetual disqualification from office, and to banishment from the province for one year, it was supposed that he had been made powerless for further evil, when suddenly he was heard of in South Carolina, just as affairs there were ripe for an outbreak, claiming authority by his rights as a palatine, and everywhere gaining the adherence of the dissatisfied, who were ready to accept a leader with even the flimsiest pretence to official position.

Discontents
in the North-
ern colony.

Arrest and
trial of
Sothel.

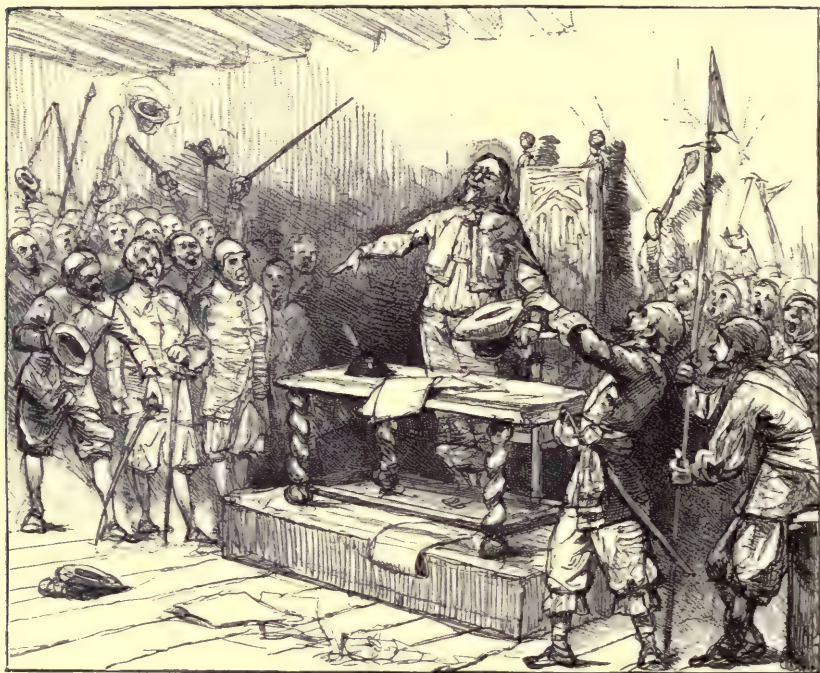
Sothell, in 1690, seized upon the government, and, calling together a Parliament made up entirely from his own followers, demanded the trial of Colleton for various imaginary and real crimes. The same sentence was passed upon him which had driven Sothell from Albemarle, and many of his Council and fellow-officials shared his condemnation and punishment. Widespread confiscation of their property filled the new Governor's coffers, and these acts of rapacity began gradually to open the eyes of the Charleston people to the character of the ruler they had put over them. As was natural, the real nature of the man soon put an end to his temporary popularity. A year after his usurpation he was hated as heartily in Southern Carolina as he had been in Albemarle.

He leads the
outbreak in
the South.

But he went on steadily piling up additions to his great fortune by the most shameless extortion and injustice. The clamor about him probably mattered little to the hardened adventurer, so long as he was able to keep in his pay men enough to defend his person.

The unfortunate Proprietaries, perplexed and disheartened with these rapid changes and conflicting reports from the colony, had in vain written with mild expostulation to Sothell after the Albemarle affair. Though they had heard that the people had risen against his alleged injustice and oppression, yet they

Sothell and
the Proprietors.



Sothell and his Followers seizing the South Carolina Government.

were unwilling to accept the accusations as true. Still, they thought it necessary to suspend him from office, and appointed Colonel Philip Ludwell in his place till an impartial examination should be made. It was only with the failure of their summons to him to appear in England that their eyes were opened to his treachery toward themselves; but even after this, and after they heard of his first doings at Charleston, they wrote with extraordinary mildness — not to say weakness. They had received his letters, they said, under date of October 10, 1690; for it seems he had quietly written to them, even perhaps consulting them about taking charge, under his palatinate rights, of the southern colony. They were pleased, they feebly added,

to find that he would submit to their instructions; but no single Proprietor, they reminded him, had any right to the government, nor to take jurisdiction upon himself without the others' consent; and to do so would be high misdemeanor and treason. They hoped that it was not true that Mr. Joseph Blake had been put out of his office of deputy. Touching the protestation of the deputies, with a list of the misdemeanors in thirteen particulars alleged against him, his imprisonment by the people of Albemarle, his after-submission and compulsory abjuration of the government, and the proceedings of the people, — all these were “highly prejudicial, both to the royal prerogative and to the dignity of the Proprietors;” they “did not approve” of his conduct, but had no intention of acting otherwise than uprightly toward him; still, they “would not be imposed upon.”¹

Only when they heard of the actual usurpation, does a little energy seem to have infused itself into their councils. A series of letters, increasing from comparative mildness to the sternest severity, then began to come in upon Sothell. From the first his claim to be allowed to retain the governorship on the ground of his vested rights in the province, and his being the only resident representative of the proprietary class, was disallowed. His “pretended act, purporting to disable James Colleton” was sharply reproved, and he was ordered to nullify it: the acts of his Parliament were declared void; and finally, on November 8, 1691, a peremptory order suspended him from all power in Carolina,² and added the threat that a royal *mandamus* should compel him to come to England and stand trial, if he did not at once submit. This last order overcame his audacity. Amid the rejoicing of all the people he slunk back to the Albemarle region again, where he was suffered to end his days as a private citizen. In 1694 he died.

End of Sothell's rule.

And now the Proprietors did what prudence should have dictated long before. They appointed one governor for all the province, north and south; fixing his residence at Charleston, and allowing him to appoint, subject to confirmation, a deputy or deputies for other quarters. Philip Ludwell, whom they had at first intended to substitute for Sothel in the government of Albemarle alone, now became the first General Governor. His lack of all previous connection with Carolina, and the confidence placed in him by the people of Virginia, gave the Proprietaries great hope that he would be able to restore tranquillity.

Philip Ludwell governor of both colonies.

But Carolina needed a Governor of more than ordinary ability and energy; and this Ludwell did not prove to be, though, like several of his predecessors, he apparently assumed his duties with the best

¹ *State Papers in Coll. Hist. Soc. S. C.*, vol. i.

² *State Papers.*

intentions. His attempt to carry out his superiors' instructions, by allowing the franchise and equal privileges to the French Protestants, who now formed a large element in the population of the province, was the signal for a new outbreak of discontent. When he further ventured to carry out the law by the arrest of a crew of pirates, he found himself confronted by opposition as determined as that which had made the government impossible to Moreton or to



Acquittal of the Buccaneers at Charleston.

Colleton. The pirates were acquitted; and from this time forward the Proprietors found Ludwell unable to carry out a single measure that opposed in any way the popular will.

Disgusted at this renewed failure, they removed him in 1692, and appointed in his place one of the Carolina planters themselves, Thomas Smith — “a wise, sober, well-living man.”¹

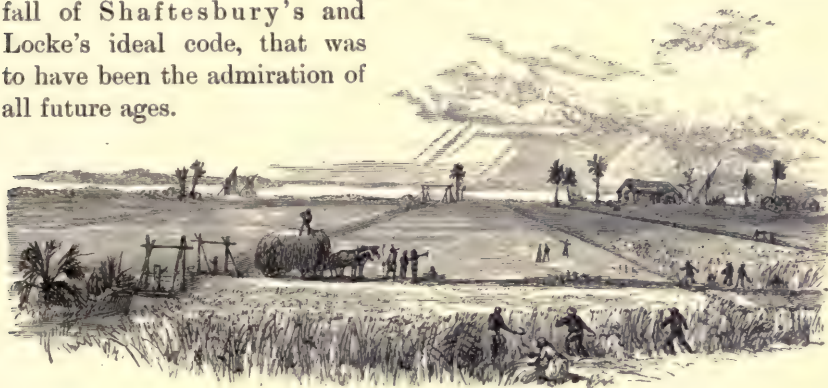
Governor-
ship of
Thomas
Smith.

Repeal of
the “Con-
stitutions.”

Though his wisdom, soberness, and other good traits availed no more than the efforts of his predecessors toward preserving order, yet Smith's brief administration of two years was noteworthy for three substantial benefits. In 1693, the year after his appointment, the Proprietaries, worn out at last with their useless attempts to enforce even a few of its complicated provisions, went through the form of abolishing John Locke's “Grand Model.” As the “fundamental constitutions”

¹ Archdale and Oldmixon.

had never existed in Carolina, save on paper, their repeal was hardly a necessary formality. Yet for men who for more than twenty years had talked in glowing terms of these laws that should "endure forever," it was a significant concession when they confessed that the people of the settlements knew their own needs best. "As the people," they wrote, "have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request."¹ From this time forth the popular legislative body in the province was called an Assembly instead of a Parliament;² even the little consideration previously shown it, ceased to attach to the title of landgrave; the people ceased to have an excuse for disputing with the Governor, and the Governor no longer took advantage of the pretext of higher rank to justify arbitrary measures. But except these trifling changes nothing marked the downfall of Shaftesbury's and Locke's ideal code, that was to have been the admiration of all future ages.



A Carolina Rice-field.

The second fortunate event of Smith's administration seemed a trifle at the time, yet its consequences were of lasting benefit to the province. In 1694, rice was introduced into Carolina. An English vessel touched at Charleston in that year, on the way home from Madagascar, and its captain gave to Governor Smith a quantity of seed-rice, which the latter and his friends planted as an experiment. Thriving beyond measure in the marshes along the rivers, it was the origin of one of Carolina's greatest products. A few years later a writer could say of the province that it exported in very valuable quantities "rice the best of the known world."

Introduc-
tion of rice
into Caro-
lina.

Smith's greatest benefit to the country, however, came with the end of his short rule; for when he grew "uneasy in the government, by reason that he could not satisfy the people in their demands," he

¹ Quoted from *State Papers* by Chalmers.

² Grahame.

“writ over” to the Proprietors a much wiser and more candid exposition of the state of affairs than had before reached them; and at the same time that he confessed his own inability to improve matters, he suggested a way in which this could be done. It was useless, he showed them, to try any longer to govern by deputy; “it was impossible to settle the Country, except a Proprietor himself was sent over with full power to Heal their Grievances.”¹ The Proprietaries saw at last the wisdom of this proposal; and with their adoption of it began the first period of quiet that Carolina had ever known.

The man first chosen from their number to undertake this mission was Lord Ashley, Shaftesbury’s grandson. But when he begged his colleagues to excuse him because his father’s affairs compelled his presence in England, the choice fell upon John Archdale, a Quaker, who had bought out the interest of one of the older Proprietors, and who was considered — most rightly, as the event proved — to be a wise, moderate, liberal, and far-seeing man.

Archdale arrived in Charleston in August, 1695; and no sooner was his arrival known, and the almost unlimited power given by his commission fairly understood, than “every faction apply’d themselves” to him “in hopes of Relief.” He “appeased them,” he says in his account, “with kind and gentle Words;” and as soon as possible after his landing, he called an Assembly, to which he made a wise and kindly address.

“I believe I may appeal to your Serious Rational Observations,” he said, “whether I have not already so allayed your Heats, as that the distinguishing Titles thereof are so much withered away; and I hope this Meeting with you will wholly extinguish them, so that a solid Settlement of this hopeful Colony may ensue, and by so doing your Posterity will bless God for so Happy a Conjunction. . . . And now you have heard of the Proprietors Intention of sending me hither, I doubt not but the Peoples Intentions of Choosing you were much of the same nature; I advise you therefore, to proceed soberly and mildly in this weighty Concern; and I question not but we shall answer you in all things that are reasonable and honourable for us to do. And now Friends, I have given you the reason of my Coming, I shall give you the Reasons of my calling you so soon, which was the consideration of my own Mortality, and that such a considerable Trust might not expire useless to you. . . . I hope the consideration hereof will quicken and direct you into a speedy conclusion of what the People may reasonably expect from you; and I hope the God of Peace will prosper your Counsels herein.”

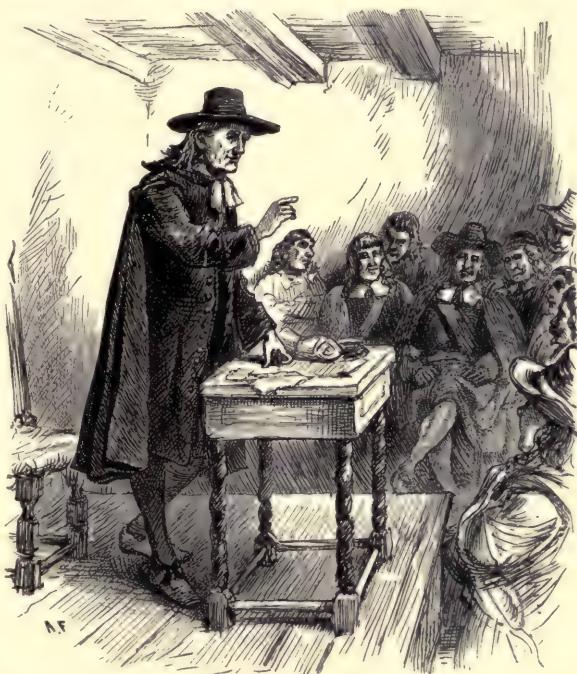
Appointment of John Archdale as Governor.

His address to the Assembly.

¹ Archdale.

The Assembly replied in a similar conciliatory vein, yet "after this fair Blossomin Season to produce Peace and Tranquility to the Country, some endeavour'd to sow Seed of Contention, thereby to nip the same; insomuch that they sat six Weeks under Civil Broils and Heats," till at length they "recollected their Minds into a cooler Frame of Spirit," the Governor's "Patience being a great means to overcome them; so that in the conclusion all Matters ended amicably." "The Acts of grace you have so seasonably condescended unto," wrote the popular representatives to their new ruler at the close of the session, "have removed all former Doubts, Jealousies and Discouragements of us the People; and hath laid a firm and sure Foundation on which may be erected a most glorious Superstructure to the Honour of the Lords Proprietors and you our Governor; which we do, and forever shall be obliged most heartily to own as the Production of the Wisdom, Discretion, Patience and Labour of the Honourable *John Archdale, Esq.*"

Good influence of Archdale.



Archdale's Address.

For once it seems as if this flourish of compliments, to which Mr. "Jonathan Amery, Speaker," subscribed on behalf of the delegates, was really richly deserved. Forgiveness of arrears of quit-rent; careful inquiry into cases of individual grievance; the selection of a council from among the citizens most trusted by the people, — these were some of the conciliatory measures which had gained for Archdale the esteem and attachment of "every faction;" while his energy in matters that required a strong hand was no less conspicuous and disinterested. Of the hostile Indians he made warm friends; yet he did not, though a Quaker, abate for a moment his attention to the defence

of the colony ; and the militia was never better trained than during his governorship. He exempted those of his own faith from military service, provided they could show that they objected to it from conviction, and not from cowardice ; but, for himself, he looked carefully to every detail of military matters. North Carolina accepted his rule as gladly as the southern settlements. One of his daughters married a Pasquotank planter, and the many Quakers at Albemarle seconded his efforts warmly ; so that not even a hint of sedition or discontent came in his time from this quarter of the colony. Even the Spaniards at St. Augustine gratefully acknowledged his justice and kindness to some Christian Indians, their protégés, who had been captured, and were about to be sold as slaves by a Carolina tribe. Everywhere in the province tranquillity and prosperity were established, when Archdale, having accomplished all his objects to the mutual benefit of Proprietors and people, set sail for home at the close of 1696.

He left as his successor, whom he had the right to appoint, Joseph Blake, the son of the first emigrant of the name, and a man who resembled his father in ability and merit. During the four remaining years of the century he ruled quietly and well over the now prospering colony. No dissension worthy of notice disturbed his Governorship ; and the chief event that appears on the record of his time, is his successful and liberal support of the religious interests of Charleston. In 1698, John Cotton, a son of John Cotton, of Boston, settled there¹ with the Governor's hearty support and patronage ; while at the same time, with rare impartiality, for he was a dissenter, he procured the passage of an Act giving £150 a year, and a house, to the Episcopal clergyman of the town.

Prosperity
under his
administra-
tion.

Joseph
Blake Gov-
ernor.

¹ Savages' *Genealogy*.



Signature of John Archdale.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POLITICAL POLICY OF THE PURITANS.

THE FIRST MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER. — TEMPORIZING POLICY OF THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES. — THE GOVERNMENT AT HOME BAFFLED. — REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND. — THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE NEW ENGLAND PURITANS. — APPEAL TO CROMWELL. — HIS SCHEMES. — THE REGICIDES. — CHARLES II. AND THE CHARTER. — THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS. — NEW DANGERS TO MASSACHUSETTS. — EDWARD RANDOLPH. — THE CHARTER REVOKED. — GOVERNOR ANDROS'S ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT. — CONCEALMENT OF THE CONNECTICUT CHARTER. — DEPOSITION AND ARREST OF ANDROS. — COURSE OF KING WILLIAM. — A NEW CHARTER. — GOVERNOR PHIPS. — EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA. — OPPOSITION TO PHIPS. — HIS RECALL.

THE political anxieties of Massachusetts, through all the earlier years of her colonial life, were not less constant, while they were much more reasonable, than the theological dissensions which, as we have seen in former chapters, she so took to heart. Such anxieties seemed, indeed, to the earnest Puritans, of importance, mainly because, through the achievement of a certain political purpose, there might come the realization of a religious end. They aspired to political independence, — so far as a colony could be independent, perhaps even further, — that the Commonwealth which they planted and nurtured might become a commonwealth in which there should be no citizenship, hardly even the right to live, except to those who were of their own faith. But that fervid zeal, while it failed, in the long run, to limit the rights of conscience and of private judgment, established, year by year and step by step, that civil liberty to which the world owes so much.

Political affairs in Massachusetts.

The original charter of Massachusetts, which had been transferred from England to Boston, and which was procured with that intent,¹ was an object of continual hostility and of continual solicitude. A *quo warranto* was soon issued whereby the colonists were called upon to show upon what authority they held that patent. The jealousy of Gorges, and the fear that he might assume the governor-generalship over Northern New England, had their root in the dread of an interference with chartered rights as well as of the

Anxiety with regard to the charter.

¹ See vol. i., pp. 524, 525, 526.

establishment of the episcopacy from which the colonists had fled. They saw with apprehension how carefully they were watched in England by the vigilant eyes from which they hoped they had escaped. Charles changed his mind, — that it would be good policy to rid his kingdom of the Puritans; and then emigration was interfered with. Among some passengers who were ordered to disembark after having taken ship for New England, were, it is said, — and there is good reason for believing the story to be true, — the two men whose staying at home, if he could have looked into the future, the King had the most cause to dread, John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell.



Cape Elizabeth.

In 1637, the lately appointed commissioners for New England sent out a copy of a commission to the magistrates of Massachusetts empowering them to exercise the functions of government only until further orders. This was on the pretext that they were governing without authority. To this order the magistrates gave no heed; contenting themselves with the plea that nothing but a copy of the commission had been served upon them, while the original in London had not as yet — as they learned from a friend on the spot — received the royal seal. About the same time an adroit attempt was made under the commission granted to Gorges to engage the General Court in the government of his eastern province of New Somersetshire, which extended from Cape Elizabeth to the Sagadahoc. To have accepted this charge would

Orders of the
Royal Com-
missioners
evaded.

Schemes of
Gorges.

have been equivalent to the acknowledgment of his prior patent. Winthrop merely says in his journal that it "was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence." They knew as well when to be silent as when to speak.

A year later a peremptory demand was made, in accordance with the *quo warranto*, for the surrender of the charter and that it be sent at once to England. The General Court replied in September, tempering their evasion of the order with assurances of loyalty. They referred to the royal encouragements which had attended the early emigrations; they reminded the King of the venture they had made of lives and fortunes in extending his dominion in those distant and inhospitable regions; they proposed to continue in that obedience to his will which they had always shown; but they did not send back the charter. Again the next year the demand was renewed, with the assurance that the regulation, not the subversion of their liberties, was intended. But their liberties, they thought, were safer in their own hands than in the hands of a royal commission. The General Court gave to this second summons also their serious consideration. Their conclusion was that as the order came this time in a private letter and not by an accredited messenger they were under no obligation to send any answer whatever.

Royal demand for the surrender of the Charter.

Space and time did them good service. It was a long voyage to England and back again; orders and replies were a long while in coming and going; still a longer while passed in waiting for replies that never came. The magistrates were kept carefully advised by friends in England of the condition of public affairs, and of every step taken by their enemies to their prejudice. Explanations were always ready; and if they were not always ingenuous, never was there a time when the plea could be more justly urged — that much may be pardoned to the spirit of liberty. Meanwhile much might happen of which the colony might have the benefit.

And much did happen. The King soon had other affairs on his hands of more moment than to bring to immediate obedience these self-willed colonists on the other side of the Atlantic.

Affairs in England.

His subjects nearer home were in insurrection. In 1640, the Scotch entered England; the "Short Parliament" was called, to be speedily dispersed again when Charles found that redress of grievances must precede any vote of money. The Puritans of England hailed the promise of a brighter future in the events of this period, and they were less anxious to leave the country. Emigration to New England fell off; but Massachusetts was consoled with the reflection that neglect by the government at home was much more her gain than her loss. Increase of population was less desirable than to be let alone.

All fear of any interference with the charter was allayed when the news came of the meeting of the "Long Parliament" in November, 1640. The Puritans of England in resisting the King were taking up arms in the cause of the colony as well as in their own. Fifteen months after the meeting of that Parliament the House of Commons declared that "the plantations of New England have by the blessings of the Almighty had good and prosperous success without any public charge to this State, and one now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the Gospel in these parts very beneficial to the kingdom and nation." For their "better advancement and encouragement," therefore, it was decreed that all trade between Old and New England should be unrestricted by "any custom, subsidy, taxation or other duty." Not long after came a letter



Fac-simile of the First Lines

signed by Warwick, Say and Seale, Cromwell, Harding, and other leading men, declaring that both houses united in a wish for the presence of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport to come over with all possible speed, all or any of them, if all cannot." "You will find opportunity enough," they added "to draw forth all that healfulness that God shall afford by you. . . . Onely the sooner you come the better."¹

The invitation was not accepted, perhaps prudently. "Had the churches of New England," says Hutchinson, "appeared there by their representations, or any of the principal divines appeared as members of the Assembly [at Westminster] greater exception might have been taken to their building after a model of their own framing." That model was Congregationalism. The next year, adds the histo-

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i.

rian, some persons from England "made a muster to set up Presbyterian government, under the authority of the assembly at Westminster; but a New England assembly the General Court, soon put them to rout." They believed with Milton that,

"New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

But whether for personal reasons or for public considerations the three invited clergymen declined to accede to the wish for their presence and counsel in England, the relations between the colonists and the revolution were intimate and influential. Hugh Peters and Thomas Welde went to England at the request of Connecticut and Massachusetts; others followed or preceded them; Sir Henry Vane was already there.¹

Course of
leading New
England
Puritans.



Do all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting, **Whereas** our most dearly and
beloved Son, **James** Duke of York, the third day of November in the eighteenth year of his
Majesty in the County of Devon for the planting ruling ordering and governing of New -
all that Parte of America lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of Northerly latitude
erly latitude inclusively and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine
Soles Grounds havens Portes Rivers Waters fishing Mines and Minerals aswell Royall -
Stones Quarries and all and singular other Commodities Jurisdictions Royall privileges
upon the Main and also within the Mlandes and Seas adjoining **Provided** alowed
entire intended and meant to be graunted were not then actualle possessed or unpossessed by any other
person of the Southerne Colony then before graunted by our said grace farther to be planted by -

of the Massachusetts Charter.

Nevertheless when in 1651, after the battle of Worcester, the power of Parliament had become firmly established, and Charles I. had been dethroned and beheaded, a demand was made upon all the colonies to recognize its supreme authority. The charter of Massachusetts was again threatened. Her magistrates were ordered to transmit it to England, and receive in return a new patent. In this emergency, instead of denying the right of Parliament to revoke the charter—as might justly have been done on the ground that it was an extemporized body of men expressing a new kind of authority not dreamed of in the first days of emigration and of the charter—the General Court, declining this dangerous argu-

New danger
to the Char-
ter under
the Com-
monwealth.

¹ For a thorough discussion of the influence of the New England Puritans upon affairs in England at this period see *The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth*, by John Wingate Thornton.

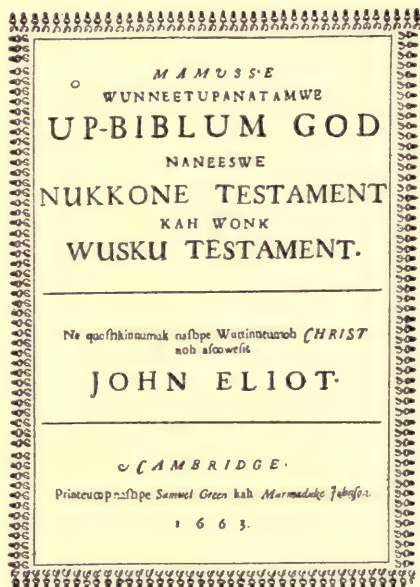
ment, recurred to its old policy of simply baffling without incensing arbitrary power. Instead of the patent, a memorial was sent home; it reviewed the proceedings under the late King and the reasons for leaving England when liberty could not exist there; it rejoiced in the cause of the people; it renewed the colony's allegiance to Parliament, and prayed that they might not be worse off than when they lived under a king.

A judicious letter which the General Court drew up and sent to Cromwell proved more efficacious than the memorial; for it seemed to revive the personal interest of the General in the brave old protesting sentiment which once set him, with other republicans, afloat for America, when perhaps, as the report survives in history, Cromwell himself had land in Massachusetts which he meant to occupy. It was due, no doubt, to the influence of Cromwell that the independence of Massachusetts was respected, while the other colonies were frequently embroiled with Parliament.

Cromwell's protection, however, resulted from mixed motives. He had a scheme for strengthening his government and pacifying Ireland by removing the whole colony thither, and settling it upon lands which were to be ceded to it. Of course the General Court was not in the least likely to desert its flourishing estate, and at such cost to remove so near to the source of possible oppression. It laid great stress in its reply upon the prospects of

Pleas of the
General
Court. —
Eliot and
the Indians.

converting and civilizing the Indian, for at that time John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, and many devoted associates, were engaged in laboring among the Indians, both on the mainland and among the islands as far as Nantucket. Though the first Indian church at Natick was not founded till 1660, Eliot's Indian Bible was printed at Cambridge in 1664. His influence among the Indians was wonderfully persuasive, and his civilizing efforts did really promise permanent results. He domesticated them and revolutionized their manners, in spite of the jealousy and opposition of the native priests. Cromwell



Reduced Fac-simile of the Title-page of Eliot's Bible.

might well have been interested at this attempt to propagate the Gospel in the spirit of his own reading of it. But his ambition, and a certain fantastic impulse which ran in his blood, seemed to sway him when in 1655, after the conquest of Jamaica, he proposed to Massachusetts to remove to that island, and undertake the conversion of all neighboring Catholics, with various arguments of interest urging them to assist thus in the consolidation of his power.

It would have been fortunate, probably, for Jamaica could Cromwell have had his way, but the genuine Massachusetts would have vanished forever.¹ The General Court represented the

The Jamaica scheme.

magnitude of the difficulties of such a step, in a manner so sober and yet so devoted to his service, that Cromwell did not take ill their refusal, and never withdrew his countenance from his favored people.

It was fortunate that no General Court could ever be prevailed upon to put the colony under the protection of Parliament. The prospect of advantages which friends in Eng-



Regicides' Cave, near New Haven, a supposed Hiding-place of Whalley and Goffe.

land urged for this act of virtual submission was no temptation against the certain good of holding back from entangling alliances. The same advice was renewed after the death of Cromwell, and without effect. Then came, in the summer of 1660, a vessel with the two regicides on board, Whalley and Goffe, to announce the accession of Charles II. Massachusetts was in no hurry to proclaim

The Regicides.

¹ The Englishmen who were successively sent to that island languished and died in great numbers, yet Cromwell kept a stern determination to hold it at all hazards and make it a Protestant colony in the very heart of the "Spanish Domdaniel." He wrote to the Governor of Barbadoes instructing him to remove his colony, saying, "We have also sent to the colonies of New England like offers with yours, to remove thither, our resolution being to people and plant that island." In another letter to Jamaica: "We have sent Commissioners and instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence." [Carlyle's *Life of Cromwell*.] In fact, a large number of colonists were inflamed by Cromwell's ambition "to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas." Notably a party from Salem, incited by wilder spirits, were preparing to go, when the General Court interposed and quashed the enterprise. Still, it was the persistency of Cromwell in sending relays of good and bad, and a thousand Irish girls, to the island, which eventually made it a colony. They were led by Venner, a Fifth Monarchy man, that is, one who believed that the four great monarchies of the world would be succeeded by a universal one

its adhesion to the new King: it cordially protected Whalley and Goffe, and when the orders for their surrender arrived, with eminent tact connived at their escapes and various concealments.

At the next General Court an address was drawn up to be presented to Charles II., filled with protestations of loyalty, allusions to the fact that he had been a fugitive like themselves, and exposures of the heresy of the Quakers as a vindication of the treatment they had received. "We distinguish between churches and their impurities" they said; therefore would the King protect their liberty of worship and civil government? The King was at the



Portrait of Simon Bradstreet.

beginning of his reign in a forgiving temper: he returned a gracious answer, but it was balanced by a peremptory order for the surrender of the two regicides.¹ It was no doubt chiefly in consequence of the protection afforded to them, and of the connivance of magistrates at their escapes, that the King's mood changed, and he lent a readier ear to the enemies of the colony. Again came alarming rumors over the water,—threats of commercial restriction, of governor-general, and, worse than all,

the withdrawal of the beloved original charter.

In May, 1661, Simon Bradstreet, a magistrate, and John Norton, a Boston minister, were sent over in obedience to an order of the King that the complaints against the colony should be met and cleared up. In the meantime the General Court recognized the authority of the King, issuing an address to explain

with Christ for king. He was a cooper by trade, and indulged in preaching. In London his chapel was in Coleman St., where he instigated his followers to a rising against Cromwell, April 9, 1657. But instead of the coming of the expected king, there came a troop of horse which dispersed the monarchy. Venner was afterwards released, and attempting the same thing two years subsequently with Charles II., was tried and executed.

¹ The discussion of the fate of Col. Whalley has lately been renewed. Thomas Robins, of Philadelphia, in a letter to the Historical Society, states that his ancestor of the same name married, in 1736, Leah Whalley, a daughter of Elias, youngest son of Col. Edward Whalley. The latter found his way from a hiding-place in Connecticut to Virginia, where he joined his family who had arrived there from England. Thence he went into Maryland and settled upon a remote point of land in the easternmost county, where he lived safely died, and was buried on his farm. The grave is well known.

The Restoration.

Massachusetts agents in England.

upon what grounds they did it. The original patent was the foundation of their Commonwealth: it entitled them to form a government of freemen; to conduct their own municipal affairs; to protect themselves by their own laws, if not repugnant to those of England.

The deputies departed with instructions to insist upon the loyalty of the colony, to explain the causes of false accusations, to watch the enemy, and above all, do nothing that might be prejudicial to the existence of the charter. Supported by the powerful influence of friends near the Court, they succeeded in procuring a royal confirmation of the charter. But the grace was disfigured by distasteful conditions; every ordinance passed during the interim of the Commonwealth should be pronounced invalid; all such as contravened royal authority should be repealed; all persons should take an oath of allegiance; members of the Church of England should be free to sustain public worship according to its usages; all freeholders should have the right of suffrage irrespective of religious opinions, and judicial proceedings should be conducted in the King's name.

These were demands which might have been expressly premeditated to develop colonial resistance. By obeying them the past would have been sacrificed and the future made still more insecure. The General Court published them according to royal command, but at the same time postponed obedience save on the last point, on the ground that they could not be adapted to the state of the colony without grave deliberation. A delay of two years was thus secured.

Royal instructions.
Action of
the General
Court.

But in 1664 the royal commissioners Carr, Nicolls, Cartwright, and Maverick, appeared in Boston, duly accredited to hear complaints against the administration of the colony and to enforce the modification of the charter. True, the ostensible object of this commission was the conquest of New Netherland; but the second and not less important purpose was to bring all the New England colonies into complete subjection to the King.

The Royal
Commissioners in
New England.

After the capture of New Amsterdam the Commissioners returned to New England. Affairs wore to the General Court a most serious and threatening aspect — the more threatening that one of the board, Maverick, was among the earliest settlers of Boston, and thoroughly understood the motives and policy of her magistrates. But the Court was quite able to hold its ground. The conflict that followed was conducted with no little skill on both sides, the Commissioners, on their part, maintaining the prerogatives of the King, while professing that there was no intention of trenching upon the liberties of the colony; the colonists, on the other hand, taking their stand upon the reserved rights of the charter, with, at the same time, the most ear-

nest protestations of loyalty. In the end the Commissioners were baffled in every attempt to force from the General Court an admission of their authority ; their acts of assumed jurisdiction were pronounced invalid ; the General Court acknowledged allegiance to the King under the protection of the charter, and that was all its conscience could allow.

It is noticeable how singularly events seemed to conspire with the temporizing policy of the Colony to postpone the designs of its enemies. Not only England's engagement with European politics, but occurrences at home interfered to divert the King and council from their attempts upon the charter. In 1666,

The fire and plague of London.

just after the return of these Commissioners from their fruitless errand, and the refusal of Massachusetts to send over deputies to meet their complaints before the King, the Great Plague of London broke out, and this calamity was speedily followed by the Great Fire.



The Cradock House at Medford, built about 1639.

The General Court took advantage of all England's critical moments to earn a character for loyalty and obedience. If the motive was merely politic, the result was the same as if it had arisen solely from patriotic affection, — to win a degree of consideration and forbearance from the government at home. Thus when England was occupied with the Dutch war of 1664-66, Massachusetts assumed the government of Maine and New Hampshire ; but at the same time she furnished from the Maine forests great store of shapely spars, which were sent over to the King ; the freight alone amounted to over £1,600. The West India fleet was completely revictualled at the expense of the colony ; and after the Great Fire of London the General Court encouraged the colonies to contribute to the utmost extent of their means for the relief of their distressed countrymen.

Aid from New England.

The colony had never been in so prosperous a condition as in the few years immediately following the departure of the Nicolls Com-

mission. Its jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine was, for the time being, firmly established. Commerce was active and profitable, for, notwithstanding the navigation laws, the merchants traded where they would, and in what they pleased, without let or hindrance, for there was no custom-house or customs officers. It was a condition which most excited anxiety in England, for it was difficult to see how a people outwardly prosperous, and inwardly determined and rebellious, could best be dealt with.

John Evelyn — one of the Board — writing of a meeting of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in May 1671, says: Action of
the Board of
Trade and
Plantations.
“But what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were greates debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that colony was such that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and there was feare of their breaking from all dependence on this nation. . . . Some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colonie, were utterly against.” A month later, on the receipt of fresh intelligence, there was again long debate upon “the best expedients as to New England,” and “at length ’twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crowne.” And when in August of the same summer the Board resolved to advise the King to send commissioners again to Massachusetts, the necessity was debated “of seacret instructions to informe the council of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the Crowne, which we were told, & which of late years made them refractorie.”¹

The Commissioners of Plantations were not unreasonably anxious. There was, no doubt, a certain vagueness in the Massachusetts mind as to the exact degree of political independence of the mother-country which Massachusetts wanted. But on the whole it came perhaps to this, that she would be dependent when it suited her and at all other times free of control. She would make her own laws, agreeing that they should be in accordance with the laws of England; but the laws of England should be of no effect and void within her borders except it pleased her to give them her voluntary respect. But as to religious matters she was never in doubt. England and her hierarchy

¹ Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*.

she had left behind her ; the theocracy she had established with God's help she would maintain against the world. The depth of her religious fervor, though it so often made her a bigot, gave her also a robust political constitution which would do its own work in good time.

The question of the charter was suspended only, not dismissed during this period. Fortunately for New England the government at home permitted it a still longer rest, calling only upon Massachusetts to defend her assumption of jurisdiction over New Hampshire, and leaving her free from the old anxiety while the war with Philip gave a serious check to her prosperity. The King determined at length upon rigorous measures. The Council of Trade and Plantations was dissolved and its duties devolved upon a committee of the Privy Council which brought the affairs of the colonies more under the direct supervision of the King.

The controversy in regard to New Hampshire had brought to New England one Edward Randolph, whose part in affairs was
Edward Randolph. thenceforth, for some years, a conspicuous and important one. It was said of him by the people that he "went up and down seeking to devour them." It was true enough in a sense, for his official zeal seems to have been almost a passion. From year to year this man went back to England, carrying each time some fresh complaint against the colonies and returning always with some additional official orders. From the bearer of the King's letter he became an inspector of the customs ; from an inspector he rose to the control of all the customs-revenue of New England. It was impossible that so zealous a servant of the crown should faithfully serve his master in England and not become at the same time obnoxious to the colonists. He could not fail to see that some ordinances had by long immunity been rendered inoperative ; that others, the colonists deliberately set aside when found to be inimical to their welfare, or an infringement upon their rights. Though overbearing in temper, hesitating at no measure however arbitrary, strengthening his resolution and his zeal by yearly visits to England, the collector, nevertheless, still found himself powerless, in a great measure, to cope with the steady, sagacious, as well as stern spirit of independence in which the colony managed its affairs.

Among his accusations against Massachusetts was one of entire disregard of the Act of Navigation. The General Court acknowledged its truth ; but such laws they declared were "an invasion of the rights, liberties and properties" of the colonies, "they not being represented in parliament" — an early protest against the doctrine of taxation without representation to be fought out a hundred years later. The laws of England, they said, did not reach America, but

still as the King had signified that these acts relating to trade should be observed in Massachusetts, they would provide for it by an act of their own. So Randolph laid his commission as collector before the General Court and asked their aid in enforcing the laws; they paid no regard to him. He informed the public, by notice posted in the town-house, of his appointment and the requisitions of the law; the marshal, by order of the Court, or some of its members, tore the notice down. He appealed to the Governor; but that magistrate — who was that year Bradstreet, one of the more moderate party — seems to have given no heed to the complaint. Randolph carried his grievance to the King, and to the rebuke that followed there was in reply a general denial so far as that served the purpose, a general promise of future acquiescence quite as vague, with a decided intimation that these appeals from their authority ought not to be listened to by the King.



Pine Tree Sixpence



Pine Tree Threepence.

Randolph also complained that Massachusetts coined money, which was a mark of sovereignty. It was not the first time that the charge had been brought against the colony. In 1652, in the time of the Commonwealth, a mint had

Randolph's
Complaints
against Mas-
sachusetts.
— The coin-
age.

been established which continued in operation till 1684, issuing silver coins of the value of a shilling, sixpence, threepence and two pence.¹ These formed the currency of the country, in large part, remained in circulation for nearly a century, and were shipped sometimes as bullion to England in the course of trade. It is related that when Sir Thomas Temple, who had been residing for some years in New England, returned to England after the Restoration, he was sent for by the King to learn from him something of the affairs of Massachusetts. Charles, it is said, showed a good deal of irritation against her, and among other things declared that her magistrates had encroached upon his prerogative by coining money. Temple took some of these coins from his pocket and handed them to the King with the assurance that they had been issued by the colonists for their own use, and



Pine Tree Twopence.

¹ Hutchinson, vol. i. See Discussion of the "Pine Tree" coinage of Massachusetts in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, First Series, vol. vii.; Second Series, vol. ii.; *Memoir of John Hull*; *Archeologia Americana*, vol. iii.; *Hist. Mag.*, vol. iii.; John Hull was the master of the mint, and received a remuneration of one shilling out of every twenty that he coined. John Hull's daughter Hannah married Samuel — afterward Judge — Sewall, and the tradition is that at the marriage her dowry was paid in the "Pine Tree" coin, the bride being bal-

without any intention of infringing upon the law, of which, he said, they knew little. The King inquired what tree was represented upon the coin. "Sir Thomas, artfully taking hold of that circumstance," says the narrator of the story, "informed His Majesty it was the Royal Oak. The Massachusetts people, says he, did not dare to put your Majesty's name on their coin, and so put the oak which preserved your life. The King was put into a fit of good humor, said they were a parcel of honest d—gs, and was disposed to hear favorable things of them."¹

There is no official authority for calling the tree of this coinage a pine tree, though that supposition has given it its popular designation. The motive for its issue was undoubtedly the public convenience and not an intention of usurping a sovereign right. While the imports of the country largely exceeded the exports little of the coin of the realm would remain in the country, and there was



Pine Tree Shilling.

absolute necessity of some domestic currency to satisfy the wants of the people. Wampum was generally resorted to, but its inevitable inflation soon made it valueless. At one time in the early days of Massachusetts (1634-5) it was decreed, "that muskett bullets, of a full boare, shall pass currantly for a farthing a peice, provided that noe man be compelled to take above xijd att a tyme in them."² Various expedients of paper money were from time to time resorted to, depending sometimes on public credit, and sometimes on mortgages upon real estate. A large amount of the pine tree money was coined — how much is not known — which long continued in circulation, and was unquestionably a firm basis, as far as it went, for sound and prosperous trade.

But these various complaints and complications all tended to the inevitable revocation of the charter. In accordance with its temporizing and procrastinating policy, the colony had neglected to send deputies to England to answer the various charges made against it. In

anced in one scale against an equal weight of coin in the other. Hutchinson says her dowry was £30,000, the weight of which — in shillings or sixpences — would have been about three tons and three quarters. But Judge Sewall's ledger (see *Memoir of John Hull*; *Arch. Am.*, vol. iii.) shows that he received with his wife £500. It is not impossible that Miss Hull may have been weighed against this sum, in shillings, which would have been about 120 pounds, Troy.

¹ Letters from Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. iv.

² *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. i.

1681 there came a peremptory letter from the King that such deputies should be sent with authority to tender the unqualified submission of the colony. Delay was no longer safe, and Joseph Dudley and John Richards were sent to England in answer to the summons.

Dudley belonged to the moderate party, and he went with a disposition to compromise; but he also carried a letter of the General Court of a tone so inflexible that the King's patience gave way. Again a writ was issued against the colony, to show by what warrant it held its charter. Judgment was pronounced against it in 1684, and an official copy served upon the General Court on the 2d of July, 1685.

Deputies
sent to Eng-
land.
Judgment
against the
Colony.

Events now moved rapidly against the liberties of Massachusetts. Colonel Kirke was appointed Governor of that province together with New Plymouth, New Hampshire, and Maine. His commission was confirmed a few months later by James, and he was about to sail for the colonies, when, fortunately for them, his services were required to aid in the suppression of the insurrection in Scotland under Argyll, and in the West of England under Monmouth, which immediately challenged James's succession to the throne.

Charles II. died in February, 1685, and James was proclaimed in Boston the following April, before judgment on the charter had been officially announced. By the advice of Randolph the temporary control of affairs was given to a provisional commission, at the head of which was put Dudley, who had taken care while in England to ingratiate himself with the party inimical to the colony. The General Court contented itself with a protest. "The subjects," they said, "are abridged of their liberty as Englishmen, both in the matter of legislation and in laying of taxes." They urged the Commissioners to consider whether such a commission "be safe for you or for us;" but, they added, if the members of the Board were satisfied to assume the government, "although we cannot give our assent thereto, yet we hope we shall demean ourselves as true and loyal subjects to his Majesty, and humbly make our addresses unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for our relief." Yes; "in due time;" they knew how to wait.

Protest of
the General
Court.

The provisional government was short-lived, doing little harm and no good, when Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686, with a commission as Governor of all New England, — the governor-general that Massachusetts had dreaded, and planned against, and been almost ready to fight against for half a century. As Governor of New York Andros had made himself familiar with colonial affairs; the consolidation he was now to rule over he had long before advised; his character, and his faithful adherence to

Arrival of
Andros.

the principles by which the King proposed to govern his kingdom, pointed him out as a fit instrument to carry out the royal purposes.

Andros was a proud and ostentatious man, who regarded his official relation to the King more than all things else. He found himself among men proud, but not vain-glorious, highly comfortable with this world's goods, and a fund of sanctifying grace. His drinking bouts were especially distasteful, for even healths were no longer drunk by the Puritans. He was more irritable; they were quietly and provokingly tenacious of purpose.



Portrait of Sir Edmund Andros.

At that time New England easily supported a population of more than 130,000: a dozen years before his coming it could furnish 16,000 fighting men. Fifteen merchants were worth £50,000 each: five hundred persons about £3,000 each. The country around Boston, in which town there were about fifteen hundred families, was thickly settled with these men who in the last resort would insist upon having their own way, as they did.

The new Governor began his administration by announcing that all the laws then in force were to be respected, if not found to be inconsistent with the laws of England. There was little satisfaction

in this, for the colonists maintained that it was for them to decide what laws they needed, whether inconsistent with those of England or not. A tax was levied of a penny in the pound on all estates real or personal; of twenty pence a head as poll-tax; of a penny in the pound on all imports; and an excise beside on all liquors. The taking away of the charter had abolished the General Court, and this taxation was without the consent of the people or their representatives. To enforce it the severest measures were resorted to, for the resistance was everywhere determined. Then the obnoxious Randolph was appointed licenser of the press, and other officers were brought from New York who soon made themselves quite as unpopular as he.

But these were civil affairs; Andros touched more dangerous ground when he issued an order that no marriage could be solemnized save by a clergyman of the Church of England. Civil marriages by

New taxes
and laws.

magistrates had for a long time been common among the people, and they clung to the habit. But the Governor ordered that persons to be married should enter into bonds with sureties, ^{Oppressive acts of Andros.} to be forfeited in case any impediment might be afterward shown. He had no respect for Puritan principles, and was always menacing the Congregational style of worship. He demanded the use of the Old South meeting-house during a part of the Lord's Day for celebration of the Episcopal service. The reading of the service for the dead at the grave frequently created a disturbance. Then a formality, repugnant to the people, of swearing by the Book, instead of holding up the right hand, was introduced.

His administration, as it went on, became more and more intolerable. He levied taxes, not as he at first promised, according to the previous rates, but by a rate of his own; but this came in, partly in consequence of the Indian wars in which he became involved in 1688. All the judges, elected from the council, charged high fees. Various other arbitrary proceedings served to exasperate the people. Here is an example, — he denied the writ of habeas corpus to Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich, who had advised his people from the pulpit to resist his system of taxation without representation. Said Andros, "Did they really think that Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" That is just what Joe and Tom did think, even then, — much more thoughtfully afterwards. On another occasion he said: "The scabbard of an English Red-Coat shall quickly signify as much as the Commission of a Justice of the Peace."

Andros preserved the trial by jury, but was accused of using intrigue to pack it for some special trial. But he gave the rudest touch to the colonial nerve when he summoned the land-owners to give up their titles for examination. When some of them showed their deeds from the Indians, signed or marked by them, he threw them aside contemptuously. "They are not worth the scratch of a bear's paw," he said. No doubt, from the absence of a strict surveying system, and from the loose habits of early squatting, many of the farmers could not define their land. But the chief objection with Andros was that all the titles held their validity under a charter which no longer existed. This excited the bitterest reflections. Andros offered to renew titles if the proprietors would acknowledge their invalidity, and pay a quit-rent. Those who refused these conditions were threatened with writs of intrusion, which occasionally were issued.

Despotic as the rule of the new Governor seemed, he was only carrying out the will of his master. He thoroughly and honestly believed, no doubt, that both in civil and religious affairs such government was righteous and wise. Conceding his honesty, he is not to be

blamed for his energy, for he only discharged with vigor the duty that devolved upon him. Out of the struggle between a royal despotism and a Puritan oligarchy came, in due season, the government of the people.

Andros was as firm and unyielding elsewhere as he was in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Thomas Hinckley, the Governor of New Plymouth complained with good reason that his people were compelled to pay taxes more burdensome than they had ever known before. Rhode Island willingly accepted a change which promised to end her struggle with her Puri-

Acts of
Andros in
regard to
other colonies.



View of the Harbor of Castine.

tan neighbors. In New Hampshire the new Governor established his authority with little difficulty: in Maine, he had, or thought he had more to fear from the interference of the French than any unwillingness on the part of the English to submit to his rule. At the mouth of the Penobscot, the Baron Vincent de Saint Castin had established himself as the lieutenant of the French governor of Acadia; had encroached upon the territory of the Duke of York; had won the favor of the Indians by adopting their habits, and taking several of their women as his wives, and had gained so much influence over them as to be made one of their chiefs. When the condition of affairs in Massachusetts permitted, Andros made a visit to New Hampshire and Maine, and an important part of his errand was to bring Castin to submission. The baron did not wait for an inter-

view, but fled with all his retainers. Andros entered his house, or fort, took possession of the arms, ammunition, and some other property; but left the little popish chapel and its furniture untouched. The plunder, he sent word to Castin, should be restored on his submission to the English King. The only result was the exasperation of Castin's friends, the Indians, which in due time had its results.

Connecticut, like Massachusetts, was deprived by a *quo warranto* of its Charter, in spite of its protests and its prayers. In October, 1687, Andros appeared in Hartford at the head of a troop of soldiers, while the General Court was in session. He demanded the surrender



Securing the Charter.

of the charter, declaring that the government under it had come to an end. He seems, nevertheless, to have permitted the subject to be debated, Governor Treat defending their right to the charter, recounting the hardships the early settlers had suffered in making a home in the wilderness, and asserting that they had had no sufficient hearing in England.¹ The arguments were not new, and not likely to influence Andros, however courteously he may have listened to them. The charter, meanwhile, lay with its box upon the table.

The debate continued till evening, and candles were lighted. An excited crowd had collected in and about the building. Discussion

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

came to an end, and Andros ordered the charter to be returned to its box and delivered to him. Suddenly the lights were put out. Naturally there must have been some confusion and some delay in relighting the candles. When this was at length done, the charter was not to be found. It had disappeared in the darkness. The instrument, at least, was safe, and the royal Governor so far baffled. Other resistance, however, was useless, even if any was thought of, for Andros had at his back sixty obedient soldiers. The General Court submitted, for they could do no otherwise. Entering upon their records a minute of the meeting, they wrote at the end

Conceal-
ment of the
Connecticut
Charter.



The Charter Oak.

the significant word "FINIS." The crowd dispersed, sorrowfully no doubt, but quietly. The beloved parchment was safe in a hollow oak on the grounds of Samuel Wyllys, one of the magistrates, where it had been put by Captain Wadsworth of Hartford, and where it long remained.

Connecticut was now only a part of the royal province of New England. A few months later Andros received a commission as governor, also, of New York and New Jersey.

When the rumor came creeping up in April, 1689, from Virginia, of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England the previous November, the inhabitants of Boston could hardly fail to look upon it as a providential interposition. The young man who brought the news — John Winslow — was impris-

News of the
English
Revolution.



THE DEPOSITION OF GOVERNOR ANDROS.

oned, and Andros issued a proclamation against the Prince's cause. But the people could not be restrained by that, nor by the hesitating policy of some of their own leading men. The reports and suspicions which usually spring up in such critical moments, filled the air of Boston, and needed no electric wire to thrill the adjacent towns. Was there a plot for a massacre of the people by the Governor's Guards? Was the town to be fired at one end by traitors on shore, while Captain George from the *Rose* frigate set it on fire at the other end by bombardment?

The popular excitement was soon beyond control. The North End heard that the South End was in arms; at the South End came swift rumors that the North End was up and on the march. The tar-barrels blazed up on Beacon Hill. From the country round about the people came raging into Boston by land and by water on the 18th of April. Drums beat through the town; where the signals had blazed on Beacon Hill by night, a flag was raised by day. Up King, now State, Street marched a company of Boston soldiery under Captain Hill, escorting a number of the former magistrates, whom the crisis had called together at noon. These gentlemen appeared on the balcony of the Town House overlooking King Street, and to the expectant and excited crowd below was read a "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent." It rehearsed the oppressive acts of Andros's administration; the illegal appointment of the Dudley Commission; the wrongful suppression of the charter; it hailed the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne, and justified the arrest and imprisonment of "those few ill men which have been (next to our sins) the grand authors of all our miseries." Cotton Mather is supposed to have been the author of this address.

Deposition
and arrest
of Andros.

Some of the most obnoxious of the citizens, official and otherwise, had already been arrested. Captain George of the frigate *Rose* was met on the street and arrested. A boat was sent by his lieutenant to rescue Andros, who was in the fort on Fort Hill, but was captured by the soldiers. Finding escape impossible, he went to the Town House with others, and was put under guard in a private house, to be removed a day or two later to the fort. Several members of the council were arrested with him. Randolph was thrown into the common jail. Dudley, who was absent on his judicial duties — he had been made Chief Justice — was arrested a few days later. The next day the fort was surrendered. The *Rose*, it was agreed, should strike her topmasts and send her sails ashore, and so lie helpless in the stream under the guns of the fort. The revolution was complete and without the shedding of a drop of blood. A provisional government was

organized under the name of a "Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace." The venerable Simon Bradstreet, now eighty-seven years of age, was appointed president, and a number of the old assistants were called to his aid as a council.

Twice Andros escaped from confinement; the first time by disguising himself in the clothes of a woman. He passed two of the guards in safety, but his shoes betrayed him to the third, and he was



Governor Andros's Attempt at Escape.

taken back to the fort. The second attempt was more successful. His servant plied the sentinel with liquor and took his master's place. On the 5th of August he was recognized in Newport, arrested the same day, and returned to Boston.¹

The overthrow of the Andros government was as complete in the other colonies as in Massachusetts. Rhode Island remained without a governor; but Connecticut at once restored her old magistrates.

¹ For a complete history of the Andros administration, see *The Andros Tracts*, in Publications of the Prince Society.

The revolution in New York, with its tragic consequence, requires a chapter by itself. Andros was at length sent back to England, but his career in America did not debar him from further favors, and he subsequently returned to the country as Governor of Virginia.

Representatives of the people from fifty-four towns of Massachusetts assembled after the fall of Andros, and though the feeling was strong that the ancient charter might be resumed, it was decided to suspend all action under it until it was restored. On May 26, the news arrived that the new King had been invested with the crown, and on the 29th, William and Mary were proclaimed in Boston.

For once the colonists had been deceived in their expectations. They relied confidently upon that clause in the Prince's Declaration to the people of England, that he came in order that "all magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith reassume their former Employments, and the English corporations return to their ancient prescriptions and charters." For James II., in order to neutralize the Whig and Dissenting interest, imitated the action of Charles I. after the Rye-House Plot, deprived more than a hundred boroughs of their charters, and put Tory magistrates in the places of incumbents. New charters had been granted which reserved a power to the King of dismissing magistrates. Under the new Charter of London more than eight hundred prominent citizens had been turned out of office at one stroke.

Colonial
policy of the
new King.

But William's ministers explained that the English charters had been taken away for different cause from those of the colonies; on the new political grounds they might be restored. The colonial charters had violated the Navigation Acts, and threatened the interests of English trade and manufactures. The King and his advisers,—Lord Halifax alone strenuously urging the return of the original charter,—though not disposed to imitate the ruinous policy of the late reign, were unwilling to let the opportunity slip for putting some restraint upon colonial independence, and maintaining a foothold here for the royal authority. Therefore the Massachusetts deputies could only gain permission to use the old charter until a new one could be framed.

To make this proceeding more palatable to the colonists, the designation of a governor, who would be acceptable to the people, was left to the agents of the colony. One of these was Increase Mather, the President of Harvard College, who had been sent to England when the affairs of the colony were considered in the most critical condition. He had not succeeded either in saving the old charter or in procuring a new one which would satisfy the people; but his influence was sufficient to secure the appointment, as governor, of Sir William Phips, who was then in London.

Appoint-
ment of Sir
William
Phips as
Governor.

Phips was a native New Englander, a successful adventurer who had made a large fortune for himself and others, had achieved some success, as well as met with some disaster, in military expeditions in



Portrait of Increase Mather

Nova Scotia and Canada, and whose popularity at home was sure to make him acceptable as the chief magistrate. Mather's confidence in him was, perhaps, all the greater that he knew him to be a member of his son Cotton Mather's church. The Governor was not likely to be in want of plenty of counsel, and the elder Mather, no doubt, thought it would be as good as it was sure to be plentiful.

Phips arrived in Boston with the new charter in May, 1692.

By this instrument a new Province was created including Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. New Hampshire begged hard to be included, but the inheritors of the Mason claim had interest enough to prevent it.¹ The Governor, Deputy, Secretary, and Admiralty officers were to be appointed by the crown. A General Court, or House of Assembly, was provided by election of two persons from each town, to frame laws which were to be subject to the royal approval. Under its common seal, in the King's name, judges, justices, sheriffs, and civil officers could be appointed; military officers could only be appointed by the Governor; the dangerous power was also conferred upon him of annulling the appointment of other officers. Citizenship was no longer to be restricted to church-members, liberty of worship was free to all but Catholics. All laws were to be transmitted to England, and if not approved within three years were to be void. This prerogative which the King reserved, of rejecting any laws and acts of the Province, was the sharp point of the new charter; but the General Court felt constrained to adopt it, and it remained substantially in force, with but few and slight amendments, till the American Revolution. The first law which the King rejected was one passed by the Assembly exempting the colonists from all taxes except those which were imposed by their own representatives.

¹ Edward Randolph, the obnoxious Collector, married Jane Gibbon, whose brother Richard married Anne Tufton, sister of Robert Mason (Tufton), and grand-daughter of the old proprietor, Captain John Mason. All his colonial interests waited upon the success of the family claim to lands in New Hampshire.

Phips as a governor was not successful; as a picturesque figure in the history of Massachusetts he is distinguished. He was at this time only forty-two years of age, having been born at Woolwich, on the Kennebec, in Maine, in 1650. His father and mother were the parents of twenty-six children, twenty-one of whom were boys. Till he was eighteen years old William's occupation was that of tending sheep, and in after life he took pleasure — as most men do in such early associations — in pointing out the fields where he had followed his flocks. Afterwards he passed four years in a ship-yard and became a skilful ship-carpenter. He went to Boston — as country boys of New England have done ever since, — to seek his fortune. He found it before the year was out in learning to read and write, and in marrying a sensible and good woman. She was a widow, some years older than himself, and possessed of some fortune. Her money gave him a fresh start in his career, and her good sense as well as his energy and courage,

Life and
character of
Phips.



Phips raising the Spanish Treasure.

no doubt made a most important element of his future success.

The young man built himself a vessel and engaged in commerce. But he wanted a quicker turn of fortune than carrying lumber would bring him. He determined to do what so many have tried and so few have succeeded in — to recover treasures lost in a wrecked ship. Somewhere at the bottom of the sea in the West Indies there were such treasures in bullion, plate, and coin in sunken Spanish vessels, if one could but find them. One such vessel he found, but the return was small. But he heard of another, and he only wanted, he believed, sufficient means to certainly recover her.

He went to England, and so succeeded in arousing the King's interest in his proposed adventure that a man-of-war, well appointed, was given him. He was gone on his first voyage two years, and came back without any treasure, but the certain knowledge, he thought, of the exact spot where it could be found. But he also brought back a high reputation as a naval commander, for he had shown great skill and courage in quelling a formidable mutiny among his men.

That he should have been able to induce a company to second him in another attempt is an evidence of the irrepressible energy of the man. And this time he succeeded. The sunken Spanish ship was found and she was filled with treasure.

About £300,000 were recovered in bullion, coin and plate. Phips's share of this was £16,000 and a gold cup of the value of £1,000, which was given to his wife by the Duke of Albemarle, the patron of the expedition. But he was otherwise rewarded, for the King knighted him, and the young man who a few years before was hewing ship-timber in a Boston ship-yard, and learning at odd times to read and write, was wealthy and famous.

He returned to New England in 1688, with the appointment of sheriff, the duties of which office, however, he found it impossible to discharge under Andros. Two years later — both Andros and his master having been meanwhile disposed of, and war having broke out between France and England — Phips was appointed by Governor Bradstreet to lead an expedition against Port Royal. In this he was successful. The fort was destroyed, the town plundered, the French governor and others taken prisoners and carried to Boston. On his return Sir William landed at various points along the coast, and the whole of Acadia was reduced to English rule.

Soon after his return from this successful expedition, a larger and more important one was undertaken, for the reduction of Canada, which had been planned and decided upon at a Congress of the colonies which met at New York at the call of Governor Leisler. A land-force of New York and Connecticut troops, under John Winthrop and Robert Livingston, were to invade Canada and threaten Montreal, while a naval expedition under Phips, with Major Walley of Plymouth as commander of the troops on board, was to take Quebec. The fleet, which sailed in August, 1690, consisted of thirty-two vessels and carried two thousand and two hundred men.

The expedition from New York met with nothing but disaster. Disputes before starting between New York and Connecticut in relation to commanders caused delay and neglect of measures essential to

Phips's expedition against Port Royal and Canada.

success. When the troops reached the lakes no boats had been provided for their transportation. A march through the wilderness seemed impossible, and the army turned back. Phips meanwhile had sailed leisurely along the coast and up the St. Lawrence, so leisurely that Frontenac had time to hear of his coming and to move down from Montreal to Quebec and to prepare for defence. When at length the fleet reached the fortress, the attack was so clumsily conducted — owing partly to Phips's inexperience in military affairs, and partly to Walley's cowardice and inefficiency — that repulse was inevitable. Men were landed at the wrong time and in wrong places; ammunition was wasted in useless bombardments of works on which no impression could be made; useless exposure brought on fatal sickness; cold weather set in and caused a good deal of suffering. A second attempt, in which it was hoped some of these blunders might be corrected, was prevented by a storm which dispersed the fleet. The ships found their way back to Boston as best they could; several were so long at sea that they were given up for lost; one was never again heard of; another was burnt at sea, and a third was wrecked, though the crew was saved. No booty was brought away to help pay the cost of the expedition, which was large enough to impair seriously the finances of the colony; some of the artillery was left behind in the hands of the French, and the loss of life — though Phips denied this — was said to have been two hundred men.

To meet the exhaustion of the colonial exchequer, caused by this unfortunate expedition, a resort was had to an issue of paper money. The soldiers were paid off in a currency which soon fell to a discount of about thirty-three per cent. It is greatly to Phips's credit, that feeling himself in a large measure responsible for this public disaster, he redeemed with his own money the depreciated bills which his soldiers had been compelled to accept.

Owing probably in part to this generous act, the credit and popularity of Sir William were little impaired by his military failure. In 1691 he again went to England to interest the King in fresh projects for destroying the French power in Canada, in bringing to an end the Indian raids under French guidance upon the eastern settlements, and to aid the agents in London in obtaining, if possible, the restoration of the old Charter. He returned with a new Charter and as Governor, as we have already said, in May, the next year.

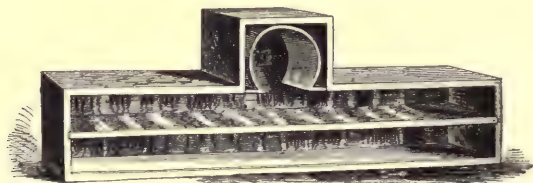
The stubborn friends of the old Charter soon organized themselves into a party in watchful opposition to Governor Phips. It was, no doubt, a factious opposition, so far as there could be any real expectation of restoring the old rule of Puritanic government. But Phips was not a man of much wisdom, of much dignity of char-

Opposition
to Phips.

acter, nor of that experience in political affairs which sometimes suffices in the absence of higher qualities. He made an expedition to Maine against the Indians, which had no brilliant result, while the fort he ordered to be built at Pemaquid was costly, of little use, and gave rise to bitter complaints of the taxation it involved. He was sometimes indolently or ignorantly good-natured, leaving the General Court to follow the bent of its own inclinations without check; and he was sometimes so choleric in temper as to assert what he conceived to be his official privileges, in a way better fitted to the deck of a ship and a disorderly crew than the peaceful citizens of a quiet city. For example, he disputed the authority of the Collector sent from England; and when that officer declined to obey the Governor's order for the release of a ship and cargo, Sir William went down to the wharf, fell upon the Collector and gave him a beating. He had a dispute with a Captain Short, of a British frigate, and on meeting him in the street, upbraided and abused him and finally fell upon him and "broke his head with a cane."

One incident of his administration, however, had political importance. It was common in the country towns of Massachusetts to choose their representatives to the General Court from among the citizens of Boston. The inevitable result was a preponderating influence which usually enabled a few men in Boston to manage affairs to suit themselves. Phips was popular in the country, where probably little was known of his overbearing temper and his ignorance of affairs of state. In 1694, a movement for his removal had gathered so much strength that his friends in the General Court proposed an address to the King against it. The motion was carried, but it was only by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-four, and in the minority were all the members chosen from Boston. A law was immediately enacted requiring that no town should be represented in the General Court by a non-resident.

But Phips's enemies at length prevailed, and he was ordered to England to answer the charges made against him. He went in 1694, and about a year after died of malignant fever in London.



Box in which the Connecticut Charter was kept.



Mount Hope.

CHAPTER XVII

PHILIP'S WAR.

OUTBREAK OF PHILIP'S WAR. — ITS CAUSES. — PHILIP'S EARLIER RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH. — INDIAN ATTACKS AT SWANSEA, TAUNTON, AND ELSEWHERE. — WILLIAM BLACKSTONE. — THE FIGHTS AT BROOKFIELD AND HADLEY. — THE AMBUSH AT BLOODY BROOK. — EXPEDITION INTO THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY. — THE SURPRISE AT TURNER'S FALLS. — PHILIP ATTACKED AND KILLED NEAR MOUNT HOPE.

THE conduct of affairs in Massachusetts devolved, when Phips went to England, upon William Stoughton, the Lieutenant-governor. The Indian hostilities, which, as the next chapter will relate, had broken out again in the eastern provinces, soon gave him sufficient occupation, and he was wanting neither in energy nor ability to meet the exigency. But he is better remembered as a benefactor of Harvard College, where a hall still makes his name familiar to each successive generation; less pleasantly remembered as one of Andros's judges in the Ipswich and other trials, where the people resisted the despotic Governor; while as the Chief Justice of the province in the witchcraft persecution, which marked the period of Phips's administration, the distinction he achieved was that of a cruel magistrate in whom superstition overcame all sense of justice.

Lieutenant-governor Stoughton.

Before, however, that gloomy page in the history of Massachusetts is turned, it is necessary to revert to a previous bitter experience — the last great war in New England with the Indians, an account

of which, in chronological order, would have interrupted the consecutive narrative of events relating to the charters.

The origin of this war, which broke out in 1675 and lasted for two years, was, of course, in that hidden but inextinguishable hatred which the red man felt for the white intruder, — a hatred that might, at any moment, be lit by a single spark and blaze up at once into a mighty flame. Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, who was at the head of this decisive struggle, did not, perhaps, premeditate a war until the temper of his tribe made it inevitable; even when his intentions were suspected, there was no wish, perhaps, for a conflict with the Indians, on the part of the colonists, but rather a dread of it, while the memory of the fate of the Pequots, it was hoped, would deter the savages from so desperate a measure. But there came the inexorable point of time and circumstance where race and interest, civilization and savage freedom, clashed, and forced the bloody conclusion.

If it were easier to disentangle the web of Indian politics in New England through the last two thirds of the seventeenth century — from the settlement of New Plymouth to the time when the native tribes were subdued or annihilated, — it would be possible, perhaps, to trace events to their immediate causes, to understand that sudden outbreak of relentless hate which blazed through the provinces from Narragansett Bay to the extreme northern and eastern borders. But

this we know, — the very presence of the whites was a provocation; instinct alone soon taught the savages that civilization must crowd them out of lands which were useless except they remained a wilderness. Purchase, so far as they understood what purchase meant, was no equivalent for the loss of the hunting-grounds from which they mainly drew the means of existence; practically an exchange of a cart-load or two of clothing and trinkets, a few guns and a little ammunition, for hundreds of square miles, was as much an infringement of the Indians' right to the soil as it was for the whites to take possession of the lands by violence. Purchase meant to the Indian, in the first place, only toleration of a joint occupancy; but when in the course of time it was plain that joint occupancy was impossible, — that to the whites there came absolute possession, to themselves absolute expulsion, — then the purchase, which they had misunderstood, was as much a robbery as if no price had been paid. Herein was the bitter root of deadly hostility.

Other provocations there were, known and unknown. Personal wrongs and outrages were committed on one side and the other, impossible to be avoided in frontier settlements, however peaceful in theory and even in practice may have been the policy of the state.

Chiefs and tribes became involved in controversies and in the conflict of interests between different colonies. The Indian balance of power would sometimes be thrown in on one side or the other as a preponderating influence; the Indian himself would make use of an alliance with the whites to feed fat some ancient grudge against a rival tribe. So Uncas avenged himself in the death of Miantonomo when Massachusetts involved them in her quarrel with Gorton and his people. So Pumham and Sacononoco were used by the magistrates of Boston to give them a pretext for jurisdiction over the heretics of Shawomet.



Grave of Uncas.

It is impossible now to separate and trace all these personal wrongs, these political expedients, these jealousies of tribes, intensified always by hatred of race, which led, at length, to the war under Philip. If the outbreak seemed sudden and inexplicable, it was only because the real causes were sometimes remote and often unseen. Who could tell what influence may have been exercised over the mind of Philip by the memory of a feud between his father and Pumham, when Pumham was a tool in the hands of the Massachusetts Puritans? What was the measure of all the outrages which Uncas for years inflicted upon other Indians, under the protection of his close alliance with the English? Philip had no stronger ally than Nanuntenuo, and he was hardly less

Personal
grievances of Philip
and his
allies.

dreaded than Philip himself. Could this chief of the Narragansetts forget that he was the son of Miantonomo? In 1661, Philip's elder brother, Alexander, was taken and compelled to go as a prisoner to Plymouth on suspicion of hostile designs, in conjunction with the Narragansetts, against the English. This accusation may have been, or may not have been, true; the proof was not forthcoming. On the way the chief was taken suddenly ill and in a few hours was dead, — died, his captors said, of a fever, into which he was thrown by rage and mortification. His young wife was the squaw sachem Weetamoo, whose camp or fort was on the Pocasset shore, now Tiverton. She believed the English had poisoned her husband. Were her suspicions forgotten when, fourteen years later, she joined with Philip? She brought to the king three hundred warriors. One year later, but twenty-six were left, when all were surprised and taken prisoners on the banks of the Mattapoissett, she alone evading capture. She was drowned in attempting to swim the river, and when, soon after, her poor naked body was found washed up upon the bank, the head was cut off and set up in Taunton. When the prisoners, the feeble remnant of her late followers, saw this sight, "they made," says Mather, "a most horid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head."¹ The spirit that prompted the act, and this contemptuous comment, were not the growth of a single year.

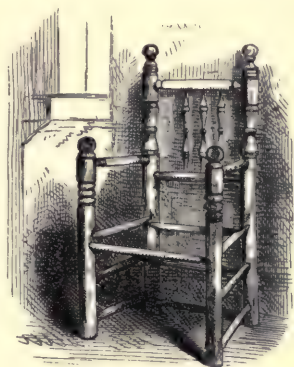
Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, the early and steadfast friend of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, lived till 1660. Three or four years before his death, he took two of his sons, Mooanam, known also as Wamsutta, and Metacomet, also called Pometacom, to Plymouth, and asked that both should receive English names. Thenceforth the first was known as Alexander, and the second as Philip. How Alexander came to his death, soon after he succeeded his father as sachem, we have just related. From that time Philip was the head of the tribe.

Philip was watched, as his brother had been, with anxiety and suspicion. In the intervening years, before war actually broke out, there were on both sides provocations enough to keep up the angry irritation of the old wounds, which were never closed, however hidden. In 1671, some strolling Indians murdered a white man near Dedham in Massachusetts. The connivance, if not the instigation of Philip, was suspected; but an Indian, the son of a Nipmuck sachem, was tried and executed. Boston called upon Philip to explain his position, and to allay if he could the jealousy which was created by the rumor that he was preparing arms of all kinds, and collecting ammunition. Taunton Green was designated as the place

Philip's relations with the English.

¹ Increase Mather's *Brief History of Philip's War*. Drake's *Book of the Indians*.

for an interview. His party approached in war-paint and fully armed; but, perceiving that the Boston party was large and also armed, they paused on the ridge of a hill. The English hesitated to go further, and insisted that Philip should advance to the appointed spot. They could only overcome the distrust of the natives by leaving hostages with them during the interview, which, it was mutually agreed, should take place in the meeting-house. One half of the sanctuary was filled by the painted warriors, with feathered crests and beaded trappings, — sombre, silent, wary. On the other side was the counter-foil of Englishmen in broad hats, muskets slung in bandoliers, cuirasses, and long rapiers, — a picture from the age of Cromwell. Never before or since did the plain roof of a New England meeting-house cover a contrast so highly colored in costume and idea. In those pews, Boston compelled Philip to promise to deliver up all the English arms in the possession of his tribe. Slowly and reluctantly they came in afterward, and the compulsion rankled sorely. To the feeling of the natives it seemed an aggression which they were always trying to match in various petty ways. It was clear to Philip, in 1674, that he must begin to look around for allies.



Philip's Chair.

There was an Indian of the name of Wussausmon, who was one of Eliot's disciples. His name was pronounced Sausamon by the English. John Sausamon went freely to and fro among the Indians, and was even trusted by Philip. John observed the inevitable drift of the native feeling, and warned the Plymouth men. For this, it was supposed, he was murdered in the winter of 1675, near Middleborough Pond, and his body thrust into a hole in the ice. His trappings were left lying near the edge, and conveyed at first the impression that he had fallen through. But when the body was recovered, marks of violence were found upon it. Three Indians were caught, tried by a jury of six white men and six Indians, and executed for this deed. Apparently there was some reason for doubting that there had been any murder, or, if there had been, that the real murderers had been discovered. "Many wish," wrote Roger Williams, "that Plymouth had left the Indjans alone, at least not to put to death the 3 Indjans vpon one Indjan's testimony." Whether Philip meditated war or not, the anger of the Indians could have hardly failed now to push him into one.

The conference with the Indians at Taunton.

Philip prepares for war.

Accordingly, on June 24, 1675, — a day that had been appointed for a fast that the horrors of war might be averted, — the unsuspecting people of Swansea, who were just going home from the meeting, were attacked. One man was killed, and others wounded; the two men who were despatched for a surgeon were killed. Six other men near the garrison were killed and horribly mutilated. Some barns and houses were burned.

At this time the New England villages were scattered over a large area. Emigrants had gone from Connecticut as far as Deerfield; the remotest western settlement was Westfield. Haverhill was on the frontier; Lancaster and Brookfield were isolated settlements. Leverett was governor of Massachusetts, Wins-

The attack
at Swansea.



Philip's Seat at Mount Hope.

low of Plymouth. John Winthrop of Connecticut and New Haven. At first the war was confined to the Plymouth Colony. At Middleborough, Taunton, Dartmouth, Rehoboth, and elsewhere much property was destroyed and many were killed. Rehoboth was most unfortunate.

for its houses, barns, and mills were all burnt. Its vicinity to Mount Hope, the home of Philip, may have made it peculiarly the object of hostility, for five times in the course of the war its homes were made desolate. Rhode Island, though not approving the war, was nevertheless involved in the general calamity. Houses were burned and several persons killed at Pocasset—now Tiverton—in July; a few days before eighteen houses were destroyed in Providence. It

William
Blackstone.

was probably then that the savages laid waste the place of William Blackstone, on the banks of the Seekonk, a few miles from Providence. Here, on the spot which he named "Study

Hill," the first white settler of the peninsula of Boston as well as of Rhode Island, had built a house and planted an orchard and found a refuge for his old age from the turmoils of the time and the "lords brethren" of Massachusetts. His rest was undisturbed by the savages, for he had died a few weeks before and been laid in a quiet grave — still to be seen — among his apple trees.

In August the General Court proposed to negotiate a peace with the Nipmucks — or Nipmets — who lived on the northern tributaries of the Thames. The result was a disastrous fight at Brookfield, near which the conference was to be held. No Indians were to be found at the place appointed, and Captain

The fight at
Brookfield.



'Blackstone's Study Hill.

Wheeler with twenty troopers went in search of them. They had not gone far when they fell into an ambush; eight of the twenty were shot down, either killed or wounded, and among the latter was the captain. Those who escaped regained Brookfield by a circuitous path, and gave the alarm.

There was hardly time to hurry the people, men, women, and children, to the number of seventy, into the one house capable of defence, when the village was filled with three hundred yelling savages. They set fire to every house and its surroundings, save only the one in which the English had taken refuge. That needed to be approached with more caution.

The attack was begun. It was furious, determined, and incessant for two days and nights. Shot were poured in from all sides; against the walls of the house fires were kindled; crevices and projections were sought for with fire-brands tied to poles; roof and walls were

pierced with arrows around which were wound burning rags filled with sulphur. But every attempt to get into the house, or to drive out its brave garrison, was met and baffled. By sorties the most threatening fires against the walls were put out; water was poured, in spite of risk, upon the burning sulphur as fast as it fell upon the roof; every stratagem was met with some more cunning device; the savages were glad of the shelter of the forest against the desperate bravery of men who were fighting for their wives and children.

On the third day a new and most alarming stratagem was resorted to by the assailants. They contrived a sort of cart on which were piled bundles of flax, and hay and hemp and any other combustible material on which they could lay their hands; and this machine, all ablaze with mounting flames, they thrust with long poles against the building. The strait was desperate. Either the besieged must submit to cruel death by fire, or face the hardly less cruel alternative of fighting hand to hand, surrounded by women and children, with their savage enemy who outnumbered them more than three to one. But fortunately before they were compelled to make their choice between these desperate measures, a sudden and heavy shower of rain extinguished the



Blackstone's Grave.

fires, and made a repetition of the experiment impossible.

Before the day was over Major Simon Willard of Boston, who, on the march westward, had been intercepted by a messenger the besieged had contrived to send off, dashed into the town with between fifty and sixty men. They attacked the Indians with spirit, and before day-break the next morning, they had all disappeared. Not only were the Brookfield people saved, but so successful had been their defence that eighty of the Indians were killed and wounded.

The emissaries of Philip were ubiquitous. They stirred up the

Spread of
the war.

Indians of the Connecticut valley, and even at length succeeded in influencing the baptized Indians, for blood is thicker than water. Men went to meeting with their arms; ammunition was stored in the meeting-houses; each man furnished himself, under a penalty of two shillings for each neglect, with at least five charges of powder and shot. Flint locks were in general use here

before they were known in England, the new exigency of Indian warfare turning the matchlock into a musket.

Hadley on the Connecticut was an important frontier post, and a place of deposit for military supplies. On the first of September, a month after the burning of Brookfield, the Indians ^{Hadley attacked.} took advantage of the absence of most of the garrison, to attempt its destruction. It was a fast-day, and the people were in the meeting-house when the alarm was given. The men seized their arms, which were ready to their hands ; but even the hands of men as brave and determined as they were may have trembled a little, when they looked at their women and children huddled together in a building which was incapable of any defence from within, and when they listened to the war-whoops of savages more pitiless than wild beasts. It seemed to them, it may be, that they could only die ; that with such odds against them there could be no hope of repelling the enemy ; that the sight of their helpless families unnerved rather than inspirited them. They defended rather than attacked ; they looked over their shoulders at the cowering figures behind as often as at the savages who pressed nearer and nearer in front. They wavered and fell back ; upon the action of a moment of time hung the result of the fight and the fate of the whole village.

Suddenly there stood among them a man almost aged, but of a soldierly bearing and commanding presence. He drew his sword as one who knew how to use it ; he put himself at the head of the men as his natural and proper place. Whether ^{Sudden appearance of Goffe the Regicide.} he spoke or not, words were hardly needed, for he marched forth as a captain. There was the quick response of men who did not want courage but needed leadership. They rallied, as certain now of driving back the savages as before they were doubtful of successful defence. It was defence no longer, but attack. Under the impulse of vigorous command sprung hope and energy in place of despair. Wherever this calm and brave soldier would lead they would follow. There was much, no doubt, in the strangeness of this sudden apparition of a captain when all would be speedily lost without one ; there must have been still more in the commanding aspect, the confident assumption of power, the quiet intrepidity of the man, that made him at once accepted and obeyed.

The tide of fight was turned. The savages fell back, — then fled, the impetuous English pursuing them to the woods. When the sound of the retreat had died away, the men gathered together again in the village ; but he who had led them to victory was not among them ; he had gone as suddenly as he had come ; whence he came none knew, and none saw him go away.

Such is the story as tradition has handed it down. There is no reason for doubting its essential truth, though the imagination of successive narrators may have made a romance of a natural though effective incident. The regicide, Colonel Goffe, was at that period concealed in the house of Mr. Russell at Hadley, and the old soldier certainly would not see the villagers getting the worst of the fight with the Indians if his presence and bravery could prevent it. He



Goffe at Hadley.

may have seemed to his countrymen almost a supernatural visitor when he appeared so suddenly among them, and the impression would be deepened when he as suddenly vanished. That Goffe was concealed in Hadley was probably unknown to the people, for though there was, perhaps, no wish on the part of the magistrates to surrender the regicide, had the place of the retreat of himself and Whalley been publicly known, there would have been a legal obligation for their capture not easily evaded.

September was a fatal month. At Deerfield, on the same day that Hadley was attacked, several houses and barns were burnt, and two

men killed. The block-house at Northfield was besieged after a dozen men had fallen and the dwelling-houses were burned. Captain Beers, going with thirty men to its relief, was ambuscaded and killed with twenty of his men. Deerfield was again attacked; the people were fired on as they were going to meeting, and their houses burned. The farmers in their flight had left a quantity of grain unthreshed. A company of eighty picked men, the flower of Essex, under the command of Captain Lathrop of Ipswich,

Renewed attack on Deerfield.



The Ambush at Bloody Brook.

was detailed from Hadley to complete the threshing, and load the grain in wagons. Captain Moseley was left at Deerfield with a company to protect their

rear. Early on September 18, Captain Lathrop, returning to Hadley, halted his command in a fair grove watered by a brook, a few miles from Deerfield; the men broke their ranks and loitered to and fro, thrown off their guard by the allurements of the cool and pleasant spot.

The savages had been all night upon the trail, waiting for such an opportunity. Seven hundred of them, sheltered by the trees, delivered a fire so destructive that Lathrop and all but seven of his men

were killed. By this massacre the clear brook acquired its name of Bloody.

While the savages were hilariously engaged in scalping the troops, Captain Moseley, who had heard the firing, hurried to the spot, charged the savages repeatedly, going through them with great slaughter, and maintaining his ground against the superior numbers, from eleven o'clock till evening, when Major Treat arrived with one

hundred men and sixty Mohegans, and the Indians were driven off with great loss and pursued for some distance. All day long Captain Moseley lost only two men and eleven wounded.¹

After this disastrous autumn it was resolved to strike the headquarters of the Indians in the country of the Narragansetts, who were secret allies of Philip. Massachusetts furnished five hundred and twenty men, Plymouth one hundred and fifty-nine, and Connecticut three hundred: there were in addition one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians.



The Monument at Bloody Brook.

Governor Winslow of Plymouth was appointed commander of the expedition.

The fort of the Narragansetts was in South Kingston, Rhode Island. It was built upon five or six acres of dry ground, encircled by a swamp, and was very formidably defended with palisades and a chevaux-de-frise, a rod in thickness, of felled trees. The troops

¹ Athwart the terror of those years there falls a single gleam of grotesque humor from Bloody Brook. When Captain Moseley came up with the Indians as they were collecting spoils and scalps, he coolly took off his periwig and stuffed it into his breeches, to be in better fighting trim. This action startled the Indians, one of whom exclaimed, "Englishman got two heads? Me cut off one, he got noder, put it on beter!" Drake (*Old Indian Chronicle*) has the report that some of the Indians disappeared in consequence of this occurrence. But Moseley's fresh muskets were more demoralizing than a head that was too indefinite to yield a scalp.

marched through a deep snow, reaching the vicinity of the fort early on December 19, and attacking it at four in the afternoon. There was but one entrance, and to reach it the men had to get over a log breast high, under fire from a block-house or shelter. The fire was so heavy that the Massachusetts men, who were first to enter, were obliged to retreat. At this time Captains Johnson, Davenport, and Gardiner, of Massachusetts, and Gallop, Seely, and Marshall, of Connecticut, were killed. By another desperate onset, a party, under Captain Benjamin Church, managed to get into the rear, which was not so elaborately defended, and entered the place, Church receiving three bullets. Then it became a

Expedition
into the
Narragansett
country.



Attack on the Narragansett Fort.

driving hand-to-hand fight, the six hundred wigwams were set on fire, — a blunder, however, against which Church in vain protested, for they were filled with corn. The savages were driven out through the swamp into the open country, after a desperate and bloody contest. About seven hundred Indians were killed, including twenty chiefs. Of a great number of wounded, three hundred died. Many old men, squaws, and children perished, some of them in the flames. All the utensils and great store of corn were burnt. That winter's day had a lurid sunset. The Connecticut troops alone lost eighty men.¹ It was a great blow, but not a decisive one, for Philip was yet alive.

¹ *Connecticut Historical Collections.*

The war in
Massachu-
setts. — Mrs.
Rowlandson.

The next year the war was again transferred to the interior of Massachusetts. Lancaster was attacked in February, 1676, by the Wachusett Indians. One of the sachems had married the sister of Philip's wife, and also had another squaw, who was the widow of Wamsutta. The Lancaster tragedy was made memorable by the story of Mrs. Rowlandson's captivity. Her youngest girl, six years old, was wounded in the attack upon the garrison house, and died on the eighth day. The brave woman had toiled through the snowy swamps and forests with her child in her arms, subsisting upon ground nuts, acorns, old bones, horses' ears and entrails, frogs and rattlesnakes, compelled to witness the stealthy and ferocious attacks on other places, returning finally to Mount Wachusett, where she was redeemed for £20.

Turner's
Expedition

The Indians had taken possession of the deserted acres of Deerfield and were planting them. A large body of them was camped around the falls, which earned a name from that Captain Turner who here made himself famous. When this news was brought in by escaped captives, Turner, who had succeeded to the command of the forces in the valley, gathered one hundred mounted men at Hatfield for a night ride of twenty miles across the country through Whately and Deerfield. An Indian lodge was roused from sleep by hearing the noise of their march, but discovering no hoof prints at the ford, which Turner had avoided, concluded that a herd of moose had crossed the river. The sound of Turner's approach was deadened by the sound of the rapids which were four miles further up the stream. He found the main encampment, therefore, fast asleep, close to the overhanging rocks, just at daybreak of May 10. The horses had been left in a ravine below, and the troops marched a mile or two to gain the rear of the Indians, who had neglected to post a guard. The surprise was complete. Many of them took to their canoes, but left the paddles behind and went over the falls. Many were shot in attempting to cross the river. Many hid among the rocks and were killed by the sword. After the fight one hundred Indians lay dead, one hundred and forty were counted as they went over the falls, all of whom but one perished. Over three hundred Indians had been destroyed. Turner's loss was a single soldier.

But another party of Indians, not far off, heard the noise of the fight and were soon on Turner's tracks. Then commenced a disastrous retreat. A panic seized the troops, on a rumor that Philip was at hand with a thousand men. Captain Holyoke took command of the rear-guard and checked the pursuit. Turner was killed; a large number of his men were cut off; but Holyoke reached Hatfield

safely with the main body. The excitement and fatigues of that day, however, cost him his life, as he died not long after.

Among the earliest of the Indian chiefs to turn against his old friends, and take part with Philip, was Pumham. In this fight at Turner's Falls, he was conspicuous in the pursuit of the English for his bravery and great strength. Two months later, he was found lurking, half starved, with a few followers, in the Dedham woods, near Boston, where he was killed, fighting desperately after he was mortally wounded.

This disaster at Turner's Falls was a great blow to Philip, for it broke up his fishery at that place, by which he intended to provide himself for the winter. Many of his best sachems had been slain.



Turner's Falls.

He attempted reprisals by an attack upon Hatfield, but a reinforcement from Hadley defeated the savages, killing twenty-five of them. Hadley was again beset by a band of seven hundred Indians, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. Captain Henchman at one place, and Major Talcot at another, were equally successful in defeating and killing a number of the Indians.

Further
fights at
Hadley and
elsewhere.

The garrison at Northampton was largely reinforced, and it became clear to Philip that he could not hold the valley. The war was again shifted to the south. Seekonk, Plymouth, Bridgewater, Scituate, and many other places, were partly sacked and burned. Through the spring and summer all Southern Massachusetts, and the contiguous settlements in Connecticut and Rhode Island, were kept in constant alarm. The settlers knew that the savages might at any moment be

lurking in the woods about their homes, with a tread as stealthy and still as that of a tiger, and thirsting, as tigers thirst, for blood. By night and by day, in the field, at the work-bench, in the meeting-house pew, the thing nearest to each man's hand was his musket. The peculiar qualities which gave the Indian a certain superiority as a hunter and a warrior, were his no longer. Stern necessity had compelled the white man to learn from his enemy and improve on what was taught. And the women were as brave as the men, as fertile in resources, as quick in defence, as enduring in captivity, when captivity happened to be their lot. Thrilling stories of defence, escape, rescue, stratagem, still make the legendary lore of that whole region.



Site of the Squaw Sachem Magnus's Fort.

In this spring and summer of 1676, the colonies called into active service almost every man who could handle a musket. All who could be spared from home-defence were sent out upon expeditions through the country. Notwithstanding the superiority

of the whites, the aspect of affairs was sometimes almost desperate, for there was more than one signal disaster. Thus Captain Wardsworth, going to the relief of Sudbury, in Massachusetts, which had been partly burnt, was entrapped in an ambush, and he, and about sixty of his company of eighty men, were killed. The fate of Captain Pierce's company of fifty Englishmen and twenty friendly Indians was even worse. The enemy surprised them, and only one of the Englishmen and but a few of the Indians escaped. There was as little mercy on one side as on the other. Nanuntenoo, the son of Miantonomo, was almost as much feared as Philip himself. Great was the rejoicing when the news was spread abroad that he who it

was supposed had led in the attack on Pierce, had been taken prisoner and immediately executed. "I like it well," said the brave chief; "I shall die before my heart is soft, or have said anything unworthy of myself." But on neither side was there an act of more signal vengeance than that of Major Talcot, who, with a force of three hundred mounted men, — English and Indians — overtook a body of nearly the same number of Narragansetts in a swamp in their country. Those who were not killed in the first assault were made prisoners, and ninety so taken were put to death. Among them was the Squaw Sachem Magnus, whose fort was on a hill in the present town of North Kingston, Rhode Island.

The Indians themselves were the first to show that the strain was too much for them. Plymouth had put the conduct of military affairs almost exclusively into the hands of Colonel Church, and his uniform success had aroused a dread of him among the Indians, as much as it inspired the confidence of his own



Church's Sword.

people. He was more than a match for the Indian in cunning as well as courage; could meet him and beat him where he thought himself strongest; detect him in ambush, or lead him into one; overcome him by strategy, or defeat him when hand to hand in open fight. When the savage doubts and hesitates, he is lost. If success ebbs, there is no returning flood. The loss in chiefs and warriors weakened and disheartened the Indians, and large expeditions were abandoned. To distract pursuit, they broke up into small parties, and continued only a predatory warfare. Philip himself retreated to the hill and isthmus of Mount Hope.

The chief was at last in desperate strait. Twice within a few weeks he had barely escaped capture or death. On one of these occasions his uncle was shot down at his side, the English soldier not recognizing Philip, who had cut off his hair to disguise himself; at another time, he avoided capture by a precipitate flight, abandoning his wife and children. Now he had reached his own home, hoping there to find concealment and safety.

Church was at Tiverton, when a savage, whose brother had just been killed by Philip for counselling submission to the English, came and offered to betray his chief. He and his men, the deserter said, were on a bit of upland at the south end of the swamp at the foot of Mount Hope. The place was well known to Church. When this intelligence reached him he started at once for Mount Hope, arriving there about the middle of the night. His arrangements were all

quietly and speedily made; so far as the number of his men permitted, every outlet from the swamp was guarded; then a company was sent in to arouse the camp.

The Indians were sleeping in tranquil security. One at length awoke, and was fired at; then a volley was poured into the camp. Philip jumped to his feet, and, seizing only his gun, sprang forward at his utmost speed. His flight was directly toward the spot where two of Church's men — an Englishman and an Indian — lay in ambush. Both raised their guns; the Englishman's missed; the Indian fired, and Philip fell forward dead in a pool of the swamp.

Essentially this was the end of the war, though some of the Indians, in small parties, held out a little longer. It had lasted for more than a year. Thirteen towns had been destroyed; six hundred buildings burned, countless numbers of stock of all kinds were lost; six hundred men killed in fights or murdered, and great numbers disabled by wounds. There was hardly a family without its scar of sorrow. But the power of the Indians in all Southern New England was destroyed for ever. Some escaped by flight into the western wilds where the white man had not penetrated; but many small tribes were obliterated; whole families had perished; many who were captured were sent to the West Indies, and dragged out the remainder of their miserable lives as slaves.



Ruins of Colonel Church's House.



THE DEATH OF PHILIP.



Portsmouth Harbor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CHARACTER OF THE MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE SETTLERS. — KITTERY. — GORGEANA. — THE NORTHERN COLONIES ABSORBED BY MASSACHUSETTS. — EARLY NEW HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES. — THE ISLES OF SHOALS. — HISTORY OF MASON'S NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANT. — THE CLAIMS OF HIS HEIRS RESISTED. — NEW HAMPSHIRE GOVERNORS. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES. — ATTACKS AT SACO, BERWICK, AND ELSEWHERE. — THE TREATY AT CASCO. — WAR RENEWED. — DOVER ATTACKED. — MURDER OF WALDRON. — CLOSE OF THE WAR.

THE settlers who came out to New Hampshire and Maine, under the patronage of Gorges and Mason,¹ were mainly royalists and adherents of the Church of England. The principal men were disposed to favor those feudal notions of manors, seignories, and ecclesiastical sees, which the two proprietors entertained.

Early Maine
and New
Hampshire
settlers.

Captain Francis Champernoon, who bought of Gorges Gerrish's and Cutts's islands, near the mouth of the Piscataqua, and the place of whose burial upon Cutts's is still marked by the simple cairn of stones which he directed for his monument, was a distinguished royalist, whose ancestor, Richard, was a stout adherent of Henry VII. in his struggle with Richard II. The favor of the family at court is shown by an extant petition of Arthur Champernoon to Charles I., in 1634, about the Priory of Plimpton, which belonged to him in tail male, and which, in default of male

Francis
Champer-
noon.

¹ Vol. i., p. 333.

issue, would have reverted to the crown. He prayed for a grant of reversion to himself, and the petition bears the king's consent. The island, afterwards called Gerrish's, was at first called Dartington by his son Francis, from the name of a family castle upon the River Dart in Devonshire.

Another place upon that English river was Kittery, which, in 1652, became the name of a town in New Hampshire, originally called Piscataqua, at a time when it included Eliot, South Berwick, and Berwick, which are on the eastern bank of the river, and now in Maine.

In 1636, there were a few settlers at Agamenticus, as the territory was called, between the mountain of that name and the sea, which is now the township of York. Here an incorporated city was founded in 1641, on the old English plan, with a mayor and aldermen, and pompous revival of antique usage. It was called Gorgeana. The occupants of the land were to be subject to the

proprietors as their tenants at will. Mason and Gorges did their best to transplant to America foreign fruits and the feudal manor. But of them all the grapes and the manor failed to effect a lodgment. The aristocratic principle could not take root and become New English any more than the varieties of slips which were intended for vine-



Champernoon's Cairn.

yards. But the English apple liked the soil, where it improved in size and flavor till it became the hardy symbol of New England. One of the apple trees which were brought over in tubs, in 1629, to start an orchard in York, has borne fruit ever since, till the year 1875, when it was cut down.

Many of the settlers, who came over to improve their fortunes, favored no prerogative but the personal one of earning their living. They did not relish any transfer of old abuses to the scene of their new venture. The proprietors were baffled and discouraged, because the popular opinion among men, who were bold and hardy enough to venture here, was decidedly hostile to privilege. The settlers were always trying to establish a system

Ill-success
of feudal
methods in
New Eng-
land.

of governing that should meet their local wants and circumstances, with the least possible encroachment from delay or vested rights. Mason aspired to be Lord of the Manor. The settler wanted to own his farm and fishing-stage. The dissensions which arose from the collision of the two interests, finally led a great number of the settlers, in 1641, to petition the General Court of Massachusetts to be included under its government; a popular tendency which, of course, was skillfully fostered by agents of the Puritans, who longed to exercise authority over the region where their enemies in religion and politics ruled, and all the disaffected sectaries took refuge. For Gorges and Mason were tolerant in religious matters, though staunch royalists and intensely feudal. They had, of course, no objection to the expectation that fishing and trading

Northern
Colonies
absorbed by
Massachu-
setts.



View of Kittery, N. H.

might pay the expenses of colonizing and serve as an inducement to colonists. But while they were profoundly loyal to their own religious convictions, and to the customs of public worship which belonged to them, they were well disposed to welcome all men with freedom to worship God in their own way.

Richard Gibson, an Episcopalian, was the first minister of the Piscataqua parish at Portsmouth; and the people at Odiorne's Point came over the water between there and Strawberry Bank — as Portsmouth was first called — to hear him preach. A chapel was built for him in 1638. This appeared to be no religion at all to the Massachusetts men, who were prone to accuse

First church
at Ports-
mouth.

their neighbors of cultivating tolerance solely for the sake of trade. Gibson, Winthrop said, "did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people, by way of arguments to revolt from us." Therefore, they had him up before the General Court in Boston, extorted from him an acknowledgment of his offence; but, as he was about to leave the country, dismissed him "without any fine or other punishment." Mr. James Parker of Weymouth, "a godly man and a scholar," took Mr. Gibson's place. Parker was, of course, a Puritan, or Winthrop could not have thus commended him. He adds that the new minister was invited to come to Portsmouth by more than forty of her people, whereof "the most had been very profane, and some of them professed enemies to the way of our churches." Even so godly a man as Mr. Parker could do little with



View of Exeter, N. H.

so perverse and backsliding a generation. The Governor bewails that "most of them fell back again in time, embracing this present world," — fell back, that is, into the slough of a non-Puritan church.

When John Wheelwright was driven, in 1638, out of Boston for Antinomian opinion, he founded at Squamscot Falls, Exeter, a church, and at the same time a body politic, upon a purely democratic basis. Every man, without respect to his theological bias, had a voice in choosing rulers annually, and two assistants to each ruler. A similar social system was founded and prevailed at Dover. Two elements from the old country appear to have met in

Wheel-
wright's set-
tlement at
Exeter.

New Hampshire. The settlers from London and Bristol seem generally to have favored the Church of England; those from the West Country were more inclined to non-conformity. There are traces of certain jealousies between the two parties, as when the agent of the Dover people claimed a point of land at Newington, and was resisted by the agent of Portsmouth. When the affair threatened to be serious, the employers of the agents had recourse to arbitration, and the point was amicably settled, though to this day it is called Bloody Point from the unsanguinary nature of the quarrel there.

When New Hampshire came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in 1641, Wheelwright's policy was respected; he had the triumph of seeing the rights of his freemen without regard to their religion allowed by the colony which banished him. But he would not remain under its jurisdiction. He retired to Wells, in Maine; afterward he was permitted to preach at Winnicomett (Hampton). During Cromwell's protectorate he went to England, was admitted to an audience of his old college

John Wheelwright.

Signature of Wheelwright.

mate, the Protector, who received him with much consideration. Turning to the persons standing near, Cromwell said, "I remember the time, gentlemen, when I have been more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than of meeting any army since in the field." Wheelwright returned to New Hampshire, and died at Salisbury, in 1680.

Wheelwright was a stiff Calvinist. The men who exiled him held Calvinistic doctrine with a silent modification in favor of practical religion, and lived, as he said, mainly under a covenant of works. But he was a pure supporter of a Covenant of Faith. To his mind the doctrines of Election and Foreordination were absolute; they claimed his homage so entirely that he seemed to undervalue justification by works.

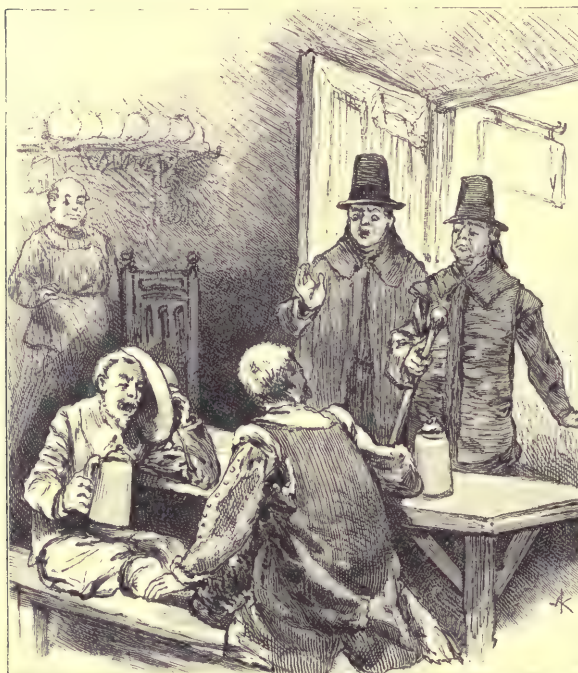
Notwithstanding the strong predilection for the Church of England, which the proprietary settlers brought with them, the principles of the Puritans soon prevailed in the colony, and fortunately brought it into greater sympathy with the Colony of the Bay. Winthrop and the rest used to regard the Piscataqua as another Rhode Island, that is, only a sink for Massachusetts, into which all malcontents, fanatics, royalists, and miscreants drifted. Some persons of a bad moral quality did indeed find it safer to go there, but also safer eventually to leave it. The colony was not so jealous of its strict brethren of the Bay as to countenance moral irregularities.

Puritanism
in New
Hampshire.

The spirit of antagonism was kept alive partly by the pretensions of Gorges and Mason, and partly by these theological differences. But the early Episcopalians of the Piscataqua were quite as sincere, and of a motive as honest as any other people in New England, though the man who should have said so in 1642, in Boston, would have been haled before the General Court.

We find, as everywhere else in New England, a great deal of early legislation applied to church matters and customs. It was ordered, in 1662, that a cage be made by the selectmen, "to punish such as sleepe, or take tobacco on the Lord's Day out of the meeting in the time of publick exercise." The usual

Early legis-
lation on
church mat-
ters.



The Sabbath Inspection of Taverns.

custom prevailed of seating the people in the meeting-house according to rank and consequence. When Mr. Moody was ordained, Captain John Pickering was appointed, on account of his great strength and commanding manner, to reserve seats for the distinguished guests and keep the congregation in order. But he let all the people in before service time on the ground that all men were equal in a house of God.¹

The early records contain an order in town-meeting that "one householder or more walk every Sabbath day in sermon time with the constable to every Publick House in y^e town to suppress ill order, and if they think convenient, to private houses also." It is also ordered, "for the prevention of fire or other dangers which may happen by smoking in the Meeting House, that every person soe smoking at any meeting in the Meeting House be fined." This alludes to the town meetings which were held in the early times in the single meeting-

¹ Rev. James De Normandie's *Historical Sketches*.

house belonging to the town. The names of common drunkards were furnished by the selectmen to every inn holder, who was then fined for selling liquor to them. A vote was passed that all persons should go over the ferry free upon the Sabbath. If strangers remained in town more than a day or two, they were obliged to give their names to the selectmen.

Cases of intolerance were quite rare in New Hampshire; they seem to have occurred chiefly while the colony was under the jurisdiction of the Bay. It was in 1662 that an occurrence already alluded to took place. Three Quaker women were sentenced to be publicly whipped at the cart's tail through several towns. The punishment was applied in two or three, when Walter Barefoot interfered, and prevailing upon the constable to surrender the warrant to him, re-



The Isles of Shoals.

leased them. In 1656 there were several enactments against "a cursed sect of hereticks lately arisen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon themselves to be immediately sent of God."

The Isles of Shoals, a group of seven rocky islets lying about nine miles southeast of the mouth of the Piscataqua, had in the seventeenth century an importance now hardly conceivable. These islands had been seen and visited quite early, but received no particular description. In 1610 Samuel Argall was driven by a storm upon the coast of Maine, and returned thence to Virginia with a cargo of fish which were caught in these waters, and perhaps cured upon the rocks of the Shoals. But we have definite accounts of them in 1614, by Capt. John Smith, whose opinion of them was slightlyly

The Isles of
Shoals.

expressed afterwards when they fell to his share in a division of territory under a patent of Gorges. He says, "No lot for me but *Smith's* Isles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrown with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly pass them; without either grass or wood, but three or four short shrubby old Cedars."¹ These scrubby trees gave the name to Cedar Island; but John Winthrop had no other cause to write in his journal, "the Isles of Shoals are woody."²

The name would indicate that the group is encircled by shoals, like those which lie off Nantucket and in the neighborhood of Cape Cod; but there are only three or four outlying ledges which are distinctly marked by the breaking water. The sea deepens quite abruptly around all the islands, and it is evident that Captain Smith laid down upon his map several ledges as if they had been islands, making three or four out of Duck Island, for instance; so that perhaps the name of the group was derived from this number, as of a shoal of islets. It is more likely that the abundant shoals of fishes which attracted vessels thither gave it the name. But there is one authority which claims that the word *Shole*, in some dialect of the west coast of England, means cod-fish.

The group was first included in a patent which Gorges obtained from the King in 1620; under it they belonged to Maine till 1652. It was in 1621 that the Council of Plymouth was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, upon the charge that its charter for the settlement of New England was based upon a monopoly of fishing and trading, and included the right to lay taxes upon other parties; as Captain Smith complained, "those patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping, neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast over bord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Manor: some of which for some of them I believe will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare."³

Politics and interest combined to make an effective, national grievance of this fishing question; and the principal fishing station was the Isles of Shoals. The Islands gradually lost their importance: new ports upon the coast were opened, trade became diverted to more thriving settlements, and vessels from Malaga and the West Indies sought safer harbors. When, in 1679, New Hampshire became a sep-

Ownership
of the
Islands.

¹ Smith's *Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters* (Veazie's reprint), p. 39.

² Savage's *Winthrop's Journal*, ii., p. 418.

³ Smith's *Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters*, p. 39.

arate Royal Province under the Presidency of John Cutts, the group was divided by a line running through the middle of the roadstead: then the northerly islands, Appledore, Smutty Nose and Duck reverted to Maine, the others came under the government of New Hampshire. This was the old partition agreed upon between Gorges and Mason, when the latter occupied the Piscataqua; and the division remains undisturbed to-day.¹

The history of Captain John Mason's proprietorship, by virtue of which he and his heirs claimed the ownership of all New Hampshire which lay west of the Piscataqua, with power to extort rent and taxes from the actual settlers, is interesting because it furnishes a most striking example of the way in which municipal and republican usage were developed in America. It must, however, be briefly told, because it was protracted clear through the seventeenth century.

Captain
Mason's New
Hampshire
grant.

In 1620 Gorges obtained a comprehensive patent, which covered all New England, described as then existing between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude. This was not only the basis of all the supplementary patents which were issued to different individuals, and empowered them to occupy their grants or claims, but it also furnished Gorges and Mason with their authority to assume, as they did afterwards, the control over the whole territory of the Massachusetts Bay and the Piscataqua. It provided for a General Governor, who should be a royalist, and for a form of worship after the ritual of the Church of England. As often as this scheme recurred it was of course vigorously resisted by the Massachusetts men. They viewed with dismay such a prospect of consolidating New England in the interest of royalism. But the charter clearly justified Gorges and Mason in the attempt to transfer their favorite scheme of government and religion to the New World. It was therefore that the Massachusetts people viewed it as a divine interposition when Captain

¹ Appledore is chiefly remembered as the place where William Peperell, a fisherman, first settled. Removing to Kittery, he became the father of Sir William, the hero of Louisbourg, and the first and only native New Englander (except possibly his own grandson) upon whom a baronetcy was conferred while the colonies belonged to England. Sir George Downing, who was also made a baronet, was not a native of New England; Sir William Phips was only a knight; Sir John Davie inherited his baronetcy; also Sir John Stewart; Sir John Wentworth was made a baronet after the separation of the colonies from England. — Sabine's *American Loyalists*. *Hist. Magazine*, vol. i., p. 150. It is claimed also (*Hist. Mag.*, p. 286), that Sir William Peperell's grandson, born a Sparhawk, whose name was changed to Peperell when he became the baronet's heir (a son having died), was created a baronet in 1774.

William Peperell did not relish the rough life at the island, and it is related that he and his friend Gibbons agreed to leave it in the direction which their canes took in dropping from the hand. Peperell's cane pointed toward Kittery, and Gibbons's toward Maine, whither he went and settled on land which was afterward covered by the Waldo Patent.

John Mason, who had been appointed Vice Admiral of New England in 1635, died during the same year. Then, as Winthrop said in his Journal, "all the business fell on Sleep." If the growing independence of New England had been checked by such a scheme in the interest of monarchy, the restraint would have only lasted until the English Commonwealth arose. Then its republican politics would have interfered to restrain the ambition of royal proprietors, and to confirm the Puritan tendency of New England.

But the heirs of Gorges and Mason clung tenaciously to the proprietary claim. In 1676 New Hampshire was still under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In that year the heirs perceived their opportunity, in the jealousy of Charles II. which had been long nursed against the independence of New England, to renew their claim under the old patent issued by the Council of Plymouth. When Charles II., who had been waiting several years for a pretext to interfere with the affairs of New England, sent Edward Randolph to Boston, the General Court was ordered to appear by deputy in England to defend its pretensions, on peril of judgment in case of disobedience. No remonstrance or delay could serve their cause; the deputies were obliged to repair to London. There it was decided that the Council of Plymouth never had the right to convey to Gorges and Mason, under a simple grant of territory, any absolute jurisdiction over New Hampshire. No municipal jurisdiction existed, therefore, that could be transferred to Massachusetts. It remained vested in the crown; a royal commission for the government of New Hampshire was issued, which restrained Massachusetts from its exercise of jurisdiction. John Cutts was appointed in 1679 the President of a council of nine to govern this royal province for one year.

But at the same time it was decided that the heirs of Mason might claim the ownership of all the land which had been granted to Captain John Mason, in 1629, and occupied ever since by numerous tenants. These had purchased their estates from previous holders, had put toil and money into them, and therefore were in no humor to pay rent to a new claimant, or to take leases of him.

When a grandson of Captain John — Robert Mason, who had dropped his father's surname of Tufton, and assumed his maternal grandfather's — came from England, and claimed proprietorship, proposing to issue titles, receive back-rents, and extort sixpence in the pound upon all the improvements that had been made by the settlers for more than forty years, there followed endless complaints, great bitterness of feeling, and obstinate litigation. His stewards demanded rents with threats to sell the occupant's prem-

Death of
Mason.

Claims of
his heirs.

New Hamp-
shire a Royal
Province. —
Cutts Gov-
ernor.

Robert Ma-
son in New
Hampshire.

ises over his head if the demands were not complied with. Sheriffs attempted to serve writs of ejectments, but the colonists united everywhere in the sturdiest resistance. There was little respect for proceedings at law, and quite as little paid to persons.



Signature of Robert Mason.

Mason, in despair, returned to England to solicit a change in the administration of the Province, under which he hoped to renew his claim more successfully. Edward Cranfield was appointed Lieutenant-governor, with a council at whose head sat Mason, who undertook to contribute to Cranfield's support in office by mortgaging the province to him as security for an annuity of £150. Cranfield came out with the resolution of a Roman proconsul to make the province bleed.

Cranfield,
Lieutenant-
governor.

His preliminary proceedings, looking to the interest of the claimant, were so arbitrary, and inflamed the popular discontent to such a degree that riots broke out at Hampton and Exeter, started by Edward Gove, a hot-headed member of the Assembly which Cranfield had just illegally dissolved. No persons of importance joined him. He was arrested, tried, and condemned to death, as if his offence had involved high-treason. The Governor, fearing to execute the sentence, sent him to be put to death in England. This monstrous spectacle of the King's government carrying out the sentence of a provincial magistrate was prevented, partly, it is said, by the interference of Cranfield himself, who felt that his rule was too unpopular to be much longer tolerated.

As a few of the settlers consented to take leases of Mason, the Governor and Council concluded that among them a sufficient number of jurymen and sheriffs could be found willing to try cases for Mason and serve his writs. His law suits began; a dozen cases were sometimes disposed of in a day; but Mason could do nothing with the estates that lapsed to him. Cranfield's tax-bills developed even more resistance than Mason's writs of ejectment. Under provocation from these arbitrary measures, the people sometimes lost their temper, and opposed "swamp law to parchment law." The hard-worked women were as little disposed as the men to acknowledge Mason's bit of parchment as a needed title-deed, where the right had been won by the hard fight with a savage wilderness. They heated spits and prepared scalding water for a suitable ovation to the renegade settlers who had turned officers. One sheriff,

General
resistance to
Mason's
demands.

who incautiously attempted to make an arrest during divine service, was floored by a damsel who brought the collective word of God to bear in one blow with a folio Bible; the whole parish joined the Church Militant upon the spot, and Cranfield's posse was dismissed.

The influence of non-conforming clergymen over public opinion was conspicuous during New Hampshire's royal episode. Cranfield



The Sheriff Resisted.

wrote to England that allegiance was impossible while the clergy-
 men had the liberty of speech. Among them the figure of
 Ministers as popular leaders. Moody, the Puritan minister of Portsmouth, stands stoutly
 forth in resistance to the politics of the Governor, who en-
 deavored to silence him by enforcing the act against non-conformity.
 Cranfield issued an order that the ministers should admit all persons
 of moral life to the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism,
 and notified Moody that he should appear at the Lord's table the next
 Sunday, with the expectation that the Communion would be admin-

istered to him according to the liturgy of the Church of England. Cranfield knew that Moody would refuse. The minister was put upon trial, and notwithstanding the valid defence he made that he had not been episcopally ordained, sentence went against him, his living was forfeited, and he was sent to prison. Being afterwards banished from the province, he preached in Boston till 1692, when he could return to Portsmouth.

Cranfield was given leave of absence in 1685, and Captain Walter Barefoot was appointed Deputy Governor during his absence. His efforts, on behalf of the assumed proprietor, were quite as earnest as Cranfield's, but quite as futile. Mason was a lodger in Barefoot's house, and that intimate relation was unfortunate for both. Two sturdy yeomen, Thomas Wiggins and Anthony Nutter, called to see Mason one day, probably to expostulate with him upon the legal proceedings to substantiate his claims, by which they, in common with the colonists generally, were threatened with the loss of their long years of hard labor in making homes for themselves and their families.

There was evidently little ceremony in the approach of these men even to a Deputy Governor and the assumed owner of all New Hampshire. Wiggins declared that neither he nor others cared "one rush" for Mason's claim; that he had no business in the province; that he had not a foot of land there, and never should have; and "did give" — says Mason, in an affidavit — "very abusive and provoking language." Both Barefoot and Mason ordered Wiggins to leave the house, and Mason, unfortunately, undertook to enforce the order. Wiggins seized him and tossed him into the fire; — not only tossed him into the fire, but sat upon him; — not only sat upon him, but grasped "his wind-pipe in high contempt of his majesty's royal authority, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the King," and "almost choked him." Barefoot rushed to the rescue; but him also Wiggins seized and tossed into the embers out of which Mason was crawling, and sat upon him so hard that he broke two of his ribs. Mason called for his sword, which, before he had time to draw, was taken away from him by Nutter, who had stood by hitherto laughing at the way in which his companion handled the official gentlemen. The maid screamed for assistance; the neighbors rushed in, but only, it seems, to snatch the Deputy Governor's velvet cap from behind the back-log, and to pick the live coals from his breeches, for clothes and periwigs were burning.¹ It was in this temper that the settlers met the assertion of right under a royal

¹ Affidavits in *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, vol. i. Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., Secretary of N. H. Hist. Society.

patent against the claim of personal ownership, bought with their own sweat and blood. How easy it is to discern in these encounters the fountain of that spirit of independence which, in another century, would break into a flood.

Robert Mason left his odious land-title to two sons, who sold it out to Samuel Allen, of London, who received a commission to govern the province. William of Orange appointed Allen's son-in-law, John Usher, Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, to act during the absence of Allen. Usher was amiable, and

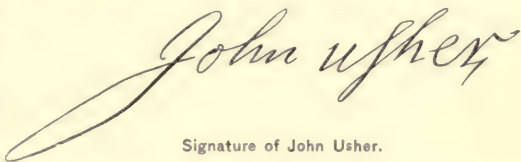
Usher
Lieutenant-
governor.



The Assault on Mason and Barefoot.

disposed to conciliate the province; but he was pledged to Allen, and the old distraining processes of Mason had to be renewed, but so ineffectually that Allen could not pay to Usher the annuity which had been promised to him. Usher had greatly excited the people by removing from his council two prominent men who were hostile to Allen's claim. During a visit which Usher made to Boston, the people privately dispatched an influential merchant, William Partridge, to London to solicit, in their name, the office of Lieutenant-governor. Partridge was successful, owing to private interest exerted in his behalf; and the councillors who were obnoxious to Usher resumed their seats at the council board.

Usher, at the beginning of his administration, found the actual possessors of land as unwilling to be ejected by writs issued under Allen's derived title as under Mason's original one. Renewed difficulty as to titles. They were, at the very moment, defending their homes, with loss of life and property, against the attacks of the Eastern Indians. Smarting under the griefs and hardships of that warfare, living in constant uncertainty and dreading fresh outrages, they naturally resented



Signature of John Usher.

this legal onset upon possessions which they could hardly hold against the savages. While the exposed settlements saw their barns and dwellings disappear in smoke, their kindred vanish into captivity, and precious lives laid down to maintain a colony, this fire in the rear was opened upon them by the official persons in Portsmouth.

It was important for Usher to obtain possession of the papers which preserved all the business connected with Mason's suits. They had been taken by force from the clerk who legally held them, and carried over to Kittery, to be concealed there. This was done in 1689,

after the people in Boston had deposed Andros, and the colonies were expecting a new king and a change of administration. Usher



Signature of William Partridge.

attempted to recover them from the person who was prominent in their removal; but he, though imprisoned, refused to deliver them up except upon an order of the Assembly. It does not appear that such an order was issued; but Usher did at length get possession of the papers, which were restored to the custody of the clerk.

But while Usher was in Boston, and when the party which was hostile to Allen's claim had put Partridge into office, the Assembly ordered the papers to be placed in the hands of a newly appointed recorder.

Allen, who was the actual Governor, came over in 1698, and assumed office; Partridge continued in his place as Lieutenant-governor, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Usher, Arrival of Allen. who produced a letter from the Lords of Trade which directed him to hold his office till the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont. But Partridge's commission was held to be valid. The Earl had been lately created Governor of New York and the New England Provinces. He went first to New York and spent a year there, during which Allen's

administration only served to embitter the popular feeling ; it was expressed in the resistance which the Assembly made to some of his measures, and so stubbornly that he dissolved it. The people hailed the appearance of the Earl in the summer of 1699, for they had then a Governor whose private interest was not involved in the proprietary title. He was able to entertain impartially the complaints of both parties. He advised the Assembly to reconstitute the courts which had been presided over by judges who were disposed to favor Allen's claim. Their commissions had been vacated. Now the Assembly passed an act reëstablishing the superior and inferior courts, and Partridge, as acting Governor in the absence of the Earl, appointed the judges.

When the question came before the new courts, it was found that no record of any judgments in favor of Mason, and no trace of his taking possession under them, was in existence. New suits were brought, therefore, to test the claim of Allen, who did not succeed in winning one of them. Consequently he appealed to the King through the court. But the court held the Massachusetts doctrine that, under the old charter, no appeal through the court to the King was admissible. Allen was obliged to petition the King to grant him an appeal.

It would prove monotonous to recount at length the varying fortunes of this legal strife, so important to a large portion of New England. The King died, and Allen's appeal came before Queen Anne. Thus the great quarrel passed into the eighteenth century. Juries refused to find a verdict for the plaintiff. But the people were disturbed at the prospect, that litigation might at any time be renewed at

the will of the representatives of Allen's claim. Therefore, through a meeting of deputies of actual settlers, a scheme for settlement was drawn, by which the inhabitants of townships should hold their lands absolutely free by quitclaim from Allen and his

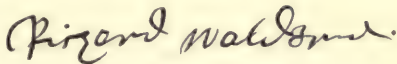
heirs, upon payment of £2,000, to be assessed upon inhabitants of townships, and an allotment of sundry acres of common land in the several townships.



Signature of Samuel Allen

It is probable that Allen, whose means had been all swallowed up in lawsuits and expenses of agents, would have accepted this composition ; but he died before it could be presented to him. Of his assets falling to his son there was nothing but an opportunity to renew the litigation if the prospect pleased him. It was renewed in 1706 by a fresh writ of ejectment brought against Waldron, who was one of the largest landowners on the popular side,

and had been brought prominently forward, as his father was before him, to resist the title of Mason. Losing the suit, Allen appealed to the Superior Court, when a last supreme effort was made by both parties, and all the conflicting documents were displayed, including that famous and doubtful deed which four Indian Sachems, it was said, had made in 1629, to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, under which Wheelwright settled Exeter. Settlers of other places also held their land directly from the original native proprietors. Waldron's father thus possessed lands in Dover. It is not necessary to review the charters, grants, and decisions which supported the proprietary title, nor the arguments employed by the counsel on both sides. The jury found for the defendant, Waldron, a confirmation of the judgment of the inferior court; an appeal was made as usual; but before it could reach a hearing in council Allen died in 1715, and the memorable contest never was renewed.¹



Signature of Waldron.

End of the contest.

The Indians who lived on the Piscataqua, the Merrimac, and around Lake Winnipiseogee, speaking a kindred dialect with the Abnaki tribes of Maine, were called Tarratines by the Massachusetts Indians. At some former period one original Algonquin language probably prevailed all along the coast of New England; but at the time of the white man's coming it had fallen apart with various modifications, influenced by the movements of separate tribes, by distance, isolation, and the fortunes of war. From the river St. George to the Piscataqua, and perhaps to the Merrimac, the tribes appear to have been once under the sway of the chief of the Wawenocks, the famous *Basheba*, a word that was either a title

New Hampshire Indians.

¹ Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

Mason's direct heirs were so reduced in fortune that we find a Tufton Mason living with his mother obscurely in Boston, in 1713. One day the son, rummaging in an old cabinet hit upon a secret drawer in which a signet ring was concealed, that bore the arms and motto of the Tufton family. The head of the Tufton branch was the Earl of Thanet, and the young man determined to earn money enough to take him to England, that he might there prove his connection. He went to sea as a common sailor and worked his way up to be the mate of a ship. Finding himself in an English port, with a respectable outfit, he inquired his way to the Earl's mansion, and bade the porter announce him as an American. Upon being admitted, he said, "My Lord, I am one of your Lordship's kindred," and produced the ring, which bore the motto, "*Ales volat propriis*," the bird flies to its kind. The Earl accepted the claim which was thus made upon his relationship, became interested in Mason, procured his education, and then a commission in the army. He was a major of marines at the taking of Senegal from the French, was made a colonel for gallantry, and then Governor of Senegal. He presented to St. John's Church, in Portsmouth, the beautiful font which was found among the French spoils. In this form the tradition of the old territorial Proprietor was gracefully transmitted by one of his landless descendants. MS. of John L. Hayes, Esq., *Traditions of a Royal Province*.

of some prominent chief, or his name which became a title. His headquarters were on the Sagadahoc. The Penobscots had attacked the tribe and destroyed the supremacy which it exercised both to the eastward and westward. Then the different sachems found themselves

unmolested in their local authority over their respective tribes; but though independent of the Eastern Indians they were still exposed to raids, and dreaded the restless and warlike temper of the Penobscots. The Mohawks also frequently attacked the New Hampshire Indians, and a great defeat, which was sustained by the Penacook Indians near the present Concord, was remembered with dread.¹



View on Lake Winnipiseogee.

mentioned in Rev. John Wheelwright's deed as sellers of land to him were Passaconaway of Penacook ("place of the ground-nut," now Concord), Runawit of Pentucket (at the falls of the Merrimac), Wahaugnonawit of Squamscot, now Exeter, and Rowls of Newichawannock, now Berwick. Of these sachems Passaconaway was the most influential; the other sachems and the natives around Lake Winnipiseogee deferred to his counsels. He was a great medicine-man, skilled in all the charms and occult practices of

The sachems named in Wheelwright's deed.

¹ The Indians loved to settle around falls and profitable fishing places. They named parts of rivers rather than their whole length. Merrimac means the Place of Swift Water, and was applied to the rapids below Amoskeag. The latter word means fishing-place. Pawtucket means the Place of Deer. Piscataqua means Big-Deer Place, because deer were found in great numbers around the river in the interior. The elements of the word also enter into Pautuckaway. "When the inhabitants in that district became numerous enough to petition for an act of incorporation as a town, they sent a large deer as a present to the Governor, Benning Wentworth, who thereupon signified his wish that the new town should be called Deer-field." Wamesit was at the junction of the Concord and Merrimac rivers. Naumkeag was the fishing-place at the Falls. — Ballard's *Geographical Names*.

the Indian, and used them with great effect to preserve ascendancy over the native mind. Some of the feats which were told of him have all the color and flavor of East Indian jugglery. Years afterward, when he was an old man, he confessed at a great feast that he had often tried his strongest spells against the white man, with a view to hinder his increase in the country; but as they invariably failed he had made up his mind that war would be a failure also, and counselled his young men not to engage in it. His influence, which preserved the early settlements from attack, may be partly credited to John Eliot "the Apostle," who came into his country on a missionary tour with Mayhew, and impaired his belief in the native sorcery, chiefly by convincing him of the efficacy of English drugs in the treatment of disease. In 1642, the settlements became alarmed to find Indians in the woods who were hunting with fire-arms, and a force visited the old chief to discover his intentions. But the alarm was groundless, except that the unwelcome discovery was made that a trader from Weymouth had been furnishing guns and powder to the natives. In fact they were provided with arms before 1628.

The Pequot war was waged at too great a distance to agitate the Eastern Indians. No common ground of offence then existed, no emissaries tampered with them. The New Hampshire settlements enjoyed immunity till 1675. Wonnelauset, the son of Passaconaway, was then the chief, though the old man was still alive; he lived, in fact, to be over one hundred years of age. Eliot conversed with the son at Pawtucket, now Lowell, Massachusetts, and found him well disposed toward the new doctrine. He said to Eliot that he was "quite willing to leave his old canoe and embark in a new canoe." But on the breaking out of Philip's war he fell under suspicion of the English, and a hundred men, under Captain Moseley, were sent to his village, at Penacook. At their approach the natives withdrew and hid in the woods, to avoid offence and collision. The soldiers wantonly burned the wigwams and their contents. But Wonnelauset did not undertake to retaliate for this injury. He withdrew all his people to the headwaters of the Connecticut that they might not be led into war.

Long-continued freedom of New Hampshire from Indian hostilities.

It is doubtful if Philip did anything to excite the Eastern Indians to hostilities. He had no need to lift his hand for that, because it was diplomatically fomented by French priests and officers. The old story of wanton outrage, remembered by the native while he bided his time, was repeated. Various kidnapping operations had not been forgotten. Supercilious acts were frequent enough; and a disparaging behavior galled the native pride. One day some sailors upset the canoe of the sachem Squando, in which were his squaw and an in-

fant, as they said, to see if the child had a natural gift of swimming.

The frantic mother succeeded in rescuing the child, but it died of the shock. Quite naturally Squando made a note of it. The English annalists affect to talk about the malignant influence of this sachem, but outrages similar to this one, and a number of petty treacheries which did not reach the length of murder, are quite sufficient to account for the promptness with which the Indians availed themselves of the moment of Philip's war. There suddenly appeared a chance for bringing the white man to a reckoning when he was deeply involved in other directions.

The Indians around the Kennebec struck the first blow when their English neighbors, who dreaded the effect of the news from Philip,



The Sailors upsetting Squando's Canoe

attempted to make them surrender their arms. Then a case or two of plunder and assault broke the long truce, and sufficed to bring on hostilities. The savages tasted their first blood at Falmouth, where an old man and seven of his family were killed and most barbarously mutilated, and two grandchildren carried off. When the Indian temper was thus aroused, and every pretence of accommodation thrown aside, devastation spread slowly but surely from place to place.

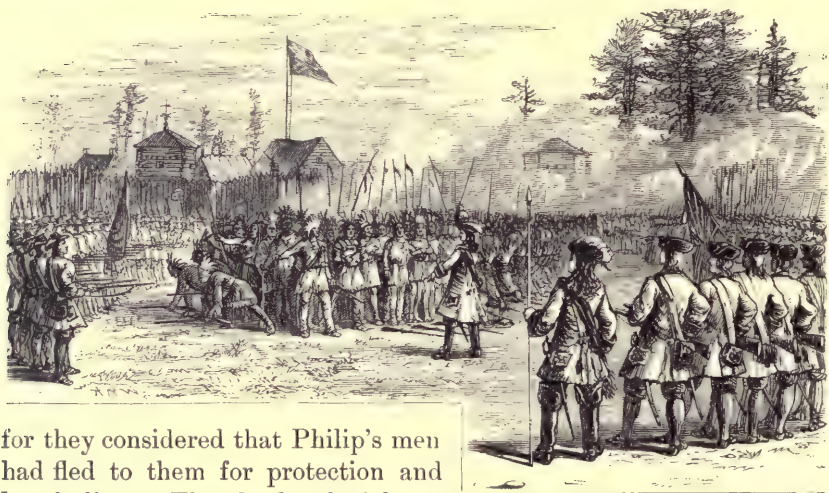
The tactics of the savages were the same as in Massachusetts. They lay in wait for laborers in the field, for isolated parties that strolled out of the garrison-houses. They skulked behind people who were returning to a fortified place, and slipped in with them. At Saco they attempted to set fire to a garrison house by the same strat-

agem which Philip's men tried at Brookfield. Screened behind a wagon filled with combustibles, they pushed it up to the log-walls. Both attempts failed : the wagon in one case getting hopelessly mired, and in the other jerking suddenly into a rut and exposing the savages to the fire of the besieged. They seldom persisted in attacks which promised to be long and obstinate. Like the tiger, if the first spring missed the victim, they slunk away to make fresh attempts elsewhere. Fire and blood blazed their path as far as Exeter and Dover. At Newichawannock (Berwick), a servant-maid of Incidents of the war. eighteen who observed a party of Indians approaching Richard Tozier's house, bravely held the door till the rest escaped to the garrison-house : fifteen women and children were within. The Indians hacked down the door, and with it the girl, left her for dead, and pursuing the rest, caught two little children who could not get over a fence, and killed them. The girl recovered and lived to be quite old. A hundred Indians attacked this place again in October, when three soldiers were surprised and killed. Brave Roger Plaisted, going out with a cart and twenty men to recover the bodies, fell into another ambush. All his men and the frightened team ran back ; he and two sons stood fighting and were slain. The example of their heroism made a wholesome impression upon the savages, who went on more cautiously, scoring their fury as far as Kittery ; but by the end of 1675 as many as fifty settlers had been murdered, and many barns, mills, and houses burned.

A severe winter with a great fall of snow compelled the Indians to suspend their designs. Hunger, too, proved to be an excellent peacemaker, for they had grown dependent upon the English for various supplies. Therefore, a treaty was made and all captives restored. But the bitter feelings only smouldered, and blazed out again, principally in Maine, where some of Philip's men who were dispersed by his death retreated and mingled with the Eastern Indians.

Massachusetts was not unmindful of the dangers which threatened the remote settlements of New Hampshire. She sent one hundred and thirty men to Dover to join the force of Major Aid from Massachusetts. Waldron who commanded there. This was in the summer of 1676. Under orders to seize all Indians who had been guilty of murder, he invited those who were disposed for peace to come in to him under a flag of truce. They came without any guaranty of protection. Among them were a number of Philip's men, and the Massachusetts soldiers insisted that an indiscriminate seizure should be made of all. To effect this without bloodshed, Major Waldron's stratagem. Major Waldron invited the Indians to participate in a mock training, and when, at the command to fire, all their muskets were

emptied, the troops closed round and took all prisoners save two or three. The Major intended to release the well-disposed, among whom were Passaconaway's son and the Penacook Indians who had returned from the Connecticut; but so little discrimination was used that many of them were included in the two hundred who were removed to Boston and subsequently sold as slaves, "sent into other parts of the world, to try the difference between the friendships of their neighbors here, and their service with other masters elsewhere!" The savages stored up the recollection of this stratagem and its benign results;



Waldron's Sham-fight

for they considered that Philip's men had fled to them for protection and hospitality. The deeds of violence were renewed. Seven Massachusetts

Retaliation
of the
Indians.

men were surprised and killed at Falmouth, and an entire settlement of forty persons in a remote place was destroyed; many were murdered under tortures and the rest carried into captivity. At Cape Neddock¹ a woman, and her infant at the breast, were murdered in a most barbarous manner.

Captain Hathorne was detailed with one hundred and thirty men, in the fall of 1676 to pursue the Indians; but he never succeeded in coming up with them. In November there appeared at Portsmouth a famous sachem of the Eastern Indians named Mugg or Mogg, to make another treaty. He was sent to Boston to confer with the magistrates, and concluded with them a treaty providing for cessation of hostilities, restoration of prisoners, and a prohibition to purchase arms and powder except from an agent of the government.

¹ Meaning "cleared land," a neighborhood where the Indians had some cultivated fields, and many of their implements are still turned up by the plough. — Ballard's *Geographical Names*.

Mogg carried this treaty to Madockawando, the sachem of the Penobscot, who was his chief; he signed it in behalf of his tribe, and doubtless in good faith. But Mogg, under pre-^{Mogg's Treaty.}tence of visiting other tribes to persuade them to release their English prisoners, did not return, and fomented the hatred of the natives. This policy was suspected at Portsmouth, and the alarmed inhabitants prevailed upon the government to forestall the treachery of the natives by some prompt action of its own. Consequently in February, 1677, Major Waldron, with a force of English and Natick Indians, sailed for the Kennebec and Pemaquid.

At the latter place an interview with the natives looking to some amicable arrangement was broken up by the discovery that they had brought arms; at least one lance was found concealed in a canoe. In the quarrel that ensued, several Indians were killed; and hostilities were renewed with the opening spring. ^{Hostilities renewed.}Seven men were killed near York, nine at the mouth of the Kennebec. Mogg was killed in leading an attack upon Black Point, but at the same place a week after ninety soldiers were caught in an ambush and sixty slain. The natives became so adventurous that they engaged in sea-fights, by boarding from their frail canoes fishing vessels that lay at anchor off the coast in various places, sometimes between the Isles of Shoals and York. If these vessels were carelessly guarded, the savages always got possession of them, killed the crew and destroyed the cargo. Up and down the Piscataqua continual alarms travelled. Houses were burned and people slain in Wells, Kittery, and within the limits of Portsmouth, at a place now called Greenland.

The General Court of Massachusetts sent Major Pynchon of Springfield and Richards of Hartford into the country of the Mohawks to stir up their ancient animosity against the Eastern Indians and direct it toward the protection of the settle-^{Negotiations with the Mohawks.}ments in New Hampshire and Maine. This mission was so far successful that some parties of Mohawks appeared in the neighborhood of Dover and Wells. In the former place they made the mistake of attacking some of Major Waldron's friendly Indians, so that it became rumored abroad among the natives that the English had treacherously imported Mohawks to slay indiscriminately all Indians. The native suspicion was kept alive by this unhappy mistake and this injudicious policy of setting Indian to fight Indian. The immediate results were not important, but subsequently the French adopted that policy when they wanted to combine the natives against the English.

At length commissioners, one of whom was Captain Champernoon

of Kittery, were appointed to meet the various sachems at Casco and endeavor to effect a permanent treaty. Thither Squando went, sated of vengeance, and Madockawando, the father-in-law of Baron Castin, by him instructed how to meet the advances of the English. It was the Baron who had supplied the arms and powder for this three years' war.

The most aggressive tribes were represented at this council. A treaty which closed hostilities, but only for a few years, was here made, which promised to return all captives and to refrain from future attacks upon the settlers, who were to be allowed to reoccupy their desolated lands. The English, on their part, en-

A treaty of peace.



View of Dover, N. H.

gaged to pay one peck of corn annually for every English family settled between the Piscataqua and Penobscot. This was regarded by the Indians not only as tribute but symbol of acknowledgment of their original proprietorship of the soil. But the annual payments were very irregularly made. The treaty was concluded in April, 1678.

Governor Cranfield in 1684, laid a tax upon the people without their consent. When the council demurred he adroitly availed himself of reports that the Eastern Indians meditated new disturbances in the coming spring, and the tax was agreed to on the ground of the common defence. His project of enlisting the Mohawks against the Eastern Indians, and paying their

Cranfield's action in Indian affairs.

services out of the money raised by the tax, increased his unpopularity. The friendly Indians became alarmed, for it was understood that the Mohawks made no distinction among New England Indians: they were all traditional enemies. In the summer of 1685 the Penacook and Saco Indians, after gathering their corn, began to remove their families from the English neighborhood, under the impression that the Mohawks were about to invade them. The English in their turn became alarmed at the movement; but inquiries led to a good understanding, and a treaty of mutual defence and reparation of injuries was made, which lasted about four years.



Signature of Champernoou.

The chief of the Penacooks at that time was Kancamagus, a nephew of Wonnalauset, who went by the English name of Hogkins or Hawkins. He wrote to and visited the Governor, but there was a want of that personal attention so grateful to an Indian, and a disregard of the appeals made by him and his people. The chief was converted into an implacable foe, and is supposed to have planned the subsequent attack upon Dover.¹

¹ Hogkins wrote the following curious letter to Cranfield: "Honour Governor my friend, you my friend I desire your worship and your power Because I hope you can do som great matters this once I am poor and naked and I have no men at my place because I afraid allways mohogs he will kill me every day and night if your worship when please pray help me you no let mohogs kill me at my place at Malamaki [Merrimac] River called Panukkog and Nattukkog I will submit your worship and your power and now I want powder and such allminiush shott and guns because I have forth at my hom and I plant theare.

" This all Indian hand but

pray you do consider your humble Servant

JOHN HOGKINS."

SIMON BETOGKOM

JOSEPH + TRASKE

KING + HARY

SAM + LINIS

WAPEGWANAT + TAGNACHUWASHAT

OLD ROBIN +

MAMANOSQUES + ANDWA

PETER + ROBIN

MR. GORGE + RODDUNONUKGUS

MR. HOPE + HOTH

JOHN + TONEH

JOHN + CUNOWA

JOHN + OWAMOSIMMIN

NATONILL + INDIAN

In 1688, the Eastern Indians were again in motion, at the instigation of Castin, whose house had been plundered by Andros. A few raids in Maine during the summer were only preliminary to the outbreak of 1689 which so seriously affected New Hampshire. Major Waldron's mock training bore mortal consequences after thirteen years of brooding vengeance. Some of the natives who were sent to Boston and sold into slavery escaped, and found their way back. They easily inflamed numbers of Philip's men who were still harbored by the Penacook and Fryburg Indians; and the resentment spread to the tribes who were nominally friendly. Castin's agents were also at work to effect a hostile combination against the English.

There were five garrison-houses in Dover to which the inhabitants retired at night. They were strongly built, surrounded by tall palisades, and capable of making an effective defence. Anxiety concerning the Indians had subsided. Waldron himself felt entirely secure. The watch at these garrison-houses was carelessly kept, and the Indians went freely to and fro among the inhabitants. Some of the settlers fancying that the natives were observing the situation more closely than usual, became alarmed. There was renewed dread of coming trouble, but Waldron told the people to mind their pumpkin-planting. Though the town was fuller of Indians than usual, Waldron professed to divine instinctively their disposition, and lightly rallied the concern of the people.

On the 27th of June, toward evening, two squaws applied at each garrison-house for permission to pass the night, as they had frequently done before. They were admitted to all but one of them. A chief accompanied the two squaws who went to Major Waldron's house. They were received with hospitality. Said the squaws to the Major, many Indians will come to trade to-morrow. Said the chief, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" "If I lift my finger I can summon a hundred men," said the Major.

So profound was the confidence in their perfect safety which Waldron had inspired in his people that when the gates were secured, the squaws were instructed how to undo the fastenings, on their intimation that they might wish to go out during the night. At a signal from their confederates outside the squaws unbolted the gate, the Indians entered and found their way to an inner room where Waldron slept. The old man of eighty seized his sword and drove the savages out from room to room, but a blow from a hatchet stunned him and he fell.

Now came the hour of triumph. It was not for a sham-fight that they picked up the old man and set him in a chair upon a table, cry-

Another Indian outbreak.

The Indians at Dover

The attack. Murder of Waldron



THE MURDER OF MAJOR WALDRON.

ing "Now judge Indians." Then they deliberately helped themselves to food, compelling the other inmates of the house to serve them. After the meal they gathered round the Major and each one slitting some part of his body with a knife, said, "That's my account — I cross it out." One savage cut off his nose, another his ears; another, calling for the scales used in barter to weigh beaver skins, cut off his right hand and threw it in, saying, "We'll see if it does weigh a pound," for there was a saying among the Indians that in selling beaver a white man's hand weighs a pound. To their terror and astonishment it weighed a pound exactly. Then the old man sinking from the loss of blood, they held his sword so that he might fall upon it and be transfixed.

The house was pillaged and set on fire. Another was served in the same way after the men had been killed and the women set aside for captivity. The barking of a dog saved another just as the Indians were entering. A man cast himself on the ground to avoid the bullets which the savages began to fire through the door and held it with his feet till the inmates were aroused. One house belonging to a man against whom the Indians bore no grudge escaped with pillaging; they made him throw his coin among them while they scrambled for it. He was the father of the man who had refused admittance to the squaws. They took him to the house and threatened to kill him if the son would not surrender. These two families were reserved for captivity, but in the confusion managed to escape.

Incidents of
the attack.

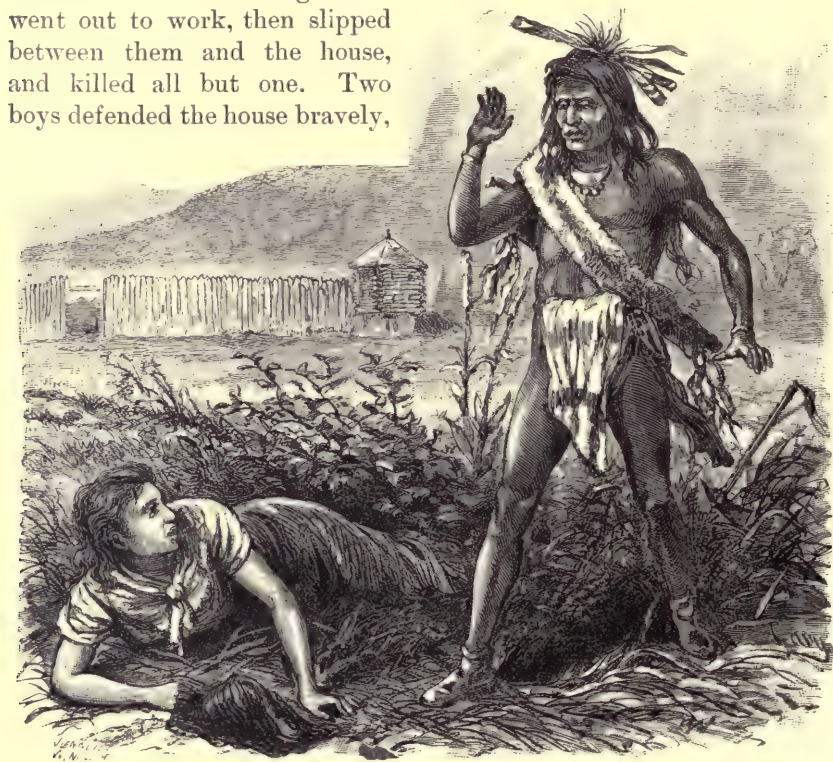
Elizabeth Heard, with three sons and a daughter, belonged to the house which was saved by the dog. She was coming with them up the river from Portsmouth that night, and hearing the noise she suspected trouble, and the party landed and went to Waldron's house. Not procuring admission, a young man scaled the palisade, and saw an Indian with a gun waiting at the inner door. The woman was so overcome by the news that she sunk to the ground, and only begged her children to leave her and escape. Toward morning an Indian came toward her with a pistol, looked at her and walked away. He returned, and she spoke to him. He recognized the voice and ran away with loud exclamations. He was one of the Indians who escaped from Major Waldron's stratagem in 1676, took refuge in her house, and was harbored by her. He promised then that he would never do harm to her and her family. Thus one act of gratitude relieved the horrors of that night.

Twenty-three persons were killed and twenty-nine were taken to Canada,¹ and sold to the French, who brought the children up as Roman Catholics. Several houses and mills were burned.

¹ The Saco starts in Crawford's Notch.

Massachusetts despatched a few companies, and Captain Church was sent from Plymouth. The name of the conqueror of Philip was a terror to the Indians. Along the Androscoggin, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec, he made several campaigns, never fighting without success, but often unable to overtake the savages, who fled on hearing of his approach, leaving behind them only the ashes of their villages and their stores. But the blow of the enemy always fell upon places

where it was least expected. At Oyster River the Indians waited till the garrison went out to work, then slipped between them and the house, and killed all but one. Two boys defended the house bravely,



Elizabeth Heard and the Indian.

till it was set on fire, and even then refused to surrender, save on condition that the lives of the women and children should be spared. The promise was broken: one of the little children was impaled before the eyes of the mother.

In 1690 the French were at war with England. The Governor of Canada organized expeditions of French and Indians, against various points of the colonies in New England and New York. Fifty-two men attacked Salmon Falls on the morning

Later Indian
hostilities.

of the 18th of March. The inhabitants made a brave but vain resistance. Thirty were killed and the rest surrendered. Twenty-seven houses and two thousand head of cattle in the barns were destroyed.¹ This party was pursued by one hundred and forty men, and warmly engaged, but made good their retreat with little loss, carrying off the women and children, some of whom were treated with great cruelty. The incident of dashing a babe's brains out against a tree, which is told of various places, occurred upon this journey through the woods to Canada. It was more economical to slay the weaker captives, because each scalp brought a premium when presented before some French officer.

The details of every fight in this war need not be told. Casco was destroyed, Exeter was attacked, houses were burned, and people killed in the field in various directions. Twenty persons were killed and captured at Rye Beach in 1691. York was destroyed the previous year. In 1694, a body of two hundred and fifty Eastern Indians under French guidance, and with a French priest to shrive the dying, made an attack upon the settlement at Oyster River. Twelve of the houses were fortified, but they were badly watched and ill provided for defence. Many of the people lived carelessly, in ordinary houses. How easily the edge of bitter experience grows dull in a frontier life, where Nature's sense of security seems to be shared by human beings. An important element of success in these enterprises of the savages was the short memories of the victims.

Attack on
the Oyster
River Settle-
ment.

On this occasion the party divided into small groups, one being detailed to each house on either side of the river. The first gun fired was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault, but a man drew the first shot prematurely by appearing at the door of his house. The attacking parties were not all in readiness, so that only five of the garrison-houses were taken, but nearly all the other houses were destroyed, a great many people killed, with the usual barbarities. Persons who surrendered on a promise that their life should be spared were instantly butchered. A woman with child was ripped open; a little boy of nine was made to run down a lane of the Indians, who pelted him with tomahawks till he was killed. Thomas Bickford, who was alone in his house, managed to repel an assault by frequently changing his hat and dress, and issuing orders as to a number of men. While the massacre was going on the French priest got into the meeting-house, and amused himself by scrawling the tenets of his faith with a piece of chalk on the pulpit. About a hundred persons were

¹ Charlevoix is quoted with some incredulity by Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, i., 207.

killed and captured. One woman during the succeeding winter was delivered of a child in a violent snow-storm. The Indians killed it. She lived fourteen days on a decoction of bark and water, became senseless from the cold, was revived by the usual Indian remedy of warm water poured down her throat, remained in brutal captivity four years, rejoined her husband, had fourteen children, and died at eighty-nine!¹ Of such stuff were made the matrons of those perilous times.

About three miles up the river from Portsmouth, Madame Ursula Cutts, widow of John Cutts, the first royal President, lived upon her farm. The affair at Oyster River did not scare her into town. She insisted upon staying in the country till all her hay was in the barn. Some Indians lay in ambush as she was in the field directing her laborers. She was shot and scalped, and her fingers were cut off for



Rye Beach.

the rings. Colonel Richard Waldron and his wife were going up the river in a boat to dine with the old lady when the tidings of her death intercepted them.

In the summer of 1696 the Indians crossed from York to Rye Beach in canoes, and made an attack upon some houses near Little Harbor, killing fourteen people and firing the houses. They were pursued, but reached their canoes and put to sea. Some boats that were sent to intercept them, delivered fire too soon, and they escaped by going round the Isles of Shoals. Fort William Henry at Pemaquid, which the Indians had captured six years before, was the scene of a serious disaster. Sir William Phips had rebuilt and fortified it at great expense contrary to the advice of Church, who believed that

¹ Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, i., 216-220.

in Indian warfare such places were only "nests of destruction." It was a constant provocation to the French of Canada, who were determined to take and destroy it. A force of two ships of war, with two companies of soldiers, under Iberville, to be reinforced by Baron Castin with Indians, was sent against it. On the way Iberville encountered two English ships of war, the *Newport* and the *Sorlings*, and a cutter belonging to the Province of Massachusetts. The *Newport* he took, the others escaped in a fog. At the mouth of the Penobscot Castin joined the expedition with two hundred savages in a fleet of canoes. This formidable force invested Pemaquid, and summoned it to surrender. The fortress had a garrison of a hundred men, ammunition and food enough to stand a siege, and mounted fifteen guns. The first summons was rejected; but in the night the French set up a battery on shore, and on the second day threw shot and shell into the town and fort. Castin threatened that if the place was taken by storm it should be given up to the plunder of the savages. Captain Chubbs, the commander, yielded, and threw open his gates. The garrison was only saved from massacre by being taken to an island in the harbor and put under a guard of French marines. But the fort was demolished and the town plundered. Chubbs may have only meant to save the lives of his men, but he was, nevertheless, tried for cowardice on his return to Boston, and cashiered.¹ At Dover three persons were killed returning home from divine service. Belknap relates the remarkable escape of Exeter in the summer of 1697. A number of Indians were concealed near the town waiting for an opportunity. By a stroke of foolish good luck some women and children took that very time to go into the fields for strawberries, and would not be prevented. Somebody in town fired a gun to scare them back, but the report scared the Indians also, who retreated, supposing that they had been discovered. But on the 4th of July of that year they killed Major Frost, at Kittery, thus closing a piteous list of massacres, and making the circle of their revenge complete by the death of an officer who was concerned in Major Waldron's sham-fight at Dover. This, probably, was the last Indian shot fired in New Hampshire during the war. In 1698 the Peace of Ryswick restrained the Indians from further hostilities. Many of the captives were returned, but a good many preferred to remain, and thus started a race of half-breeds to be most dangerous enemies in future wars.

¹ Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Maine. Annals of Salem.*



Witches' Hill, Salem.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

OUTBREAK OF THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.—ITS EARLIER HISTORY.—CAUSES OF THE EXCITEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND.—WITCHCRAFT CASES IN SALEM.—SAMUEL PARRIS.—THE EARLIER TRIALS.—RETURN OF PHIPS.—A SPECIAL COURT CREATED FOR WITCHCRAFT CASES.—FURTHER PROSECUTIONS.—EXPOSURE AND END OF THE DELUSION.—WITCHCRAFT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—THE BELIEF FINDS FEW ADHERENTS OUTSIDE MASSACHUSETTS.—“STONE-THROWING” AT GREAT ISLAND.—THE CASE OF GEORGE BURROUGHS.

THE important and interesting political events—ending with Phips’s return from England with the new charter—following the close of Philip’s War, had hardly ceased to agitate the colonies, when there came, especially upon Massachusetts, a dispensation more gloomy and terrible than marked any other period of the century. It cannot, indeed, be said that the witchcraft panic, which broke out in 1692, was a result of Puritan theology, or due to the sombre and intolerant temperament which its doctrines nourished. The belief in a diabolical possession is coextensive with and as old as the human

race. Its superstitions, it is true, have been colored by the culture of different epochs, and by different developments of the religious sentiment. But no religion has ever succeeded in so filtering the popular mind as to let the so-called facts of witchcraft drop as dregs to the bottom. If the Puritanism of New England was as powerless as other religious systems to enlighten the ordinary intelligence, its faith, nevertheless, in the intimate nearness of the supernatural, made its followers peculiarly susceptible to the delusion which, under the name of witchcraft, so overwhelmed the colony. It may, however, be said on their behalf that never yet has the belief of a supernatural interference in the affairs of men, distinct from the omnipotent and omniscient rule, been rooted out of the human mind. It lurks even now, not merely among half-civilized peoples, but in the habits and practices of the most cultivated nations, wherever the inevitable combination of credulity and ignorance invites it.

Certain obscure facts of a physico-nervous character have always drawn the attention of mankind, and suggested thoughts of supernatural causes. Whenever the accidental and abnormal traits of the human organization are not understood, they are invariably interpreted in a preternatural sense. The sufferers are victims of invisible agencies; the names which have been invented for these run along a whole gamut from heathen and classical times to the mediæval imps and the modern Satan. It is not at all surprising that people should endeavor to protect themselves against something uncanny which they do not understand.

Perhaps the modern animosity against reputed witches was first fomented by the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, to arrest persons suspected of witchcraft. In 1485 forty-one old women were burnt in Burlia, denounced for something that was only crabbedness of disposition, oddity of habit, repulsiveness of appearance, — traits which perhaps they used to threaten or to affright. These marks have always sufficed to send odd and lonely old women to the stake or gallows. Massachusetts did not invent mankind's great trepidation. One hundred persons were condemned by one inquisition in Piedmont, and forty-eight in Ravensburg. In 1515 five hundred were executed at Geneva in the space of three months. These are merely random specimens of the mediæval temper. It was the same in all other countries, and under Protestant as well as Catholic religions. If Luther, worn out by too protracted study, could conjure the Devil out of the air of his apartment, what must have been the visions and frights of peasants and burghers? Probably no amount of ink thrown at that dark personage will ever expel him from the fancy.

Earlier history of the witchcraft delusion.

It was in the twelfth century that the notion of a witch, as a woman who had made a secret compact with Satan, who gave her power to ride through the air to attend a witch's meeting, first appeared. This survived to be the chief modern qualification of a witch. She could perform various other preternatural feats, vex, blast, blight, and kill. Her genius was always guided by malice, but the aeronautic faculty was her distinction. People suspected of this were sacrificed in Europe by thousands, so deep a terror had seized hold of the popular mind. The more sensitive woman, subject to hysteria, to religious and epidemical influences, to obscure affections of the nerves, was the principal sufferer, always the Joan of Arc of the popular ignorance.

In the reign of Henry VIII. there were a few executions for witchcraft in England, under a law of 1541, which was soon repealed. Ever since the reign of King John there had been trials for witchcraft, and probably executions. In 1537, Lady Glamis of the Douglas family was burnt alive as a witch; but, as in the case of Joan of Arc, political motives were mixed up in the act. Scotch witchery was connected with the use of herbs, salves, remedies, and charms: attempts at *unbinding*, that is, healing, were punishable. In Aberdeen, in 1597, one man and twenty-three women were burnt. In the same place there was an outcry of witchcraft in 1617, and twenty-seven women were burnt in that year. In 1559 the English Parliament passed a law against witchcraft, and again in 1563, which remained in force till it was repealed in 1736. Bishop Jewel, in a sermon before Queen Elizabeth, who used to frequent Dr. Dee's conjuring shop for consultation, informed her that witches and sorcerers were marvellously increased in her realm. In 1575 many were hung at Barking; in 1579, three at Chelmsford, four at Abingdon, two at Cambridge; in 1582, thirteen at St. Osith's, and so on, with melancholy frequency. Matthew Hopkins, in 1644-1646, undertook the function of Witchfinder. He laid down rules and reduced the hunting of witches to a science, while Harvey, Wallis, Wilkins, Boyle, were founding the Royal Society. It is pleasant to know that he found too many witches: the people became disgusted and alarmed, and mobbed him into obscurity. His most lucrative witch-year was 1645, when about ninety were hanged. The trials were held before Sir Matthew Hale, a devout believer in witchcraft. So were Dr. More and Sir Thomas Browne. Hobbes was undecided. Cudworth used to listen to reputed witches, to test them by their ability to recite the Common Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. The Lord's Prayer was a later test. Lord Bacon prescribed the ingredients for a witch's ointment. Even Selden, famous lover of liberty, said that

Witchcraft
in England.

if witchcraft were a delusion, still crimes of the imagination might be punished with death, because realities were not more deadly in their consequences. Boyle inclined to a belief in it; Archbishop Cranmer put a witch-clause into his Articles of Visitation. In 1593 the income of £40, derived from the confiscated property of three persons executed for witchcraft, was appropriated for an annual lecture upon its enormity, to be preached by a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, of Queen's College, Cambridge; and the custom continued for one hundred and twenty-five years.¹

A class of witch-finders was created by the popular demand who were very active. Like judges, they used to go on the circuit; the town-crier would make proclamation and order ^{Witch-finders.} up the witch-cases before them. Finders realized so much per head on all persons convicted, and free passage to and fro. It was the best speculative business of the time, when a man like Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, whose children were subject to fits, prosecuted six of his neighbors for bewitching them. In 1655 Dalton's "Country Justice" lays down the legal signs by which the victim may be held for trial. The witch-names used by Shakespeare were found in the Manual of W. W., which was printed in 1582. In 1693 a great many trials were held before Chief Justice Holt. He kept a clear brain through the business, and was the first public man in office who protected the accused.² Then the superstition began to decline in England: the last capital trial occurred in 1712. But in Scotland it was 1727 before the last witch was burned. Perhaps the worst time in England for witches was in 1661, the year after the Restoration. Fourteen commissions were issued for trying them,

¹ Judd's *History of Hadley*. The general subject is indebted to Michelet's *La Sorcière*; Lecky's *History of Rationalism*; Smedley, Thompson, Rich, and others, *Occult Sciences*; Drake's ed. of Calef's *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*; *South Meadows, or the Days of Witchcraft*, by E. T. Disoway; Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*; Thomas Brattle's Account, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*; Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*; Hutchinson's *Historical Essay*; Thomas Wright's *Narrative of Sorcery and Magic*.

² "I told the Bishop of Worcester that his diocese is infected with notions about witches; he intends his clergy shall rectify their mistakes in that particular. He told me some of the topics he would have argued. He don't much controvert the power of devils in the Gentile world, and their extraordinary operations may still take place among the Pagans. He is inclinable enough to believe what some authors have writ of the strange effects in such places; but he thinks the Gospel, as far as it reaches, has destroyed the works of the devil, and those who are in the covenant of grace can receive no hurt from the infernal powers, either in their persons, children or goods; that a man may be so profligate as to give himself to the devil, but he can have no assistance from him to hurt anybody else in a supernatural way. I think we may assent to this latter part, and leave the devil and the Gentiles to argue the rest among themselves." *Letter of James Vernon, King William's Secretary of State, to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, written in June, 1699. But at that time even Englishmen of broad intelligence and unsectarian feeling could go no further than this. The common clergy of all sects were advocates of witchcraft.

and one hundred and twenty victims were hanged. In 1662 fourteen additional commissions were issued. In Sweden, 1670, children charged seventy persons with bewitching them; many confessed and were executed. Then fifteen children confessed and were executed. Fifty others were whipped every Sunday.

Certainly Massachusetts did not enter upon a novel and untried path. During all the European epochs of the delusion a vast literature upon the subject sprang up; out of it all only three books of consequence undertook a refutation of witchcraft. It was a dangerous thing for an author's good repute and sometimes for his person. All the other books, tracts, pamphlets, were more or

Literature of
witchcraft.



General View of Salem, Mass.

less elaborate defences of the reality of witchcraft. What could be expected when all the leading men of society, politics, religion, firmly pledged their faith to its reality? When such a man as Baxter could write the "Certainty of the World of Spirits," and thank Cotton Mather for information of fresh cases and for his zeal in the cause, and grow very angry when some Sadducee disbelieved, a thriving crop of books might be expected. They performed an awful work in propagating the delusion. They came over to New England and were perused with creeping awe in farm-houses and towns. Clergymen made a point of procuring them in order to learn how to resist the wiles of the adversary; — no gentleman's library was com-

plete without them. The Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem, had these books where his children and neighbors could get at them. One of them was a book by William Perkins, preacher at St. Andrews, Cambridge, entitled "Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft," written toward the close of the sixteenth century. Sir Matthew Hale's "Trial of Witches," 1661, enjoyed a great authority in both countries, because it was based upon the Old and New Testaments. Indeed it was enough for a Puritan to fall back on the clear letter of Holy Writ. First, find your witch, and then, "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

A few sporadic cases of witchcraft had previously occurred in New England. Margaret Jones was hanged at Charlestown in 1648. Mrs. Hibbins, although she was a sister of Deputy Governor Bellingham, suffered in 1656, upon no other ground that can be discovered than that of knowing a great deal more than her neighbors, and of venting it with a sharp and cynical tongue. Her husband had been a prominent merchant, and was an agent of the colony in England. He died in 1654. How strange it is that the woman could not have been saved from such a fate! John Norton, the Boston clergyman, hinted that she knew too much, that she was too subtle in her perception of what was occurring around her. Michelet, in treating of the mediæval sorcery, shows that the possession of any unusual talent or knowledge was enough to turn a woman into a witch. Several accusations followed hers, but none of them terminated fatally, for Philip's War was too definitely diabolical to admit any play for a metaphysical Satan.

Earlier prosecutions for witchcraft in New England.

Great despondency reigned throughout the colony in 1692. The wounds of Philip's War still smarted, another Indian war seemed impending at the eastward, several murders had already occurred, the beloved Charter was lost, and there was nothing but uncertainty for the future. Four times the small-pox had raged along the coast, carrying off a great many people in Boston and the vicinity: the last time in 1690. Six great fires had laid waste the city; the last two in 1690 and 1691. All these calamities, by reducing the tone of the public temperament, made it susceptible to fears and suspicions, and ripe for any epidemic.

Events preceding the outbreak of the delusion in Massachusetts.

In 1688, a daughter of John Goodwin, of Boston, was offended by an Irish washerwoman named Glover, and in childish spite, accused the harmless creature of bewitching her. Forthwith she fell into the conventional tricks and spasms, crying out whenever the Irishwoman was near, and falling to the ground. Three other children caught the infection. The poor woman was tried and hanged. Cotton Mather, who believed devoutly in witchcraft, took

The Goodwin case.

the girl into his family to make a study of the phenomena. She could not bear to hear the Assembly's Catechism, or Cotton's "Milk for Babes," but could read the "Oxford Jest Book" with impunity. She flew violently at the Doctor when he proposed domestic worship, but always managed to stop short of striking him. She fell into the use of incoherent language, was "struck dead" by day, but slept peacefully at night. She had committed herself to the trick, and succeeded in deceiving Mather. When the woman was executed, she managed to recover.



Portrait of Cotton Mather.

The excitement of such repeated performances will generally establish a half conscious impression in the actor's mind that they have a basis of reality; they are not thrown off in cold-blooded hypocrisy. The person is really possessed by his own deceit; if physical weakness or nervous disorders conspire with this mood, there is a sense in which the person has bewitched himself. And such, to a considerable degree, was the case

with the children and young people in Salem Village, now Danvers, with whom the delusion there originated.

The parish in Salem Village had been set off from the First Church of Salem. Its people had never been harmonious; bickering and heart-burnings disturbed its councils and nourished animosities which mingled fearfully in the approaching tragedy. There was great opposition to James Bayley, the first minister, and eventually he was not settled. His wife was a Mary Carr, whose sister Ann married Sergeant Thomas Putnam. Ann had a good deal of influence, was a clever woman and of a high temper. Perhaps she remembered the bitter feud in regard to her brother-in-law when afterward she, her son, and especially her daughter, were swift and bitter witnesses against some accused of witchcrafts.

Deodat Lawson, a learned and eloquent man, was settled in 1684, but left the parish before 1690, and went to Scituate. Then came Samuel Parris, a merchant of Barbadoes, who did not cast off the tricks of his trade when he put on the surplice. For a year, while he seemed to be reluctant to settle, his native sharpness was employed in bargaining with the parish. His terms were accepted in 1689. The first ministerial duty which he exer-

Beginnings
of the first
cases at
Salem.

Samuel
Parris.

cised, was to get hold of the parochial property. Great was the indignation when he was labored with to give it up, and refused. The parish split into two parties, and Rebecca Nourse's family were in the opposition. Parris loved all the power he could get, a most obstinate man, incapable of accepting the broadest hint, and not thoroughly scrupulous in his methods.

His daughter Elizabeth was nine years old; a niece living in the family was eleven; a frequent visitor and neighbor was Ann, the daughter of Thomas Putnam, Sergeant and Parish Clerk, who was



Tituba and the Children.

twelve years old. Parris had two slaves, John Indian and his wife Tituba; she was half negro, half Indian, and was learned in the practices of sorcery. In the winter of 1691-92, the Parris children, and three or four neighbors, whose ages ranged from twelve to twenty, met at his house to form a circle for practising various tricks, some of which were suggested by Tituba.¹ They had learned from Cotton Mather's account the performances of the Goodwin girl and the other children, and soon the entertainment took the form of an imi-

¹ One is tempted to note that her name is the imperative of a Latin verb, and means "tip."

tation. By the contagion of intercourse, during these forbidden exercises, the girls became thoroughly infected with their own fancies. Elizabeth was a precocious girl. Mary Walcot, seventeen years old, when quite young was in the family of Rev. George Burroughs. Perhaps Parris, who hated his old rival, though he lived in Wells, made a note of that. By this time their strange actions and contortions had plainly established a hysterical condition ; but when the doctors were called in they pronounced that they were bewitched.

The children of the Parris family declared bewitched.

This hint was enough for young people in a condition of morbid excitement. The Rev. Mr. Lawson, preaching for Parris, was interrupted by them during the service, with grotesque remarks. The parish was profoundly moved. The fresh temptation set in when they were asked who was bewitching them. Did Parris foment this trouble for purposes of his own ? Perhaps not, at first ; but he managed to direct it in the path of his own dislikes. The children began to name individuals.

On March 1, 1692, they pitched upon Sarah Good, against whom some popular prejudice existed. She was brought before Justices Hathorne and Curwen, and sent to prison. These two justices and Marshal G. Herrick did a thriving business in sending people to jail. There were some remarkable circumstances in the case of Giles Corey, a man eighty-one years old, odd, unconventional, irascible, and very positive in his ways and opinions. Many stories were afloat concerning him, which now-a-days would be mainly traceable to his manner. He beat a farm laborer, who soon afterwards happened to die, and Corey was arrested for murder. In default of evidence, he was discharged upon paying a fine. He was again arrested for arson, but clearly proved an alibi, — a much suspected man upon the slenderest grounds. He was the kind of person whom it would be safe to denounce. He seemed to incline to a belief in witchcraft. His wife was an obstinate skeptic, and tried to keep him from the examinations ; but he would attend them. So one day the children fell into convulsions at his presence, and writhed on the floor in agony. Corey was made to approach, so that they might touch him, for this was a test of bewitching, the children growing calm, as if by the touch the maleficent fluid were discharged. When Corey was brought to trial he refused to plead, and manfully kept his mouth shut, apparently with the hope of escaping a conviction for witchcraft, of whatever else he might be found guilty, and the consequent forfeiture of estate. But the justices killed him all the same for contumacy, sentencing him to the terrible punishment of *peine forte et dure* ; — he was pressed to death, the

Sarah Good and Giles Corey accused.

Corey executed.

first and only time of this infliction in New England. When the brave old man's tongue lolled out, the sheriff thrust it back with his cane.

When Sir William Phips returned and assumed the office of governor, he organized a special court of oyer and terminer for these trials; in fact, a commission consisting of seven magistrates, among whom were the implacable Stoughton, Judge Sewall, and Saltonstall. This was an illegal proceeding on the Governor's part, as all the cases properly should have gone before

A special court organized for witchcraft cases.



Trial of Giles Corey.

the Supreme Court. No notice, however, was taken of this at the time, so deep was the preoccupation of the public mind. Simon Bradstreet, the acting Governor superseded by Phips, was no believer in witchcraft. As the trials went on, a few other persons were courageous enough to resist the tide, and declare their disbelief: among clergymen, Willard, Increase Mather, and the staunch old Puritan Moody; among laymen, Thomas Danforth, Thomas Brattle, and Robert Calef, the merchant who wrote down his opinion that some of

the cases, like that of Margaret Rule, were simply attacks of delirium tremens. Two or three of the Massachusetts justices were also much dissatisfied. Men who talked in this way carried their lives in their hands. Saltonstall soon became disgusted, and left the bench; the rest sat through the tragedy, among them Judge Sewall, who afterwards read a public recantation in the Old South Church, bowed down with mortification and sorrow. Annually he shut himself



Portrait of Saltonstall.

up for a day of penance and fasting, to keep alive the memory of his sad complicity. Not so did Deputy Governor Stoughton, who never forgave his colleagues when they began to waver in the matter of convictions; and when he perceived the public opinion was falling away from sustaining the bench, he resigned his seat in a passion on occasion of a reprieve.

A statute against witchcraft, passed in the reign of that superstitious king, James I., seems to have been the basis of these colonial proceedings. The

doctors were frequently called in to examine the bodies of the accused, to discover the witch's marks, the teat at which sometimes the apparitions of two black pigs were suckled, sometimes Satan himself sought refreshment there. Any mole or callosity served the doctors to pronounce upon the witch's mark.

Francis Nourse and his wife Rebecca were living happily in a house that was built in 1636. Unfortunately he had a quarrel with the Endicotts about the occupation of his farm. Jealousy and hostile feeling, that drew in other people, had for some time existed. The children "cried out" one day against Rebecca Nourse; the usual display of hysterics, fits, possessions, took place, terrible to the overwrought feelings of the spectators. A clergyman, named Lawson, delivered a most exciting discourse on March 24, which put the witchcraft trials upon Scripture grounds and confirmed all minds. A blameless life and a sweet demeanor at her trial could not save Rebecca. The jury were forced to believe her inno-

The case of
Rebecca
Nourse.

cent, but were sent out till they consented. She went the way of all the rest to Witcher's Hill, and her body was thrown into the common pit provided as a dishonored last resting-place for these unhappy victims. It is easy to imagine that piteous midnight search of Rebecca's pious children and husband, braving possible detection, to recover the motherly body and give it a more tender burial in the little burial ground near the old homestead. Before she was executed, she was led up the broad aisle of the meeting-house, that the minister Parris might excommunicate and thrust her out of the communion.¹ When Parris afterwards preached a denouncing sermon, Sarah Cloyse, sister of Rebecca, got up and left the meeting. To leave the public service under any circumstances was an unpardonable offence to the forefathers of Massachusetts, but doubly so in this case, because the sister sided with a witch. The children promptly denounced her.



Portrait of Lieut.-governor Stoughton.

Bridget Bishop, in 1680, was a gay and pleasant woman, anti-puritan in her style and opinions. She used to appear in a black cap, black hat, and a "red-paragon boddice." If a woman wore a scarlet petticoat it went hard with her if she did not become suspected.² Red was Satan's favorite mediæval color. Bridget's dress and manner led to gossiping, and it was thought she was going "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire." An accusation of witchcraft was made and she was tried, but at that time it was more difficult to convict. In the present temper of the people much less was required for the manufacture of a witch. A woman walking from Amesbury to Newbury, in bad weather, came into a kitchen and boasted that her shoes and clothes were not wet. That was clearly impossible, save by preternatural means. She was denounced. As another woman was crossing a marshy place, a will-o-wisp was noticed to be near her, like an imp dancing attendance. That too was fatal. A

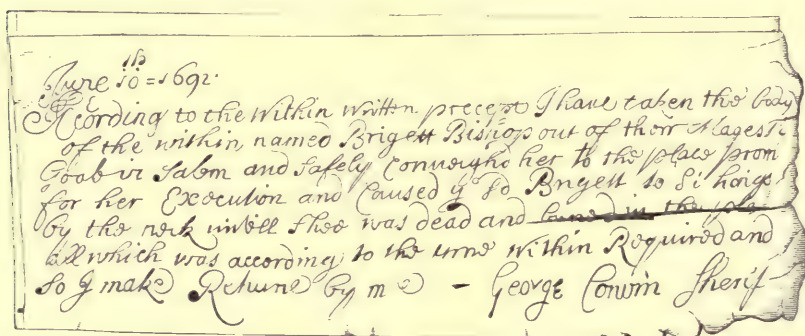
Bridget Bishop.

Other cases.

¹ A few of her descendants lately met in Boston to form a "Nourse Monument Association," charged with the duty of erecting a monument to her memory. For once let an epitaph record the unvarnished truth.

² A Portsmouth witch "had on her head a white linen hood tied under her chin, and her waistcoat and petticoat were red, with an old green apron, and a black hat upon her head — and she vanished away in the shape of a cat."

man named Jacobs was accused; he said, contemptuously, "You tax me for a wizard, you may as well tax me for a buzzard." All sorts of personal piques and private grudges, says Upham, many of them of long standing, now began to influence these transactions. When Burroughs was denounced, a strong charge against him was that he possessed a witch's trumpet, which he used to summon his partners whenever he desired a conference. Cotton Mather stood by to see Burroughs hanged, and when the people seemed impressed by his sweet and lofty words, he explained that Satan often transformed himself into an angel of light to delude men's souls. On occasion of the execution of eight at one time, the Reverend Mr. Noyes stood



June 10th 1692.
According to the within written precept I have taken the body
of the within named Bridget Bishop out of their charge
at Salem and safely conveyed her to the place from
for her Execution and caused y^e Bridget to be hanged
by the neck untill she was dead and buried in the jail
at which was according to the within Required and
So I make Return By m^e - George Corwin Sheriff

Fac-simile of Sheriff's Return of Bridget Bishop's Execution.

by and said to the people, "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there!"

A committee of vigilance was appointed, and the citizens were organized for the purpose of finding and prosecuting witches. Any man who had a grudge found opportunity now to put his enemy into jail. The children had a very precise way of imitating, half automatically no doubt, the gestures of accused persons, their way of shaking the head, lifting the eyes, shifting the attitude. This was attributed to supernatural domination. But this consummate acting was not a mere histrionic display; the hysteric passion was too much implicated for that. It was a contagion that extended to all persons whose state of health and nervous condition invited it. Several other children were thus bewitched. At length one of them, Mary Warren, who found she was dissembling, impeached the other children. There began to be suspicions of a conspiracy. The accused children turned upon her and denounced her for a witch to recover their own credit.

But now the end was approaching, for the children, under the stimulus of the popular madness, began to fly at higher game. Per

sons of too great importance were implicated in their accusations, and opinion was manifestly affected by the admirable record and demeanor of the denounced. Mrs. Hale, wife of the minister at Beverly, was too fine and good. As soon as they mentioned her name their occupation began to wane. She was probably selected because her husband believed in witchcraft.

First exposure of the delusion. — Its quick decline.



Captain Alden Denounced.

It appears that the inhabitants of the inland towns were less affected by the delusion. Captain Partridge of Hatfield had a man served with ten stripes who came to him to accuse a neighbor of

witchcraft. The children denounced some excellent persons in Andover, who were protected by the people. Several actions for slander were commenced. A few persons of importance who were imprisoned in consequence of denunciations, were assisted to escape. Among them was Captain John Alden, belonging to a Duxbury family. He was sent for by the magistrates to be examined. The children went through with their usual performances, but when asked to point out the person who was afflicting them, one of them selected the wrong man, till one who was standing near her stooped down and whispered something: then she cried out, "It is Alden." Said the magistrate, "Did you ever

Cases in other towns.

The case of John Alden.

see him?" "No, but the man just told me so." Instead of dismissing the case, the infatuated magistrates ordered a ring to be formed in the street with Alden in it: the child was secretly instructed by the man, who was probably an enemy; so when told to point out Alden she did so, crying, "There stands Alden, a bold fellow, with his hat on, sells powder and shot to the Indians." He was committed. The children prudently cried that it was his sword which afflicted them, and it was taken away. Alden was a prominent man, and the magistrates carried him into the meeting-house and put him on a chair in full view of the people, where of course he began to pinch the children. He was asked to confess and give glory to God. Alden replied "that he hoped he should always give glory to God, but never would gratify the devil." Then he asked the magistrate why his looking upon him did not strike him down as well as his accusers. The only answer to that plain bit of common sense was his commitment to prison. He proposed to stand his trial, but was prevailed upon to be aided to escape. He went to Duxbury, and entering the house of a relative, "saluted them with the cheerful assurance that he was come from the devil and the devil was after him."¹

After the illjudged accusation of Mrs. Hale several trials occurred, but nearly all of the persons were acquitted. When, in May, 1693, the children began to whisper the names of the Governor's wife and of some relatives of Increase Mather, Phips took decisive measures. Even Cotton Mather surmised that Satan had become confused. The General Court, at the instance of numerous petitions from victims still shut up in jail, had superseded Phips's Special Commission. Now he ordered a general jail-delivery. The huge and baleful bubble had collapsed.

Compared with European epidemics of the mental kind, this American experiment was brief, but bitterly sharp while it lasted. A moment came when the excitement ran so high it turned to froth; it was a moment of collapse and not of increase. But twenty innocent persons, and two dogs suspected of being witches' familiars, had been executed. Two persons, and perhaps many more, died in jail; a good many broke jail, and were not recaptured; one hundred and fifty prisoners were released by Phips. Several hundred had suffered for this delusion. Persons who were acquitted were obliged to remain in jail till they had paid all charges, — board, jailer's fees, court charges. Many were too poor to do this, and would have lingered in confinement save for the Governor's discharge. The motive which influenced fifty-five of the victims to confess, was partly a hope of

The breaking of the bubble.

¹ Winsor's *History of Duxbury*.

self preservation and partly a suspicion, growing out of their theological conception of Satan and his influence, that it might be true that their singular sensations were really consequences of bewitchment.

Only one special pardon was granted by the Governor during all the convictions. The intention to secure safe convictions grew to be almost a mania. Frequently false depositions were procured after the trial, and secretly interpolated among the papers to make the case seem more complete. Two theories were propounded in the court; one, that the Devil used the spectres of the persons who were in league with him, in order to torment others; the other, that the spectres of any persons, whether in league with the Devil or not, might be employed by that personage for the same object. The Chief Justice ruled that the first theory was the more rational one and in harmony with legal precedents.



Chief Justice Sewall.

During the excitement there were some curious incidents, the reports of which assume to be authentic, involving the spontaneous movement of objects, the throwing of stones, the opening of doors, and the freaks of different utensils, spectacles, rolling-pins, books, tubs, all engaged in a promiscuous excursion. A person who was trying to write an account of these phenomena was interrupted by the attempts of his hat to rub out the page; he held it tight, but could not prevent it from getting away. There is a remarkable similarity in the narratives which cluster around different periods of nervous excitement. Occurrences like these are not unusual even now. But they excite only a momentary curiosity, and the belief in them as supernatural phenomena, if it exists at all, is limited to the few to whom they are otherwise inexplicable.

It must be recorded greatly to the credit of the New Hampshire settler that he did not take kindly to the delusion of witchcraft.

Incidents
during the
prevalence
of the delu-
sion.



This is sometimes attributed to the more liberal sentiment which belonged to adherents of the Church of England, whose influence in Portsmouth was so considerable. When however, the delusion broke out at Salem, the most vigorous denouncer of it was the Puritan Moody; and Portsmouth became a place of refuge for persons who were accused in Massachusetts, or who had reason to fear that **they** would be selected. The settlers on the Piscataqua, without distinction of creed, indulged sparingly in bigotry and persecution. A stern and unrelenting discipline did not there involve, as in Massachusetts, the safety and existence of the colony. Many of the people were refugees for opinions' sake; many were liberal livers and thinkers who retreated from the too nipping and eager air of Plymouth and the Bay; and many of the most prominent men were easily tolerant, but not from sheer indifference, of sentiments which were not their own. But on the point of witchcraft there was a quite general public opinion that a belief in it should not prevail.

Every now and then there was an opportunity to test the feeling of the people. In 1658, Susanna Trimmings, who lived at Little Harbor, met Goodwife Walford, who asked her the loan of a pound of cotton. Susanna said that she had but two pounds and would not lend any to her own mother. Whereupon the Goodwife said that she would rue it, and that she was going on a long journey and never would return. With this threat a clap of fire struck Susanna on the back, and the Goodwife vanished in the shape, to her apprehension, of a black cat. Then also the woman wore the red petticoat which was the regular thing for witches. Susanna went home, and was soon found by her husband ill and moping by the fire. An action was brought against Goodwife Walford, and several persons testified that she had done strange things. The case was not decided against her, but she was bound over to appear at the next court. At the next term the case was dropped. Then she brought an action for slander against her accusers, laying damages at £1,000, and succeeded in recovering £5. She was wife of a church-warden, and it has been hinted that the charge of witchcraft originated in the enmity that existed between the Independents and the Episcopalians. Now and then an accusation would be brought against prominent individuals, who promptly answered with actions for slander, and thus broke up such prosecutions.

It is the more strange that there was no popular excitement, for Great Island, now Newcastle, was the scene of an incident supposed to be preternatural, and the people ought in all decency to have been profoundly moved by it. Salem would have been delirious with appro-

The delusion
discouraged
in New
Hampshire.

bation of such proof of Satanic agency. Dr. Mather would have dipped his credulous pen in the blackest ink to record it. The story is told by Richard Chamberlain, justice of the peace, in a pamphlet entitled "Lithobolia, or the Stone Throwing Devil. Being an exact and true Account of the various actions of infernal spirits or (Devils incarnate) witches, or both," etc. This

The "Stone-throwing" at Great Island.



Susanna Trimmings and Goodwife Walford.

rare pamphlet was printed at London in 1698, five years after the terrible delusion at Salem had passed away; but the incidents recorded in it happened in 1682, ten years before the troubles at Salem. In the summer of that year, Chamberlain was living in George Walton's family, "a sojourner in the same family the whole time (about three months) and an ocular witness of those diabolical inventions." They consisted of the throwing about by an invisible hand of stones,

bricks, hammers, iron crows, spits and other kitchen furniture, just as it happened to come "into their hellish minds." And these objects seemed to have a personal spite against the inmates of the house. When Chamberlain undertook to dissipate his alarm by playing upon some instrument, a big stone rolled into his room, — not attracted by his playing, as he says, for he was no Amphion. The windows of the house were broken by stones which seemed to be hurled from the interior; one stone lodged in the hole which it made in the glass, and was taken from it. Stones gambolled on the grass of the neighboring field, and hopped up to hit those passing by. A pile was made of the stones which thus saluted them in the open daylight, but it disappeared soon after, although no one had been noticed near it. One day Walton was returning from Portsmouth in a boat when his anchor leaped overboard and stopped it. When working in the fields, men found their sickles bent by blows from stones hurled by some invisible agent. All these disturbances by night and day were attributed to a neighboring woman who had accused Walton of appropriating a piece of her land and fencing it into his own lot. The fence was thrown down, and when some men undertook to replace it, they were pelted with above a hundred stones. These incidents were witnessed by a number of prominent persons who testified to them. Among their names we find Woodbridge, the minister, Jeffrey, a merchant, the Governor of West Jersey, and the Deputy Governor of Rhode Island. And Chamberlain declares that he who would doubt the facts and disbelieve in their Satanic origin, "must temerarily unhinge or undermine the best Religion in the world; and he must disingenuously quit and abandon that of the three Theologicl Virtues or Graces to which the great Doctor of the Gentiles gave the precedence, Charity, through his unchristian and uncharitable incredulity."

But the people had little charity for his preternatural theory. The phenomena ceased about the time that the Council called witnesses, and began to take notice of the affair. Walton's head was broken by a stone as he was on the way to be examined; and it appears to have been the last stone thrown. No charge was sustained against any person; the incidents, instead of creating a panic and fostering delusion, seem to have been neglected and forgotten. There was, indeed, as late as 1769, a place called "Witches' Creek," half way between Great Island and Portsmouth; perhaps it was where Walton's anchor concluded to come to a mooring.

There is another place in New Hampshire, to this day called "Witch Trot," that painfully connects the State with the dread affair at Salem. Parris, the Salem minister, in whose family the first symp-

toms of the delusion appeared, and who eventually availed himself of it to destroy his rivals, or **enemies, hated the Rev. George Burroughs** and drove him away from Salem. He retired to Wells, in Maine, and settled there with his family. Parris had influence enough, in the height of the witch trials, to have Burroughs arrested for witchcraft and brought to Salem. It seems incredible that it could have been done; but he had left many enemies behind when he went to Wells. The accusation was based upon some commanding personal qualities which Burroughs possessed. He was a man of great stature and uncommon strength. His personal presence carried control and infected people with the magnetism of a superior nature. His look was very daunting. His knowledge of the mysteries of wood-craft, and forest life seemed to many people an uncanny endowment. When at his trial he happened to look backward, all the persons fell down whom he was supposed to be afflicting. He was charged with lifting a barrel of cider, with holding out a heavy musket at arms' length. No man, it was thought, without preternatural aid could perform such feats. He explained that he grasped the musket just behind the lock. It was said that he lifted a barrel of molasses by just putting his fingers into the bung-hole. This he denied. He was asked if his house in Wells was not haunted; he denied this, but was willing to own, he said, that there were toads. Alas, the house in Wells was haunted by wife and children filled with agony and dread, as they waited so long for him; but he did not return. Parris managed to have him hanged. He was a spotless man, and possessed a ruling intelligence.

Arrest and
prosecution
of George
Burroughs.

His execu-
tion.

It was supposed that the enterprise to arrest him would be a difficult one, so an elder and two constables were sent to bring him to Salem. When they arrived and stated their errand, he promptly replied, "Oh, yes," and left his family, who were cheered, no doubt, with the reflection that a charge so preposterous could not for a moment be sustained. As the party started about nightfall, it was the more desirable to take the shortest route. Burroughs conducted them along a stretch of country leading through Berwick to the upper waters of the Piscataqua. There was no direct road; the track lay through an unbroken forest. The constables demurred at the prospect; Burroughs said that he knew the way; they dreaded him, but had to follow, as they afterwards declared, because they were under a spell. He knew the desolate forest as well as his own acres, for it was favorite ground of his. In the depth of it they were surprised by a storm which began with a pitchy darkness and a great hush. The men trembled with the suspicion that Burroughs

was evoking supernatural aid. They watched and shuddered with fear. Then came the powerful wind, bending and breaking trees, the rush of rain and the crashing thunders. The horses were mad with terror, and started at a furious pace over the ground that is now called Witch Trot. The party came out at length upon the river safely, and Burroughs with them, who had no desire to escape; but the constables on the day of his trial added their testimony to



Burroughs and the Sheriffs.

his familiarity with the powers of air and darkness, and always believed that he raised the storm.

In 1720, an attempt was

Later attempts to revive the witchcraft excitement.

made in Littleton, Massachusetts, to revive the witchcraft delusion, but it proved abortive. But the old Scotch ordeal for discovering witches by throwing the accused into the water, when the innocent one would sink, not much to her personal advantage, was tried in the eighteenth century at an inlet of Lynnhaven Bay, Virginia, called "Witch-Duck."

When the curtain had fallen upon the Salem tragedy, Cotton Mather undertook to sum up the matter and vindicate his share in it. This superficial and ambitious divine wrote thus: "It may be

that errors on both sides have attended them [the troubles] which will never be understood until the day when Satan shall be bound after another manner than he is at this day ; but ^{Mather's} ^{vindication.} for my own part, I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft, but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English or Scotch, or French or Dutch, are of the same opinion with me."

CHAPTER XX.

COLONIZATION BY FRIENDS.

PROGRESS OF NEW JERSEY. — INSURRECTION UNDER JAMES CARTERET. — CHANGES IN THE NEW JERSEY TITLES. — THE "QUINTIPARTITE DEED." — DIVISION INTO EAST AND WEST JERSEY. — PROSPERITY OF WEST JERSEY UNDER QUAKER RULE. — CONFLICTS OF JURISDICTION. — THE QUAKERS BUY EAST JERSEY. — EARLIEST CONNECTION OF WILLIAM PENN WITH AMERICAN COLONIZATION. — LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PENN. — THE GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA. — EARLY SETTLERS. — PENN IN AMERICA. — PHILADELPHIA FOUNDED. — THE TREATY AT SHACKAMAXON. — PENN'S RETURN TO ENGLAND. — PROGRESS OF THE COLONY. — PENN AGAIN AT PHILADELPHIA.

THE new Proprietors of New Jersey had no reason to complain of any want of progress and prosperity in their colony for the first few years after it came into their possession. The constitution of government which they had established was acceptable to the people; the climate and the soil were attractive; the vicinity to older colonies made it easy to supply the wants of those who should settle in it, — exempt from the privations and hardships which necessarily attend a settlement in an isolated wilderness. Such representations brought emigrants from England; the enterprising and discontented in New England, whether desirous of more room, or restless for political or religious reasons, saw, or thought they saw, that they could better their condition by a removal to the new province. The first towns grew rapidly; others were begun. The axe and the plough, in the hands of sturdy farmers, everywhere encroached upon the primeval forests and the virgin soil.

But when, in 1670, the first quit-rents were demanded by the Proprietors, there came a check to all this prosperity. Titles to lands led to inevitable and bitter disputes. Some had purchased from the Indians; some claimed under the original Dutch owners; others had received grants from Nicolls; fewer still held deeds from the Proprietors at that time, Berkeley and Carteret. Bergen and Woodbridge were among the latter, and acknowledged their liability to the payment of these rents; but Elizabeth, Newark, and isolated farmers here and there, who had settled upon

Progress of
New Jersey.

Trouble
over rents
and titles.

their lands before the country had come under the jurisdiction of the English, united in resisting the demands of the proprietary government.

Resistance, at length, came to be absolute insurrection. A leader only was wanted, and it was not long before one was provided. About a year after the demand for the quit-rents was made, James Carteret, the second son of Sir George, arrived in the colony on his way to Carolina, of which he was one of the landgraves. A dissolute, unscrupulous, and ambitious man, he was ready to take advantage of any fortune that chance threw in his way. He put himself at the head of the movement against his cousin, Philip Carteret, who held his commission from James's father, Sir George. In the spring of 1672 the insurrectionary party called an assembly at Elizabethtown, formally deposed Philip Carteret, and elected James to be Governor in his stead.

Captain James Carteret at the head of the insurrection.

Philip made little further attempt to contest the matter on the spot, but, appointing a deputy to represent him, took ship in the early summer and sailed for England, to lay the whole matter before his superiors. It was his wisest course. Unaided, he could do nothing against an unwilling people; and possibly he believed that his cousin's government would be to the malcontents a most salutary lesson. Such, at least, was the result. James showed himself to be utterly incompetent. By the time orders were received from the Duke of York, the insurgents were ready to submit. Captain Berry, Philip Carteret's deputy, was acknowledged without further trouble in May, 1673;¹ and James Carteret sailed for Virginia ten days afterward.² There was no further interruption of the proprietary government until the Dutch reconquest of New Netherland in the autumn of that year; and even then, though New Jersey received the new name of Achter Col, and ostensibly passed once more under the Netherland rule, the real change was but slight, and internal tranquillity was almost undisturbed.

The Proprietary Government restored.

New Jersey was placed in a new position when by the treaty of Westminster New Netherland was restored to England. The Duke of York's title to New York had been entirely extinguished by the conquest of the territory by a foreign power, and its subsequent passage to the crown by treaty; and he required a new grant from the King, in order to be again the rightful proprietor of the province. How much more, then, it

Title to New Jersey after the Treaty of Westminster.

¹ Whitehead, pp. 58, 59.

² He came back to New York afterward, where he was seen in 1679, "running about among the farmers, and staying where he can get most to drink, and sleeping in barns on the straw." — *Journal of the Labadists*.

was argued — and it was an argument the Duke was willing enough to listen to — was the title of his grantees, Berkeley and Carteret, in the province of New Jersey destroyed. James saw that he had an opportunity, under cover of this theory, to possess himself again of the territory he had parted with so rashly ; and he availed himself of it without delay. He gave to Andros, after he had taken possession of the government of New England, a commission to govern all his property in America, New Jersey included, assuming that the grant to Berkeley and Carteret was void.

In the meantime, however, Sir George Carteret had hastened to do all in his power, not only to protect his own title, but to absorb that of his partner as well. He had gone to the King at once ; and Charles, before he sealed his new grant to the Duke, had been induced to assure Carteret by letter that he was “seized of the Province of New Cæsarea, or New

Action of
Sir George
Carteret.
His title
confirmed.



Entrance to Barnegat Inlet.

Jersey,” and that he had “the *sole* power. under us, to dispose of the said country, upon such terms and conditions as he should think fit.” Berkeley, whose title had been equal with that of Carteret, had, in the spring of this year (1674)¹, conveyed his “undivided half” to John Fenwicke in trust for Edward Byllinge, but both his right to grant and his grantees were utterly ignored in this new royal document.

Berkeley's
grant to
Fenwicke
and Byllinge.

This step on the part of Carteret, interfering alike with the interest of all parties, led to a compromise. A short time after the issue of Andros's commission, a new grant was made (August 8, 1674), to Carteret, in severalty, of that part of New Jersey lying northeast of a line drawn from Barnegat Inlet to Ren-

A new
grant.

¹ Proud says (*History New Jersey*, i., 136), “in or about 1675 ;” but there is no doubt it was on March 18, 1674.

kokus creek ; but in conveying this the Duke did not give, as he had done before, " the full power and authority to rule and govern," nor did he vary the terms of Andros's appointment to be Governor over all the Duke's possessions in America. For a time all went well once more, and in the beginning of the next year Philip Carteret returned as Governor, made liberal concessions on the part of his cousin, and was quietly accepted by the people. But just as his government was thoroughly restored, the successors of Berkeley's grantees proposed another compromise, the consequences of which were momentous.

A quarrel had sprung up between Fenwicke and Byllinge with regard to their respective rights in their new purchase. It was against the tenets of their faith — both were members of the Society of Friends — to go to law with one another, and they had decided to settle the matter by the arbitration of one of their own number. The dispute was referred to William Penn, already one of the most eminent members of their sect in England ; and his decision, after some argument with Fenwicke, was made satisfactory to both. Fenwicke in person, with a few companions, set sail for America to found a colony ; but Byllinge, overwhelmed by debts, was compelled to make an assignment for his creditors ; and the greater part of his right and title in New Jersey was handed over to Penn, to Gawen Laurie and Nicholas Lucas — the latter being two of those to whom Byllinge was most deeply indebted.

The matter had now become so complicated that all who were interested saw the necessity of an exact division of the province ; for Berkeley had disposed of his share as an undivided half ; while Sir George Carteret's pretensions, as the Duke of York's secretary wrote to Andros, had not yet been so adjusted that he could disregard the claims of others. Carteret evidently thought it better to negotiate directly with those whose rights were at least equal with his own, than to trust to the Duke's last grant, or even to the documents that had preceded it ; while Penn, Laurie, and Lucas were anxious to make Byllinge's property of immediate avail, if possible, and perhaps also to carry out another plan of colonization, the outlines of which had just been considered among them. On the first of July, 1676, old style, therefore, after much preliminary negotiation, a " quintipartite deed " was completed, and signed by Carteret on the one side, and Penn, Laurie, Lucas, and Byllinge on the other, which divided the whole province of New Jersey into two great portions. " East New Jersey " included all that part northeast of a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the most northern branch of the Delaware River, in north latitude 41° 40'. " West New Jersey " comprehended all the rest of

Fenwicke
and Byllinge.

The " Quintipartite Deed." — East and West Jersey.

the territory originally granted by the Duke. East New Jersey was the property of Carteret; West New Jersey passed into the hands of the associates; and the Quintipartite Agreement marked the first great purchase made by Friends in the New World, where they were to found a powerful State.

The four managers of the newly defined territory now proceeded to make an equitable division of it among the persons interested. Dividing it into one hundred parts, and setting aside ten for Fenwicke, who had already made (in June, 1675) the first settlement at Salem on the Delaware, — they arranged to administer or dispose of the other ninety in the interest of

Subdivision
of West Jer-
sey.

Byllinge's creditors. And since, to make the scheme profitable, it was necessary, first of all, to attract more colonists than the few who had joined the Salem settlers, they drew up a set of "concessions and agreements," which should at the same time provide for the future government of their province, and, by its liberality, draw emigrants to the province. Like the constitution of New Jersey under Berkeley and Carteret, these "concessions" provided for taxation by the people themselves,

through an annual assembly having one delegate from every "propriety;" but the new instrument went farther. It provided for a secret ballot, "whereby every man may freely choose according to his own judgment and honest intention," instead of the "common and confused way of cries and voices;" and every colonist could vote and was eligible to the position of a delegate. Each delegate was to be paid for his services at the rate of a shilling a day during the Assembly's sitting; each was to be known as the "servant of the people." Religious freedom, it need hardly be said, was secured in the fullest sense. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, and a sensible bankrupt law substituted. Trial by jury and the rights of the English common law were secured to every settler.

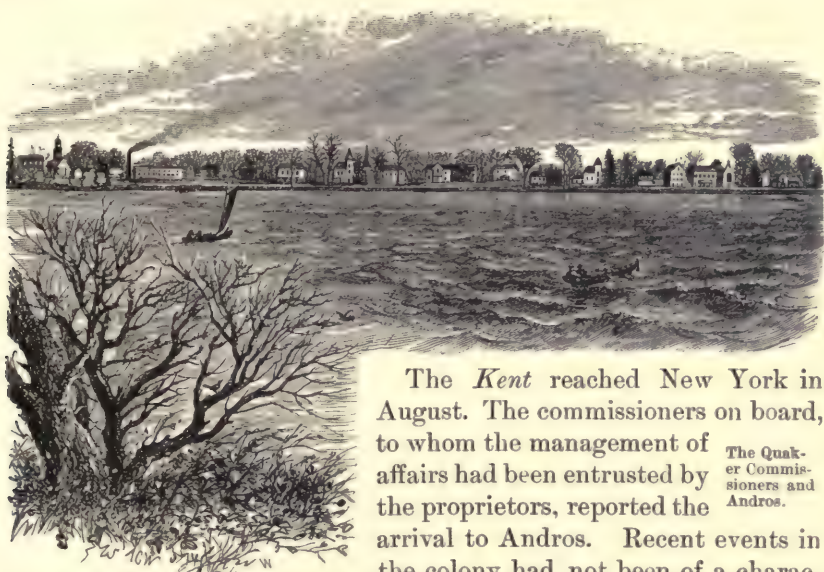
These liberal provisions were published in England in the beginning of 1677. The proprietors invited and urged Friends to remove to a country where they would be secure from persecution, and certain of prosperity. Several hundred persons went over that year. In March a company of two hundred and thirty had collected and embarked on one vessel. As their ship, the *Kent*, lay at anchor in the Thames, about ready to sail, King Charles passed by in his



Seal of East Jersey.

Its Laws.

barge. The crowded decks attracted his attention, and he came alongside. He asked her destination; he inquired if all on board were Friends, for, probably, he had heard of an enterprise in which so much interest had been aroused all over England. It certainly excited his curiosity, perhaps something more, for he wished them a good voyage and gave them his blessing. It did them no harm if it did them no good, though, perhaps, there was not another man in the kingdom less capable than Charles of comprehending the character and the principles of the people to whom he gave his benediction.



Burlington, New Jersey.

The *Kent* reached New York in August. The commissioners on board, to whom the management of affairs had been entrusted by the proprietors, reported the arrival to Andros. Recent events in the colony had not been of a character to dispose the Governor to welcome

The Quaker Commissioners and Andros.

their coming. Fenwicke, who had now been two years at Salem, had denied the legality of the Duke of York's customs-duties and other taxes, and in the January preceding the arrival of these new emigrants had been arrested, brought to New York and thrown into prison. He was still confined in Fort James, and when the commissioners came before Andros, his first question was, what evidence had they to produce of title from the Duke. They had none. The successive grants from the Duke to Berkeley, and from Berkeley to others, gave, they asserted, right of government as well as title to the soil. This, the Governor declared, it would be as much as his head was worth to grant without orders from his master; but if they "had but a line or two from the Duke, he would be as ready to surrender it to them as they would be to ask it." As he laid his hand on his

sword in confirmation of his purpose to hold his government over all the Duke's territory till further commands from England, the Friends saw themselves obliged to yield thus far; and agreeing to consider themselves only as magistrates under him until other instructions came, they were suffered to proceed upon their voyage. Fenwicke was permitted at the same time to go upon his own recognizance, and directed to report in the following autumn at New York, for the final decision on his case.

The ques-
tion of juris-
diction com-
promised.

The *Kent* arrived at Newcastle on the Delaware on the sixteenth of August. It was three months later, however, before a place of permanent settlement was fixed upon. This was the present town of Burlington. It was first named New Beverley; but this was soon changed to Bridlington—corrupted into Brellington, then Burlington—a parish in Yorkshire, England, whence many of the emigrants had come. “Here is a town,” wrote one of them, John Crips, to a friend in England, “laid out for twenty proprietries, and a straight line, drawn from the river side up the land, which is to be the main street, and a market-place about the middle. The Yorkshire ten proprietors are to build on one side, and the London ten on the other side; and they have ordered one street to be made along the river side, which is not divided with the rest, but in small lots by itself, and every one that hath any part in a propriety is to have his share in it. The town lots for every propriety will be about ten or eleven acres.”¹

The new village was prosperous from the beginning, and as shipload after shipload of colonists arrived, other settlements sprung up along the river and its tributaries, until the Proprietors saw their plantation increasing more rapidly in two or three years, than other colonies had done in ten, and this almost entirely through the exertions of Friends alone.

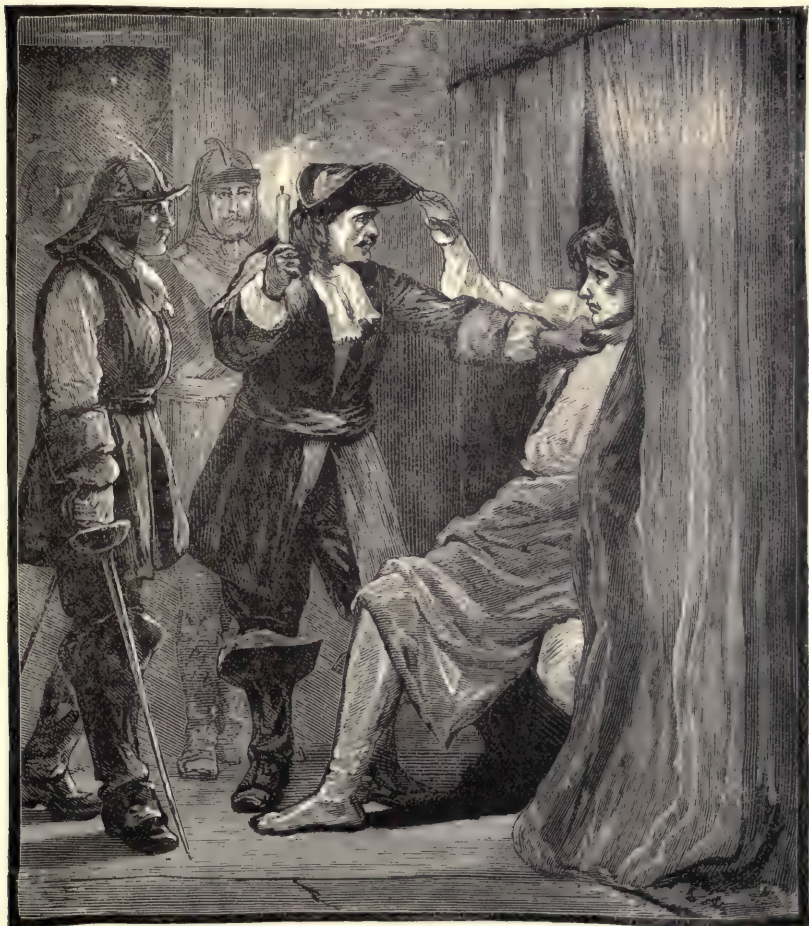
The greatest drawback to the complete success of the undertaking was the question of jurisdiction. Taxes were still assessed on behalf of the Duke of York. In East New Jersey Philip Carteret and Sir Edmund Andros were in open opposition. Carteret had proclaimed, with the hearty support of the Assembly, that all vessels coming directly to the province should be free from duties. Andros intercepted a ketch bound to Elizabethport with a cargo of rum, and compelled her captain to pay duties at the New York custom-house. A proposal for a friendly meeting of the two governors on Staten Island was declined by Carteret. Andros warned him to forbear exercising any jurisdiction; and announced that he should erect a fort “at Sandy Point”

Renewed
difficulties
as to juris-
diction.

Conflict be-
tween An-
dros and
Carteret.

¹ Letter in Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*.

to aid in the enforcement of his authority. Carteret declared that this should be resisted; and when Andros went to New Jersey, a month later, seeking a peaceful conference, Carteret met him with a military force to oppose his landing. As Andros came without troops he was permitted to land, but the conference came to nothing. The



Arrest of Carteret.

crisis soon came. A few weeks after Andros's visit, Carteret was taken from his house at Elizabethtown by New York soldiers, in the night; and taken to the city, where he was put in the sheriff's hands like a common criminal. He was tried at a special term of the Court of Assizes, in May, and, though Andros sent the jurors out three times, acquitted. He was compelled, however, to give security that he would not again assume any authority in New

Arrest of
Carteret.

Jersey. As some atonement for this ill-treatment, Andros escorted him back to Elizabethtown. The Assembly was asked to accept the "Duke's Laws," but they maintained their own, while at the same time they accepted the government of Andros. Carteret transferred the dispute to England, where it was presented by the widow of Sir George Carteret—who had died the year before—for the decision of the Duke himself.

The Friends of West Jersey had been even earlier in presenting their complaints against Andros. They succeeded in having their case referred to the Duke's commissioners in September, 1679; and

West Jersey
freed from
the Duke
of York's
control.

Penn and his associates came forward with a masterly argument which secured their end. It was a bold and striking plea in favor of popular liberty; and the commissioners, advised by Sir William Jones, decided that James's grant

had reserved no jurisdiction, and that none could be rightly claimed. The Duke accepted the decision. In August, 1680, he executed a new deed, relinquishing all rights over West Jersey; and in October, Carteret's friends secured a similar document with regard to their portion of the province, and a deed confirming it to Sir George Carteret, the grandson of the original grantee. But East New Jersey had never been a profitable property; and now, while its neighbor grew apace, it seemed to lose rather than to gain. Philip Carteret imprudently brought forward again a question already once decided—the ownership of Staten Island,—and thus came once more into conflict with the representatives of the Duke of York. At the same time his home administration was disturbed by quarrels with a new Assembly, which he at last arbitrarily dissolved in the autumn of 1681. The proprietors at home were discouraged. The

The Quakers
buy East
New Jersey.
1682.

watchful Friends, whose own undertaking had been so successful, now saw an opportunity to extend it further. Proposals were made to the trustees of Carteret's estate, which

the latter were only too glad to close with; and in February, 1682, the eastern territory was sold to ten of the West Jersey proprietors, among whom was William Penn.

William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished naval officer born at Bristol in 1621, of a family that had preserved an honorable station and record for fourteen generations. Sir William, the father, was peculiarly fitted for a life of enterprise, and had a capacity for commanding men, which was, however, signally baffled when he undertook to bend his Quaker son to his own notions of preferment and court life. He became a Captain at twenty-one, Rear Admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, Vice Admiral at

Parentage of
William
Penn.

Career of
Admiral
Penn.

twenty-five, and Vice Admiral of England at thirty-one years of age. When Cromwell planned his expedition against the Spanish West Indies, he was appointed, in 1654, Admiral of the fleet that was destined to coöperate with the land forces under General Venables. Unfortunately the Protector sent on board civil commissioners charged with some control over the actions of the officers. This, and the climate, and a disagreement or failure of coöperation between the sea and land forces, resulted in a disastrous failure, and the Admiral, on his return, fell into temporary disgrace and was lodged in the Tower. But we find him returned for Parliament from Weymouth, in 1655, and, what is more important, a commander under the Duke of York in a great fight against the Dutch fleet in 1665, when he rendered such important service to the Duke that Charles II. made it a special point in the patent which he issued to his son for the government of Pennsylvania, partly to conciliate the Duke, who had some pretensions to the territory and was opposed to Penn's claim.

The Admiral died in 1670. His turn for public affairs, and a certain vivacity of temper and sense of humor, were inherited by his son William, who was born in London, October 14, 1644, of a pious and high-minded mother. She very early began to impart her religious feeling to her son, and to awake the instinct which he had plainly inherited from her. When he was five years old she asked him a great question. "Who made you, William?" "Sure enough," said the eager boy, "was it not God?" "But, how do you know?" "You have told me so a hundred times." "But suppose I had not told you, could you have found it out for yourself?" "I don't know." "Why, William, nothing is easier." "Tell me, mother." "Do you see that stone lying there?" "What of it, mother?" "It is something, is it not?" "Yes." "But how do you know?" "Why I see it, I can feel it, and lift it." "Then do you think it made itself?" "I don't see how; it is a senseless thing, and no thing can make itself." Many and sweet must have been the colloquies between mother and son upon high matters, while perhaps the Admiral was on the seas, or tempting the unstable element of courts.

The boy was sent to school at Chiswell in Essex. One day in his eleventh year he perceived an exceeding glory in his room, and great comfort and emotion flowed through his soul. This experience was not traceable to any external influence; he had as yet held no communication with Friends who expected and cherished these mental states. But this first touch of the divine presence did not impair the buoyancy of his youth. He loved sports and manly exercises, was overflowing with animal spirits,

Birth of
William
Penn.

His child-
hood and
youth.

and was fond of a joke. At fifteen, he was so advanced as to enter Oxford, where he associated with noblemen of rather discursive habits.

But there came to Oxford one Thomas Lee, an eminent preacher of the Society of Friends. Penn heard him and was greatly impressed with the new doctrines. Gradually he began to stay away from the Anglican worship because of his love of hearing any Friend speak who came to town. For this he was fined in 1660. When, under Charles II., a mandate came up to Oxford, restoring the habit of the surplice to the students and making its use imperative, Penn, collecting a few of his spirited comrades, attacked the students

Inclines to
Quakerism.



Wanstead, Essex, Home of William Penn's Childhood.

who appeared in surplices and tore them over their heads. This led to his expulsion, to the extreme disgust of the Admiral, who cherished views of propriety and advancement for his son. In a fit of anger, in spite of the protesting mother, he turned young Penn out of the house. Repenting at leisure of this undomestic procedure, and alarmed at Penn's increasing tendency to the peculiar views of sectaries, he was summoned back and despatched to Paris in 1662, well provided with money; the father hoping to divert his mind by gayety and to change his habit of life.

Expelled
from Oxford.

He is sent to
Paris.

Penn did not dislike it; all his senses were keen and vital, and he liked to taste the humor of things. He was engaged once in a street fight, but he acquired fine manners and a more easy accommodation to circumstances. The delighted Admiral presented him at court,

then sent him to Dublin to look after some family property. Here he led a gay life, till one day he saw a placard announcing that a Friend "would preach in the Market House." Penn is sent to Dublin. He was impressed to go and listen. The preacher was his old friend, Thomas Lee, who taught him at Oxford to despise ordinances and cherish the Spirit. His heart was turned back to the old genuine affections of his nature, and he became again the school-boy who had felt a presence in his room.

The decisive moment of his life had arrived. He doffed the courtly garb and adopted the ordinary costume of the Friend of that period; but the courtly eloquence and suavity of manner which nature had bestowed upon him he could not dispense with. There remained too the inextinguishable force and vivacity of his nature, which still sometimes led him into a broadness of speech and contemptuous allusion. Immediately surrendering his old habits of living he became a constant attendant upon the meetings of Friends. And it was upon one of these occasions in Cork that he was arrested, taken before the mayor, and for the first time committed to prison. His father, though disgusted at the change in his son's opinions, continued to be useful in getting him out of prison, whenever his boldness lodged him there. He was recalled home in 1666, and subjected to the father's arguments and threats. A severe struggle took place in his heart between his paternal duty and the new light which had risen within him. The light prevailed, and the angry father again dismissed him from the house.

Now he began to speak in Friends' meetings, and to employ a sprightly pen in defence of the new doctrines. In 1668, after an abortive discussion with some Presbyterian ministers, he wrote his "Sandy Foundation Shaken," which Penn imprisoned. — His writings. gave such offence that he was committed to the Tower on the charge of heresy. Here he solaced confinement with industrious writing; among other treatises composing his famous "No Cross No Crown," of which he said, "It is a path God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age." And we find the key-note of the whole Quaker practice in England and America in this sentence: "To say that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit, I answer with meekness, truth and sobriety; first, nothing is small that God makes matter of conscience to do or leave undone." He was kept in the Tower for seven months, and at length released in consequence of his clear and positive religious statements in a treatise called "Innocency with her open Face."

The father's temper had "like to break his heart when things went wrong," but he underwent a hard conflict to set them right. A partial reconciliation between him and the son led gradually to a complete one before his death in 1670. Then Penn inherited great estates, which he lavishly used and encumbered in his important enterprises.

But meantime the persecutions of the Quakers attained unusual severity. Although Charles II. had enjoined the Boston magistrates to suspend their cruelties against the Friends, and had manifested a spirit of toleration in England, he subsequently, when under the influence of his ministers, issued fresh orders to New England to suppress the sect, and allowed the statutes to be enforced at home. Mayors and Recorders took advantage of this mood and revived the municipal statutes against dissenters' meetings and preaching. When the King recovered from his temporary mood of reaction and began to have considerable regard for leading Quakers, it did not affect the popular prejudice. The prosecutions went on, and the King made no active interference. The usual outrages prevailed through the kingdom. Meetings were mobbed, hats pulled off and trampled on, Friends were beaten, robbed, given over to any ruffianly treatment, thrown into loathsome jails, and if they had any money were fined, in some cases at the rate of £20 a month.

Penn was arrested for preaching in 1670, and his trial at the Old Bailey occurred in September. He and his friend, William Mead, a linen-draper who knew how to quote Latin in his plea, were arraigned on an indictment that absurdly charged them with gathering a tumultuous assembly in Grace Church Street with force and arms to the disturbance of the King's peace, and did there preach to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege subjects. We have Penn's own report of this trial, published in Howell's "State Trials" and in his Works. On September first, the accused simply pleaded not guilty, and were remanded till the third. On that day, as they entered the court, some official rudely pulled their hats off, whereupon the Mayor rebuked the officer and made him put on their hats again. At this the Recorder magnified his office by fining each forty marks for contempt of court, though the order for replacing their hats came from the bench. So, said Penn, it is not we, but the bench which ought to be fined. When the Recorder said that the indictment was founded upon the common law, Penn asked him what was that law; to which the testy and virulent Recorder replied that he had not time enough to explain the cases which made the common law; and Penn rejoined, "If it be common it should not be so hard

Persecution
of Penn and
other Quakers.

Penn's trial.

to produce." Penn's retorts were so sharp that the tolerably well disposed Mayor ordered him into the bail-dock, a felon's dirty place in the purlieus of the court room; and Mead conducted himself with such steadiness that he soon followed. The jury, though vigorously bullied by the Recorder, brought in the simple verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Grace Church Street." Sent out again, they soon returned with the same verdict. But this did not suit the court. The jury was shut up and watched overnight, without meat, drink, fire, or any



Trial of William Penn.

other accommodation. The next morning it returned the same verdict. Again it was angrily sent out, only to return with the original verdict. This happened twice more, the trial lasting till September fifth, and Penn and Mead being transferred to Newgate while it was pending, and the obstinate jury being shut up without food or drink. When at last the original verdict was rendered, each juror was fined forty marks for following his own opinion, and Penn and Mead sent to Newgate till each paid his forty marks for having his hat reset

upon his head. Such was the tolerated spite and injustice of that interval of persecution.¹

Soon after the trial at the Old Bailey, Penn's father died, as it appears under great concern of mind at a tardy recognition of his son's courage and virtue. After taking the final leave of the household, he said: "Son William, I charge you do nothing against your conscience: if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests, to the end of the world."

In 1671, Penn was again in Newgate for six months for being present at a Friends' meeting. After his release, he went on a religious mission to Holland and Germany, with Robert Barclay, author of the famous "Apology," and George Fox. His interviews with the susceptible Princess Elizabeth of Germany are memorable in the annals of Quakerism.

Among the effects of his father, Penn had inherited a claim against the Crown for arrears of the Admiral's pay, and for various loans to the Admiralty. What with principal and interest, it amounted in 1681 to £16,000, a sum which, in the money value of to-day, would be a very large one. Penn proposed to the government to liquidate this debt by a grant to him of territory in America. Those members of the Privy Council who were hostile to the views of Quakerism relative to the Church and State, strongly opposed the grant. But even the Duke of York, with whom he had been lately in controversy, favored his petition, mindful perhaps of the Admiral's great service to him in the tight pinch of the naval battle. The Duke might have preferred to extend his own province of New York farther to the southward.

Penn was well skilled in the methods of courts, and knew when to wait, when to persist, how smoothly to deal with the men of influence, in order to prefer his claim. The treasury also was empty, and the King thought he would be well rid of a debt of £16,000 for many square miles of wilderness peopled only by Indians. The Lords' Committee of Colonies, the Board of Trade, were quite contemptuous

¹ Eighty years later, on June 7, 1753, a Quakeress managed to get into the House of Lords, and reprehended the Peers on account of some fashionable excesses in dress and amusements. The *Monthly Review* said: "She was indulged with the attention of the House." During the French Revolution, a Quaker preferred to keep on his hat in the tribune when he was present at a sitting of the Council of Ancients. It was the President's opinion that the Council, by allowing him to remain with it on, would give a proof of its respect for the freedom of religious opinions. But the order of the day was carried upon a very sensible remark by Rousseau, who said: "He may come with his coat buttoned after the fashion of the Quakers, if he pleases, but let him take off his hat or stay away. If the delicacy of his conscience cannot yield to his curiosity, let him make his curiosity yield to the delicacy of his conscience."



WILLIAM PENN.

(From the copy by Place at the National Museum.)

over the idea of establishing over Indians, and amid foreign rivalries, a set of non-resistants. But a very cogent address in Council by Penn's chief advocate, clearing up the anti-governmental, anti-priest, and anti-royal principles of the Friends, prevailed. Chief Justice North was appointed to draw up a charter, with specifications of boundaries, which was signed March 4, 1681. In consideration of two beaver-skins annually, and a fifth part of all the gold and silver that might be mined, the King granted to Penn a territory of forty thousand square miles. This monarch was nothing if not merry; he must be allowed his sport. "Here," said he, "I am doing well in granting all these coasts, seas, bays, etc., to such a fighting man as you are. But you must promise not to take to scalping. And will you practise entire toleration toward all members of the Church of England?" To which, of course, Penn readily assented. As regards the scalping, a striking decline from the principles of his father was shown by the grandson of Penn, who proclaimed in July, 1764, that for every male Indian above the age of ten who was captured, a bounty of \$150 should be paid; for every male killed and scalped, \$134; for every one thus served under ten, \$130; for every female killed and scalped, \$50. But Penn's descendants had then long ceased to be Friends, and the frontier influence of the French among the Indians was of the most murderous kind.

The grant
of Pennsyl-
vania.

The King had called the new territory, thus granted, Pennsylvania. But Penn, whose family originated in Wales, had intended to call it New Wales. In the conference with the Secretary, who handed him the charter, he objected to the King's designation, and tried to prevail upon the Secretary to substitute his own, even offering him, when he proved stubborn, twenty guineas to alter it. But the Secretary could not overcome his sense of duty. Upon referring the matter to the King, with the compromise of *Sylvania*, the King said, "No. I am godfather to the territory, and will bestow its name."

The new
territory
named.

Penn's proprietary jurisdiction thus made secure, he issued a far-sighted and liberal advertisement of the inducements for emigration, which particularly addressed the Quaker disposition. His scheme of administration is too long to reproduce entire: but two or three special traits of it deserve emphasis. He declared that he wished to establish a just and righteous government in his province, that others might take example by it. In England there was not room for such a holy experiment. Government is a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end. Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws. Gov-

Penn's pro-
posals to
emigrants.

ernments depend upon men, not men upon governments. The first principle of Penn's new code recognized liberty of conscience; all persons acknowledging the one Eternal God, living peaceably and justly, were not to be molested or prejudiced in matters of faith and worship.

Penn went further than this; with the sad example of New England experience in his thought, he added that nobody shall be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever. Only murder and treason were to be punishable by death. That, at least, was insisted upon by Chief Justice North. But while Penn lived, no gallows was erected in his province. He said that a prison must be converted into a school of reformation and education; that litigation ought to give way to some regularly appointed arbitration; that an oath was a superfluity; so, also, were cock-pits, bull-baiting, card-playing, theatres, and drunkenness. Lying was punishable as a crime. This, indeed, went to the root of the matter, for all nations from the earliest times have acknowledged that a lie is the parent of a horde of vices. Trial by jury was established, and in all cases which involved an Indian, the jury must be composed of six whites and six natives, and whenever a planter conceived that he was injured in person or property by a native he must not take the law into his own hands, but apply to a magistrate, and the latter must confer with the native's sachem. The person of the Indian was declared to be sacred.

Penn advertised the land in his province at forty shillings per hundred acres, and even servants could hold fifty acres in fee simple. "Still," said he to the Friends, eager to enter upon their new homes, "let no one move rashly, but have an eye to the Providence of God." So great was his reputation in Europe that he attracted many emigrants from its countries, mainly from Germany, and recruited from the soberest and thriftiest kind. A German Company, under the guidance of Franz Pastorius,¹ bought fifteen thousand acres.

Three vessels came over in 1681. One of them was frozen in at
Early settlers. Chester, and the passengers could get no further. They were obliged to dig caves in the river bank and live in them. This was a common expedient with the earliest settlers, and at a later period Penn complained of the liquor drinking and excesses in the caves. It had always been his object to live in his province and manage his affairs. When the ship in which he intended to embark

¹ See a German pamphlet in the library of Harvard College, by Fr. Daniel Pastorius, "a geographical statistical Description of the Province of Pennsylvania." It contains the events which occurred from 1683 to 1699. At the time of writing it he was chief magistrate at Germantown.

was nearly ready, he requested an audience of the King. Said Charles, "It will not be long before I hear that you have gone into the savages' war kettle: what is to prevent it?" Penn and the King. "Their own inner light," said Penn. "Moreover, as I intend equitably to buy their lands, I shall not be molested." "Buy their lands! Why, is not the whole land mine?" "No, your majesty, we have no right to their lands; they are the original occupants of the soil." "What! have I not the right of discovery?" "Well, just suppose that a canoe full of savages should by some accident discover Great Britain. Would you vacate or sell?" The King was astonished at the retort, and no less at the policy which soon bore such admirable



Chester, Pennsylvania.

fruit that was unfertilized by blood. New England began by trying to convert the Indian, taking in the mean time his land in the name of the Gospel. Penn began by paying for the land and solemnly treating with the Indian that he might thus possibly convert him.

After his visit to the King, Penn passed a day with his family at Worminghurst, engaged in devout exercises and domestic converse. He left there a truly Christian document in the form of a letter to his family, which was at the same time an address to all who professed the opinions of Friends. On September 1, 1682, he set sail in the ship *Welcome*, a name as propitious as *May-flower*, with a hundred passengers, nearly all of whom were Friends from his own county of Sussex. Robert Greenaway

Penn's
voyage to
America.

was the commander. The uncomfortable voyage lasted six weeks, during which thirty of the passengers died of the small-pox. One day the captain saw a ship which appeared to be in pursuit of his own, and took her to be an enemy. He made every preparation for resistance, and manned his guns. Then addressing the non-resistant Quakers, he advised them to take refuge in the cabin. Penn and the rest did so, excepting James Logan, his private secretary. Logan stayed on deck and took his station at a gun. When the strange sail came near it proved to be a friendly one. Penn came on deck and severely rebuked Logan for remaining to fight. Said Logan, "I being thy secretary, why didst thou not order me to come down? But thou wert willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thou thought there was danger."

At length the Delaware was reached, and a landing was made at Newcastle on the 27th of October. The Dutch and Swedes gave the heartiest welcome to their new Governor. His first act was to naturalize all these inhabitants of the province. They were summoned to the court-house and addressed by Penn on the true nature and functions of government. The commissions of all the existing magistrates were renewed. Then he went up the river to Upland, now Chester, and met the delegates who had been already selected by his Commissioners to compose the first Assembly. Their first session, held in the Friends' Meeting House, lasted only four days, much time being saved by the admirable rule which was adopted, that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after, but once; and that none fall from the matter to the person, and that superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopped by the Speaker." So the Quaker principle of freedom of utterance as the spirit prompted, was judiciously balanced. No four days of legislative work were ever more harmoniously spent in laying the foundations of society. Penn's own sincere temper was imparted to all. "As to outward things we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild-fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with."¹

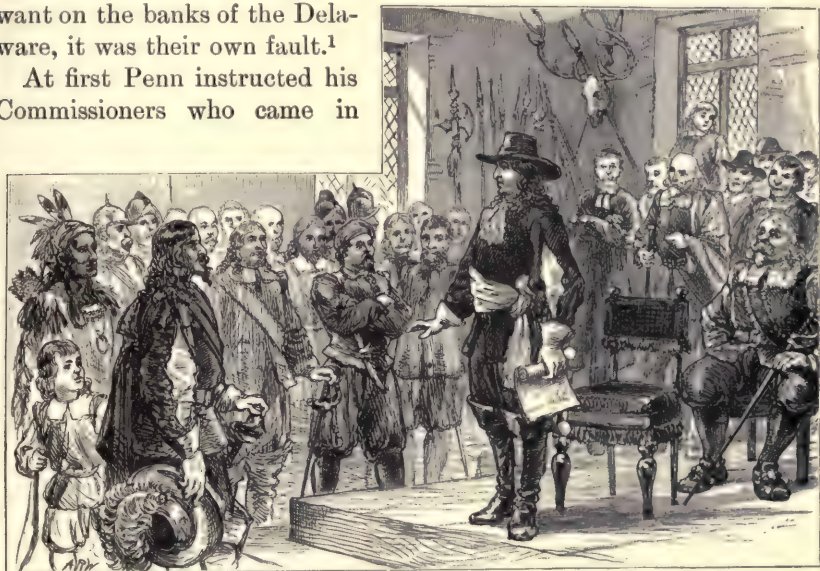
The landing
at New-
castle.

Plenty and
prosperity in
Pennsyl-
vania.

¹ The wild turkeys sometimes turned the scale at forty-six pounds; one of thirty pounds sold for a shilling, a deer for two shillings. One settler bought a fat buck for two gills of gunpowder. Wild pigeons could be killed with sticks, apparently too numerous to get out of the way. Six rock-cod cost twelve pence, salt fish three farthings' a pound. "Peaches by cart-loads," said one letter writer: "the Indians bring us seven or eight fat bucks a day. Without rod or net we catch abundance of herrings, after the Indian manner, in penfolds." There were plenty of swans, and oysters six inches long. But all this was true of nearly all the more southern settlements in the earlier years.

In good years the farmer gathered twenty or thirty bushels of wheat for every one he sowed. A native grape grew in great abundance, and yielded an excellent wine. The woods and meadows swarmed with all kinds of wild berries; and the settlers soon had their various fruit trees and bushes, melons planted, their presses started, and perry, cider, etc., running from them. The natives were always hospitable, well inclined to barter because never overreached. Great plenty ruled in this province from the beginning. If the Dutch and Swedes had suffered from hunger and want on the banks of the Delaware, it was their own fault.¹

At first Penn instructed his Commissioners who came in



Penn's Address at Newcastle.

1681, to examine the neighborhood of Upland to find a suitable site for a town; but when he went up the river he pitched upon the broad peninsula that lay between the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Here he projected a city upon a great scale of squares, streets with avenues of trees—some of which still preserve the names

Philadelphia
founded.

¹ A planter, writing before 1696, gave the following rates of wages: Carpenters, bricklayers, and masons, six shillings a day; shoemakers, two shillings on each pair; journeymen tailors, twelve shillings a week and their diet; weavers, ten pence a yard; wool-combers, twelve pence a pound; potters, sixteen pence for a pot which cost in England only four pence; brick-makers, twenty shillings per thousand of bricks at the kiln; hatters, seven shillings for a hat; all other trades, of which every conceivable kind was pursued in the province, making it quite independent of the mother country, were rewarded in the same proportion. All kinds of food were much cheaper than in England; and the Barbadoes furnished a constant market for corn. Laboring men earned fourteen pounds a year, with meat, drink, washing, and lodging; maid-servants ten pounds a year. Floating mills for grinding corn took advantage of the river's current, and on the land horse-mills were used.

of the original trees—and houses to be surrounded with gardens. Before houses could be built the settlers lived in huts, and in caves which were excavations in the river bank arched over with branches and sodded. The chimneys were built of clay strengthened with grass. One house was in process of building by a man with the happy name of Guest. Penn's first landing was made at Dock Creek opposite this unfinished house, which was afterwards known as the Blue Anchor Tavern. The first keeper of the tavern was Guest, and a long line of hospitable Friends succeeded him. Beyond Guest's house, ten others were soon built in the old English fashion, of frames



Letitia Cottage, Philadelphia, supposed First Residence of Penn.

filled in with brick, and called "Budd's Long Row." The tavern "was but about twelve feet front," says Watson in his copious "Annals," "on Front Street, and about twenty-two feet on Dock Street, having a ceiling of about eight and a half feet in height." A little cottage, built by one Drinker, who settled on this site alone several years before the arrival of Penn, was the first habitation on the site of Philadelphia. Penn meant to convey to the settlers by the name of his new city the disposition which he hoped would prevail within its walls.

In this year of Penn's landing twenty-three ships filled with colonists came up the Delaware. In less than a year eighty houses and cottages were built, three hundred farms laid out, and bounteous crops

secured. In 1684, there were three hundred and fifty-seven houses, "large and well built, with cellars," and fifty townships had been settled. In 1685, there were six hundred houses. In one year ninety ships brought more than seven thousand people into his province.

Rapid increase of settlers.

A treaty had been made with the Indian tribes of the neighborhood, which only required to be ratified before the Governor. A scene, November 14, 1682, which history has made memorable, took place under the spreading branches of an American elm, at Shackamaxon, or Sakimaxing, "place of kings," an old resort for Indian councils. The Indians met Penn at "the half-way house," that is, at noon. They were tribes of the Lenni

Penn's Indian Treaty.

Lenape, a nation which long ago had its seat beyond the Alleghanies, whence it migrated to the Hudson and Delaware. Their tribal names were derived from the creeks and rivers of their territory, as Raritan, Assunpink, Mingo, Navesink. They were of a warlike disposition, and falling into frequent fights with Indian



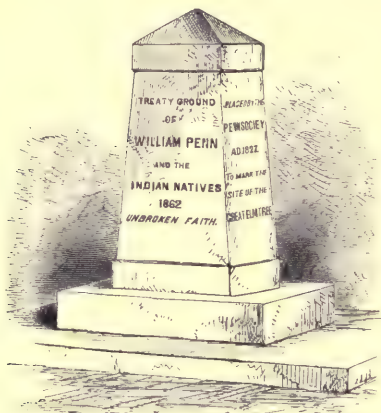
The Treaty Ground at Kensington, before the Fall of the "Treaty Tree."

neighbors. Penn described them well, with a few strokes: "They are tall, straight, tread strong and clever, and walk with a lofty chin. Their custom of rubbing the body with bear's fat, gives them a swarthy color. They have little black eyes. Their heads and countenances have nothing of the negro type, and I have seen as comely European-like faces among them as on your side the sea. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion. In liberality, they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the

reason they render is, that she breedeth children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, it was the drink and not the man that abused them."

On this occasion, Penn had an interpreter. The chief sachem, Taminent, sat in the middle of a semi-circle, composed of old men and councillors. At a little distance behind, "the young fry," in the same order. The sachem deputed one to address Penn, during whose harangue no one whispered or smiled. Penn's company advanced to this meeting without arms; he was only distinguished by a blue silk net-work sash. The sachem wore a kind of chaplet, with a small horn projecting from it as a symbol of sovereignty. When he put it on all the natives threw down their arms; it was a signal that the place was inviolate.

The scene at
Shackamaxon.



The Treaty Monument, Kensington.

The confirmation of the treaty was engrossed upon a roll of parchment. Penn's address, with its emphasis of the Great Spirit, must have sparkled with a peculiar sincerity, because of his personal belief in a direct intercourse with the source of all power. He told the Indians that every thought of the heart was known above; that the desire of his own heart was to live in perpetual amity with them; that he and his friends came unarmed because they never used weapons. Then the conditions of the purchase were read, and in addition to the

stipulated price he presented them with various articles of merchandise. The treaty concluded upon this pacific basis, without the exhibition of a single weapon of modern warfare, and expressly disclaiming a resort to force, was faithfully kept by those barbarians for sixty years.

While Penn was allotting land to purchasers, he reserved a tract of a thousand acres for his friend George Fox. Land was frequently purchased of the Indians by paying for as much as the purchaser could comprise in a walk. When some of the best English pedestrians were detailed for this new style of measurement, they covered so much ground that the Indians were mortified at the unequal bargain. Then an additional present of merchandise set the matter right. Thus the peace was always kept in politic fashion, and the Indian could entertain no cause for feud. Only one alarm ever occurred purporting to come from an Indian quarter, when one day in 1688, some

women came running in with the tidings that a large body of Indians were coming down to massacre. This was dire news to the defenceless Friends. But instead of sending out scouts to reconnoitre, who were willing to bear arms, a commissioner was despatched, who, upon arriving at the place indicated, found an old Indian chief lying all alone upon the grass nursing his lame leg, and a number of squaws at work in the field. No other man was in sight. The old chief said the women ought to be hanged for spreading so false a report.

Penn used every lawful art of intercourse to conciliate the Indians. "He walked with them," at one of their earliest meetings, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump, at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, "sprang up and beat them all." We cannot imagine the fathers of New England jumping in rivalry with savages. Their methods seldom raised a smile.

In October, 1683, one Enoch Flower — what pleasant Quaker symbolism in the name — began to teach boys and girls in a dwelling made of pine and cedar planks. His terms were, "To learn to read, four shillings a quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding scholars, to wit: diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year." A printing-press was set up soon after. From the time of the first settlement of New Netherland it was seventy years before any book or paper was printed there.

Education and religious matters in Philadelphia.

In 1683, among the emigrants who came over was James Claypoole, author of several books and pamphlets, an admired friend of Penn. He was an uncle of the Lord John Claypoole who married Cromwell's favorite daughter, Elizabeth. He was one of the Friends to whom Penn addressed a touching religious exhortation, just before his return to England in 1684, to be read at all Friends' Meetings in the province. The first Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia was held in July, 1683.

One reason for Penn's return to England was the necessity for determining the boundary line between his own province and that of Maryland. Lord Baltimore had already gone on this business, reasserting the right, under his patent, to the country along the west side of the Delaware, from Philadelphia to Cape Henlopen, which he had so persistently maintained against the Dutch in Stuyvesant's time. On this vexed question, after many delays, Penn succeeded in getting a decision from the Committee of Trade and Plantations against Lord Baltimore. Baltimore, the Dutch had contended, had no title to this country, because it was settled by their people at the time his patent was issued. and that

Penn returns to England.

patent only entitled him to lands uncultivated and inhabited by savages. The King had conquered the country from the Dutch and granted it to the Duke of York, and the Duke had conveyed it to William Penn. The title, therefore, was now vested in Penn, as against Baltimore, by Order of Council.¹

But he was moved to go to England by another motive. He had heard of the accusations which were rife against him, that he was working with Jesuits to secure the supremacy of James II., who would have been glad to reintroduce the Roman Catholic religion into England. The only ground for the absurd report seems to have been the favor in which he had been held by Charles II., and still enjoyed from James II. To his care the elder Penn — whom James had so much reason for holding in affectionate remembrance — had warmly commended his son. Surely that son is not to be blamed

that he retained the King's esteem by his admirable bearing, his conciliatory temper, and his unflinching integrity. The influence he acquired he used for the benefit of all who were in need, especially for hundreds of his own sect who still suffered in prisons all over England. If he sought to retain that influence for his own purposes,



The Penn Mansion, later Residence of the Penn Family in Philadelphia.

it was only on behalf of that commonwealth he had founded, which he so loved, and for which he spent his own life and estate. If his principles of toleration found favor with James, it was not because of any leaning, on Penn's part, to the Catholic Church. It is impossible not to believe that his numerous avowals against idolatries and ordinances were sincere; impossible not to accept as true his many disclaimers of any sympathy with the Church of Rome. The "No Cross, no Crown," is thoroughly anti-papal.²

¹ The line fixed by this decision was the present boundary between Maryland and Delaware. The final line between Maryland and Pennsylvania continued a question of dispute till settled by the running of "Mason and Dixon's Line," by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, in 1762.

² Were we professing to give a complete biography of William Penn, it would be nec-

But his enemies, and the haters of Quakerism, could not tolerate the favor which his diplomatic disposition, combined with his remarkable independence, won for him at court. They were less the foes of Jesuits. Penn thought it right to use all the influence he could command for the benefit of his American province, and to have the new persecutions against the Quakers abated. He succeeded in both purposes. Before leaving America he appointed a Provincial Council to act for him during his absence; but it was not long before disputes arose which caused him much anxiety. He could not succeed in prevailing upon the Assembly to restrain the use of spirituous liquors, and to withhold them altogether from the Indians. His officers committed many extortions in the sale of his lands. He experienced great difficulty in collecting his quit-rents, and was seriously embarrassed by the great outlay which he had made: "Six thousand pounds out of pocket," he said repeatedly.

Penn in
England.

At the revolution of 1688, he fell under serious suspicion of aiding in the plots for the return of James II. Once he was arrested and brought before the Lords of Council, and, at his own request, was taken before the King. A letter had been written him by James, and when examined in regard to it, he could not, he said, prevent him from writing to him; but if that brought him under a suspicion of plotting for a restoration, it did not compel him to violate his duty to the state. The King seemed satisfied with his defence, and he was not again molested. It did not seem to him proper, however, to leave the kingdom while under such suspicion, and he remained in England.

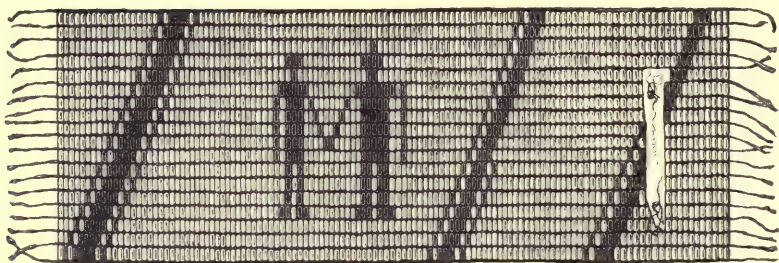
During this time he was pained by the accounts sent to him of the dissensions in his province. The three lower counties on the Delaware, called the "Territories," had insisted on a separate government, and to this he reluctantly assented. Other difficulties occurred, relating to the religious doctrines of Friends. These were chiefly fomented by George Keith, who had been appointed the principal of the Friends' public school in Philadelphia, which was established in 1689. The court took advantage of these disturbances to depose Penn from the government of the province, and another governor was sent out, who administered affairs till Penn was reinstated in 1694, having shown the hollowness of the charges against himself and reëstablished old feelings of amity with the necessary to meet the various charges brought against him by Macaulay, in his *History of England*. A complete refutation of them may be found in a Preface to Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, by William E. Forster, the English statesman; in *The Life of William Penn*, by Samuel E. Janney; in a *Defence of William Penn*, by Henry Fairbairn; and in Dixon's *Life of Penn*, which on this point, at least, may be considered as an authority. The evidence is ample, and would be accepted in any court of justice.

Penn removed from his proprietorship.

picious party in the Society. The new Governor, Fletcher, who was also Governor of New York, had, in the meantime, with the usual fatal facility of royal governors, quarrelled with the Assembly and retired in disgust to New York.

Penn made his defence and explanation before the Council in 1693; his reinstatement in the proprietary government took place in August, 1694. While he was preparing to return he appointed his cousin, Colonel Markham, Deputy Governor of the province, his friend Thomas Lloyd, who had been his Deputy for some time, having recently died. Markham's administration was, on the whole, satisfactory, and there was little for several years to disturb the tranquillity and prosperity of the colony, which already contained 20,000 people. Penn permitted his private affairs to retain him in England till 1699, when he once more sailed for America with his family, with the firm intention of remaining there for the rest of his days.

His restoration.



Wampum received by Penn in Commemoration of the Indian Treaty.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA. — FRENCH MISSIONARIES AND HUNTERS. — DISCOVERY OF OHIO, INDIANA, AND OTHER NORTHWESTERN STATES. — THE POLICY OF COLBERT AND TALON. — DISCOVERY OF THE UPPER LAKES. — CONGRESS OF NATIVE TRIBES AT MACKINAC. — MARQUETTE AND JOLIET SAIL FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — FRENCH COLONY OF 1699. — D'IBERVILLE AND HIS BROTHERS. — BILOXI AND POVERTY POINT. — WAR OF SUCCESSION. — PENSACOLA. — MINES. — CROZAT'S GRANT.

THE English and Dutch settlers, to whose history this volume has thus far been for the most part devoted, never showed any disposition to make permanent homes with the aborigines. Their efforts to Christianize them were made loyally, but did not include life in their wigwams or villages. Even the hunter or trapper of English blood, who brought furs from the frontier to the sea, was not a man who had carried on his hunting or trapping in league with the natives. He had lived in a solitary hut, or he had made his excursions from a frontier village.



Totem of the Hurons (from La Hontan).

From the very beginning, however, a different disposition showed itself in the French colonies of Acadie and of Canada. When the white population of Canada was not more than three hundred persons, a considerable number of those persons were living in the villages of the Hurons,¹ whose homes were then further to the east than that great lake which now preserves their name. Some of these

Tendency of the French toward exploration and adventure.

Frenchmen were traders for furs, some were priests, at first of the

¹ The handful of Wyandots, now in Kansas, represents the great tribe of Hurons. The spelling Yendat is the earlier form. See Gallatin's *Synopsis*. The word "Huron" is itself not Indian but French, derived from the French word *hure*, meaning a rough mane or head of hair.

Récollet order, afterwards of the fraternity of Jesuits. It was by such traders and missionaries that several of the western States of the American Union were first opened to the knowledge of Europe.

The great Champlain, from whom the real history of Canada begins, arrived in Quebec on the 3d of July, 1608, only a year after the settlement at Jamestown.¹ In 1615 he discovered Lake Ontario, and Lake Nipissing. He pressed his explorations westward, and recent research has shown that as early as 1634, Jean Nicollet, a Frenchman who had become an Indian in all his habits, visited, in the course of his western travels, the region which we now know as Wisconsin. These were pioneer adventures. Nicollet was himself a sincere Catholic. He and other pioneers were followed, as early as the year 1640, by the Fathers Chaumonot and Brébœuf, who

French pio-
neers.



Island of Mackinac.

coasted along the northern shore of the State of Ohio, and the eastern shore of Michigan as far as the Straits of Mackinac. In 1659, two young traders, who pushed their explora-

tions farther west, joined a tribe of Indians, with whom they went so far west upon Lake Superior, that they heard for the first time of the great tribe of the Sioux, whose conflicts against the whites occupy the journals even as late as our day. At that time, the Sioux appeared to these travellers a powerful nation, of more gentle manners than the eastern Indians, whom they had known before. The Frenchmen reported that they were not cruel to their prisoners, and that they wor-

¹ See vol. i., p. 321.

shipped one God.¹ These pioneers returned to Montreal in the spring of 1660, with sixteen canoes packed with furs. In these movements, dictated now by adventure, now by religious zeal, and often by both combined, our States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, were first visited by the whites. Perhaps it would be too much to say, in all cases, that those who made these explorations were what we should call civilized men.

In the summer of 1660 Father Mesnard took with him some Indians of the Algonkin race, and founded a new mission. He established himself at first at a point on the southern shore

Mesnard's
Algonkin
mission.

of Lake Superior which is still known as Chagwamegan,² the name it then bore. Mesnard, however, on the invitation of the Hurons, returned to the western bay of Lake Huron, where he lost his life in some unknown way. In 1665, Father Allouez established a mission at the same point, and was able to preach in the Algonkin language to twelve or fifteen different tribes. The same language is still used by the Chipeways of that region.

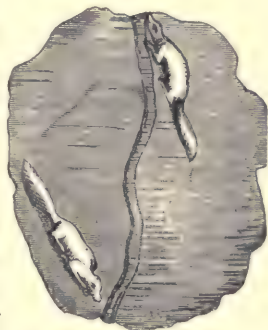


Totem of the Sioux (from La Hontan)

The Jesuit writers say that the fame of Father Allouez extended even to the Sioux, and that they told him of the prairies on the banks of the Mississippi. Father Dablon, another missionary, learned of the Mississippi from a map which the Sioux drew for him, and as early as 1669 proposed to himself an expedition to discover it. With Father Allouez he went as far as the Fox River, and learned that the Wisconsin River, of the present State of Wisconsin, was one of the affluents of the Mississippi.

Other mis-
sions.

Meanwhile the genius of Colbert in France had apprehended the value of the French establishment in Canada. He was beginning to undo the unfortunate results of the narrower policy of Cardinal Richelieu. In pursuance of this policy, Jean Talon, who had gained the favor of the king in France, was entrusted with the oversight of commerce in Canada. He arranged a great coun-



Totem of the Foxes (from La Hontan).

¹ The Sioux call themselves Dahcotahs.

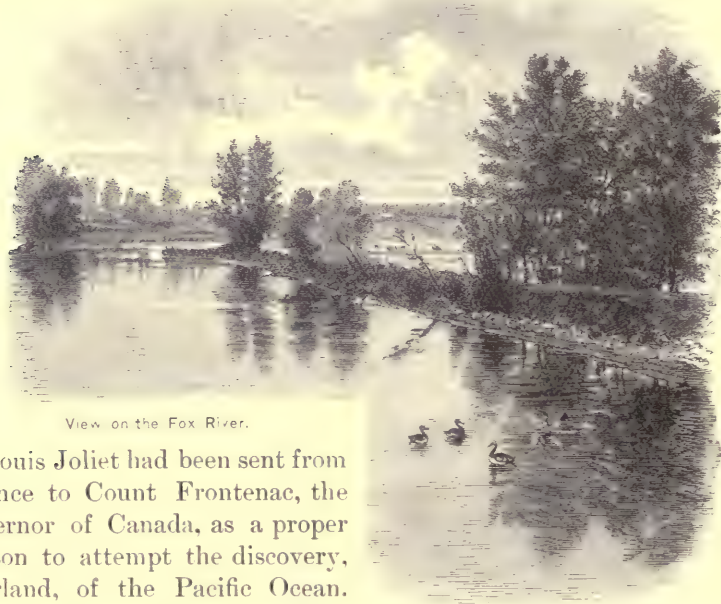
² Chagwamegan means "on the long, narrow point of land, or sand-bar." For this, and many similar interpretations, we are indebted to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, the learned master of the Indian tongues.

cil of Indians at the Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior, in 1671. Nicolas Perrot, who knew their languages and customs, convened the assembly. It is in the report of this council that the name "Chicago" first appears in literature. M. de St. Louis represented Louis XIV. He found here the chiefs of tribes as distant as Hudson's Bay on the east, and the head of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan on the west and south. In the joint hyperbole of French genius and the Indian dialect he described the glories of *Le grand Monarque*. The chiefs declared that they asked for no other father than the great *Onnonthio*¹ of the French.

L. Joliet

Signature of Joliet.

A cross was erected, to which the Arms of France was fastened, and possession was assumed in the name of the French crown.



View on the Fox River.

Louis Joliet had been sent from France to Count Frontenac, the governor of Canada, as a proper person to attempt the discovery, overland, of the Pacific Ocean. Talon had already suggested in France, the appointment of Poulet, a captain of Dieppe, for an exploration of the Pacific by way of the Straits of Magellan. Father

¹ The name lingers among the Indians of the St. Lawrence. In the deposition of Charles Soskonharowane, of Caughnawaga, taken to determine whether Rev. Eleazer Williams should or should not be known as King Louis XVII., son of Louis XVI., this Indian says, "Many incidents of his youth would remove the thought of his being the son of the great *Anonthica*." Sworn to April 16, 1853.

Marquette, who had already gone as far as Wisconsin as a missionary, joined Joliet, and, in 1673, they started on the expedition in which, so far as we know, the source and course of the Mississippi were discovered by Europeans. Of the discovery of its mouth by the adventurous Spaniards, and part of the region above, the history is already told in an earlier chapter.¹

In this eventful voyage, the first in which civilized men navigated a large part of the course of a river, which has since become the highway of half a nation, Marquette and Joliet descended the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. They satisfied themselves that they were in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico, and wishing to avoid any collision with the Spaniards returned to Canada. We have a charming account of the enterprise by Marquette himself, which was published in Paris in 1681. The voyagers passed up Green Bay, and the Fox River. Near the head of the Bay was the most advanced French station, and here they bade their compatriots good-by. The Indian village there was made up of Miamis, Mascoutins, and Kickapoos, of whom the priests rated the Miamis most highly for civility. The travelers saw, with pleasure, a cross, which had been erected in the vil-



The Wild Rice.

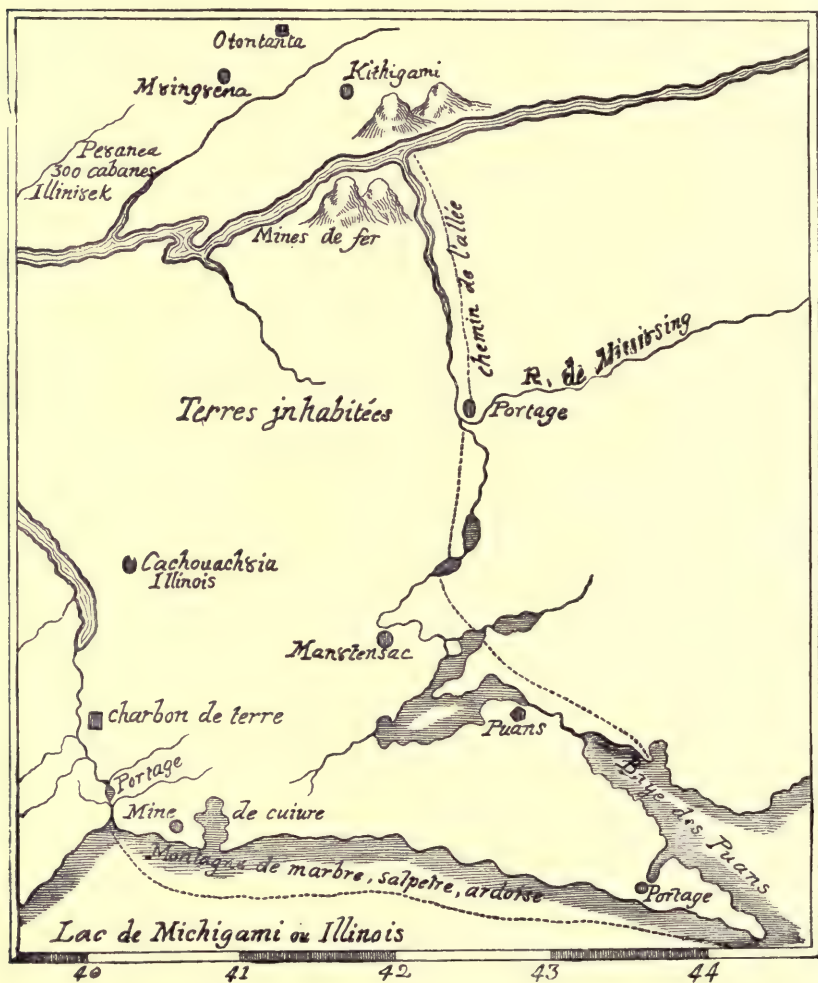
lage, and was adorned by the devotion of the natives. They addressed the assembly of them, explained their object, and enlisted two Miami guides, who should show them the difficult passage by which to cross from the Fox to the Wisconsin River; from the waters of the St. Lawrence to those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. The channel of the river was so choked with wild rice, that the Frenchmen could not have found its course without such help. A passage of little more than a mile brought the explorers to the waters of the Wisconsin. The two guides there left the party of seven Frenchmen alone on these strange waters, five or six hundred leagues from Quebec, according to Marquette's calculation, to take the stream which would bear them into lands wholly new. Marquette's own map preserves, with curious accuracy, their route in Wisconsin, through the county of Portage, which takes its

The mission
on Fox
River.

¹ See chapter vii., vol. i.

name from the easy transfer here made between the two great systems of American waters.

They seem to have crossed the portage on the 10th of June. A week was sufficient for the voyage of forty leagues, according to their estimate, which brought them to the Mississippi, which they entered



Marquette's Map.¹

with inexpressible joy. They estimated the latitude of the point where the Wisconsin joins it at $42\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, — about half a degree farther south than it is placed by the more modern observations.

¹ The map here given is a part of that published in Paris by Thevenot as "Marquette's Map." It differs from the original manuscript, which is still preserved, in the spelling of a few of the words, — probably only through an error of the engraver.

For eight days the navigators floated down the river, without seeing men or signs of men. The herds of buffalo, which they called by the Indian word *Pisikiou*, were new to them, and are carefully described. For fear of surprise, the explorers made but little fire, spent the night in their canoes, anchored a little distance from the shore, and always kept a sentinel on the alert. At last, on the 25th of June, a well worn path on the shore indicated the presence of men, and Marquette and Joliet, warning their crews not to be surprised in their absence, followed up the trodden trail to communicate with the natives. These proved to be Illinois; and they re-

Meeting
with the In-
dians.



Marquette's Reception by the Illinois.

ceived the Frenchmen cordially. The chief of the village came forth naked from his wigwam to welcome them, with his hands raised to the sun; others flourished the pipe of peace. To these pipes they gave the name "*calumet*,"¹ now so familiar to us, which was, however, new to the voyagers. While the formalities of smoking were

¹ Marquette notes the fact that the *calumet* was made of red stone. The Indians of the Northwest still use the Pipe Rock for their *calumets*, which has acquired a sacred value. It is found in the ridge between the Missouri and the Mississippi. It appears to be the only locality now known in the world, for that almost precious stone which antiquaries know as *Rosso Antico*.

going on, an invitation arrived from the great chief of the Illinois that the strangers should visit him at his village, — and they did so. They found him standing between two old men in front of the cabin, which served him for a palace, — all three naked. The chief held a calumet turned towards the sun. After felicitating the strangers on their arrival, he invited them into his cabin, and received them, as Marquette says, “with the usual caresses.” After a feast, and a sort of triumphal procession in which the strangers saw the town, which consisted of three hundred cabins, more than six hundred persons accompanied them to their canoes, assuring them of the pleasure which their visit had given. They gave to Marquette a calumet, which proved valuable to him afterwards.

Leaving their hospitable friends they continued their voyage. They recognized the rocks known long afterward as the Painted Rocks, on which the designs were so striking that Marquette thought the best painters in France would scarcely have done so well. Traces of these paintings have been made out within the present century.¹ They struck the Missouri, — to which they gave the name of Pekitanoui.² Their description of its mighty flow, of its muddy water, and the distinctness of its current from that of the Mississippi, notes the points which every traveller first observes, to this day. Marquette says in his journal that he hoped by means of it to make the discovery of the Red Sea or Gulf of California, both these names being given in his time to the same gulf, which we know only by the latter title of the two.

In this hope he was encouraged by his Indian friends, who told him that by going up the Missouri, for five or six days, he would come to a beautiful prairie twenty or thirty leagues long; that he could carry his canoes easily across this prairie to the northwest, where he would find a little river. By this river he could descend ten or fifteen leagues till he came to a little lake, the source of another deep river “which flows to the west and discharges into the sea.” All this imaginary geography may have had little foundation, but it excited Marquette’s hopes of visiting the Pacific. From the course of the Missouri, and these narratives of the

The Painted
Rocks.

The Mis-
souri River.



Totem of the Illinois.
(From La Hontan.)

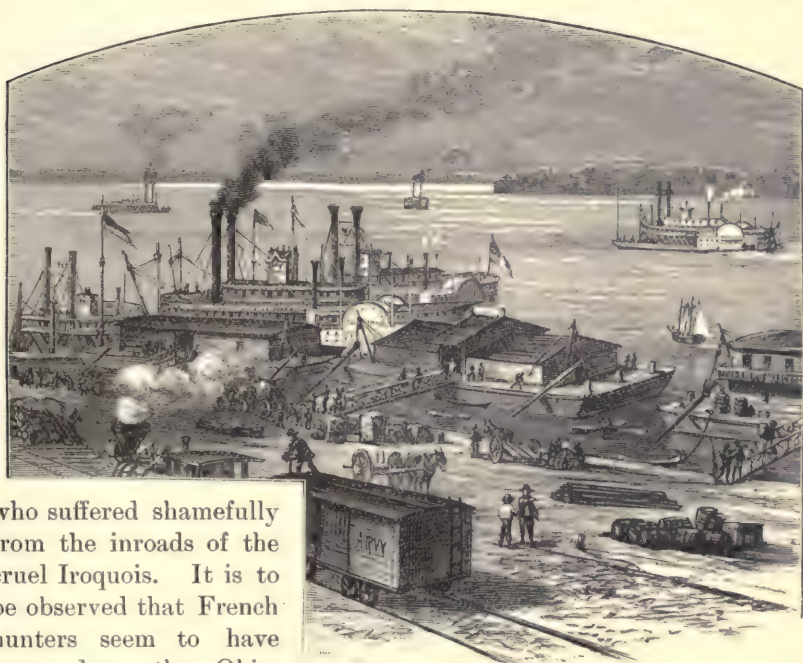
¹ See Dr. Shea’s paper, *Wisconsin Hist. Trans.*, vol. viii., p. 116. The painting last preserved could be made out, even from the other side of the river. It was called the Piasa Bird. We have found no representation of it sufficiently accurate to copy. It was destroyed in quarrying, within the memory of the present generation.

² For Pekitanoui is the misprint of the French printer.

Indians, he was already satisfied that he should find that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico.

He and his companions fixed the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio at 36° north, — supposing themselves two degrees farther south than they were. They give the name of Ouabouskigou to this river. The name Wabash, which is the modern form of this word, is now confined to the stream which makes part of the western border of the State of Indiana.¹ The travellers here speak of the Shawnee Indians, resident on the banks of the Ohio, as a peaceful race,

The Ohio.



who suffered shamefully from the inroads of the cruel Iroquois. It is to be observed that French hunters seem to have come down the Ohio, almost to the point of

its union with the Mississippi, before Marquette's voyage, for he alludes to their account of iron mines upon the river. In a memorial of the date of 1677, La Salle, of whom we are soon to speak, claims

Mouth of the Ohio.

¹ Ouabachioui, or Wabashiwi, in the Illinois dialect, means "silver." Some romantic red man may have called the stream a "silver stream," as so many other poets, of other races, have called other rivers. But Father Du Marest mentions the report, which would grow naturally from the name, that silver mines had been found near it. This report has not been confirmed, nor is it likely to be. In the Chippeway, "Wabashkiki" means "swampy" or "marshy." So certain is it, that one man's silver is another man's dirt. But there seems no reason why Chippeways should have named a river of the Illinois, or Shawnees. Our name Ohio, is from the Iroquois, in allusion to the beauty of the stream. It is so said on a MS. map of 1673, in Mr. Parkman's possession."

that he discovered the Ohio. Its upper waters are not far from his post on Lake Erie.

Passing the junction of the Ohio, Marquette notes the canebrakes and the mosquitoes, peculiarities of the Mississippi which two centuries have not changed since his time. The discoverers were fain to surround themselves with mosquito nets as they sailed. As they floated down, they saw on shore savages, armed with guns, who invited them to land, and regaled them with buffalo beef, bear's grease, and "white plums."¹ Their hosts assured them that they bought their guns, powder, knives, hatchets, and cloths from Europeans on the eastern coasts; that these men had images and hats and played on instruments, and that a voyage of ten days was enough to bring the travellers to the sea. And they seem to have given to Marquette the impression that they themselves had found European traders at the mouth of the Mississippi. On this news he eagerly resumed his voyage.

At a point not far from the site of the city of Helena he found a village named Mitchigamea. The name seems to show that its people had strayed thus far from the north.² These savages had no guns, but they appeared hostile until they saw the calumet. By an old man who spoke the Illinois language, communication became possible, and these people took the strangers as far as to the next tribe, of which the chief town was ten leagues further down. It was named *Akansea*, as the French travellers spelled it,³ and here they met the tribe known to us till lately, as the Arkansas Indians. They have since recovered their original name of *Quapaws*.⁴ Here the Frenchmen were hospitably entertained, a good interpreter was found, and the natives heard with wonder what Marquette told them of the mysteries of faith, and showed a great desire that he might give them further instructions. As to his voyage to the gulf, however, they dissuaded him. It was possible to make it in five days. But the tribes whom he would meet were hostile. They cut off from the Arkansas all commerce with Europeans, and they were so much in the habit of plying to and fro on the river, that the voyagers would be, according to these Indians, in great danger.

¹ The *prunus Americana* of Michaux. Its range is as wide as from the Saskatchewan to Texas. Its colors vary, and, while Marquette calls the plums *blancs*, they are sometimes yellow, and sometimes red.

² See Dr. Shea, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

³ Or their French printer.

⁴ See Dr. Shea, *loc. cit.*, p. 116. Mr. Gallatin suggests that they are the *Pacachas* of De Soto. Tonty calls them *Cappas*. Mr. Gallatin says: "The superiority of this race of Indians struck the French, who called the Arkansas '*Beaux Hommes*.' Their men are said to have exceeded in height the average of the Europeans."

This friendly reception by the Arkansas was not to be wholly relied upon. The same evening the chiefs held a council to decide whether they should not knock the Frenchmen on the head and take their goods. But the great chief forbade, assured the travellers of his protection, and even gave to them, as a token, his own calumet.

Joliet and Marquette, however, decided that it was time for them to return. They knew that they were near the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed they mistook its real boundary, and expected to find it at a point a hundred miles farther north than New Orleans. They supposed themselves to be in the latitude of forty-four degrees, and in this supposition they were nearly correct, for the site of the village of Dakansea, or Akansea,¹ was nearly opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River. They reflected that if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards all the results of their expedition would be lost. They therefore turned on their course on the 17th of July. But, when they reached the Illinois River, they took that beautiful stream, and made one of the portages, since so well known, into Lake Michigan. Of the Illinois Valley Marquette writes: "We have seen nothing equal to this river for the goodness of land, prairies, wood, cattle, deer, goats, wild cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver; there are many little lakes and little rivers." A chief of the Illinois guided their return to Green Bay, and here they arrived in the end of September.

In this voyage our States of Missouri and Kentucky were discovered, so far as we know, to Europeans. There can be no doubt that Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, which were now visited by Marquette, had been traversed in some parts by De Soto and his followers.²

Marquette, whose simple and devout narrative makes the reader love the adventurer, remained two years among the Miamis. On his way in his canoe to Mackinac in 1675, he stopped on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to raise an altar and celebrate the mass. He then asked his companions to leave him alone for a little while. They did so, and when they returned they found him dead. Joliet, his companion in adventure, had returned to Montreal in 1674. On his way thither his canoe upset, he lost his papers and his journal, and some curiosities from the discovery. A little

The Arkansas.

Voyage up the Illinois.

Subsequent life of Marquette.

¹ Marquette gives one name on his map and the other in the text.

² See vol. i., p. 165. Coxe, in the appendix to the "Carolana," a book written to show that the valley of the Mississippi belongs to the English crown, says that the first rediscovery of the great river after De Soto's was made by adventurers from New England. But Coxe's memorial was dated in 1699, and we have no earlier mention of Col. Wood.

boy, of ten years old, who had been given to him, was also lost. Joliet himself was four hours in the water, and, as he says, rescued only by miracle. He reported, on his arrival, to Count Frontenac, the governor, and he relates the success of the expedition in a despatch to Colbert of the 14th of November, of the year after it was completed.

When Joliet returned with the tidings of the success achieved by this modest expedition, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, a Norman gentleman, was living in Canada. He had been trained by the Jesuits in early life, and was determined both to make a reputation and a fortune. He had come to Canada eager to seek a passage to Japan and China, and at this moment had a trading house at Lachine, above Montreal. It is said that the name "Lachine" is taken from that of China. When the news of Marquette's discovery was made known, La Salle waited upon Count Frontenac, and represented that the time had come for an expedition to the Pacific. So little interest had been taken in France in these discoveries, that as late as April 16, 1676, Louis XIV. writes to Frontenac, in a letter which still exists in manuscript, "With regard to new discoveries you will not address yourself to them excepting in a great necessity." This was not encouraging. But Frontenac gave La Salle a good introduction at court, and he obtained from the Marquis of Seignelay, who had succeeded Colbert as Minister of Marine, all that he asked for.

He sailed from Rochelle for Canada, in the summer of 1678, with thirty men, and with the stores proper for equipping the vessels which he meant to build upon the lakes. Arriving at the head of Lake Ontario, he made the portage by Niagara Falls to Lake Erie, and on Niagara River began to build a ship of forty-five tons, which he called the *Griffin*. On the 7th of August, 1679, she sailed on her western voyage, and on the 28th of that month arrived at Mackinac. The appearance of a vessel of her size, armed with seven cannon, waking on occasion with their thunders the echoes of the wilderness, amazed the natives, who had, till now, never seen the servants of their great Onnonthio, Louis XIV., but in the humbler garb and equipage of trappers and missionaries. La Salle proceeded in state to hear mass at the chapel of the Ottawas at Mackinac, and then continued his voyage prosperously to the settlement of Green Bay, where he arrived in September. Freighting the *Griffin* with furs, he proceeded to St. Joseph at the head of Lake Michigan, at the mouth of the river which still bears that name, nearly opposite the river Chicago. Here he built a fort, and here he expected the *Griffin*, which did not return, however, and was in fact never again heard of.

Robert Cavelier de la Salle.

Voyage of the *Griffin*.



THE FALLS OF NIAGARA. FAC-SIMILE FROM "HENNEPIN'S VOYAGES."

Anxious though he were, he pushed his explorations westward, and somewhere at the head of the Illinois River, probably in the very county which bears his name, he established Fort Crève-Cœur, which took its name from his depression of spirits in the calamities of that sad winter. No tidings came of the *Griffin*, and La Salle determined to return by land to Niagara.

He first detached Father Hennepin, a missionary, with one companion, to trace the Illinois to its mouth, and then to ascend the Mississippi in search of a route to the Pacific. This Hennepin did. He appears but meanly as a narrator, or as a voyager, in comparison with the modest and unselfish Marquette. He availed himself of the "local colouring" which he thus acquired, to give probability to a lying narrative, which he published in France some years afterward, in which he claimed for himself the honor, which belongs to La Salle alone, of tracing the river to the Gulf of Mexico. There is no better instance in literary history of the danger of such an attempt, or the certainty that it will furnish the means within itself to disprove its own statements. What Hennepin did was to sail down the Illinois to its mouth, and then to ascend the Mississippi as far as the falls of St. Anthony. Here he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, who permitted him to return to his countrymen, on condition that he would revisit them in the next year.

Hennepin's
journey.



Sioux Chief (from Catlin).

Tonty

Signature of Tonty.

La Salle had left his companion Henri de Tonty¹ in charge at Crève-Cœur while he went back to Niagara. At this time however the Iroquois, always hostile to the French, and excited, as La Salle thought, by his personal enemies, attacked the Illinois, among whom the fort was situated.² Tonty's whole garrison was five men. He found himself obliged to evacuate Crève-Cœur and to return. While he passed down Lake Michigan on its west side, La Salle passed up on the other with reinforcements. His heart must have quailed again when he came to Crève-Cœur to find it deserted. After this failure, he could only do his best to secure alliances with the Indians,

La Salle's
return.

¹ He was son of Lorenzo Tonty, who invented the Tontine.

² Mr. Parkman has identified the site of the great town of the Illinois. It is near Utica, La Salle County, Illinois.

and then returned to Montreal. Here he had to compound with his creditors, for the loss of the *Griffin* left him unable to meet his pecuniary obligations. He said, himself, that with the exception of the governor, Count Frontenac, it seemed as if every man in Canada were opposed to his adventure. He succeeded, however, in bringing together the resources for his undertaking, and started once more, on the expedition which proved successful, in the summer of 1681.¹

The party embarked on Lake Erie at the end of August, and arrived at the port at St. Joseph early in November. La Salle there



Site of Chicago

chose for his party twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, of the *Abnakis* and *Mohegans*, New England tribes, which had put themselves under his protection. Daniel Coxe, in his memorial to William III., cited above, says that these native New Englanders were chosen, because they had in the year before accompanied a considerable number of adventurers from New England to the Mississippi. The statement is probable enough, but the narrative to which Coxe refers has not yet been found in the Massachusetts archives. The Indians took with them ten of their wives and these women had three children. The whole party thus consisted of fifty-four persons, among whom were the Chevalier Henri de Tonty, Father Zenobe, of

¹ We have his own narrative, written in the third person, recently discovered in the archives in France, and printed in Thomassy's *Geology of Louisiana*. We have also Joutel's narrative, and that of the Chevalier Tonty.

the Recollet Order, and Dautray, the son of the procureur general of Quebec.

They crossed the lake to the Chicago River, to which they had given the name of the Divine River.¹ Time has preserved the native name, of which the derivation is not savory, and, as time will, has forgotten the piety of the discoverers. This river proved to be frozen, and Tonty, who commanded the advance, had to build sledges for the party and its boats. They left the site of the present city of Chicago on the 27th of January, 1682, and were obliged to haul their luggage and provisions eighty leagues. On this march they passed the chief village of the Illinois, but the tribe wintered elsewhere. At the widening of the river where Fort Crève-Cœur stood, which they called Lake Pimedey, they found the ice melted. Here they were able to launch their canoes, and in them they arrived at the mouth of the Illinois on the 6th of February. La Salle placed this point at 38° of north latitude. In this calculation he was a degree too far south.

Second expedition of La Salle.

The ice of the Mississippi detained them for a week, when they sailed. The next day, on the fourteenth, they passed the village of Tamaroa, but here, also, they found no inhabitants, and they continued their voyage for more than a hundred leagues without meeting any person. On the first of March, having lost one of his hunters, La Salle established a fort on shore, and ordered several excursions in hope of finding him. In one of these two natives were taken prisoners, who said that they were Sicachas. They were probably of our tribe of Chickasaws.² They said their town was distant a day and a half's journey. But, after La Salle had accompanied them for that time, the town proved to be still three days off, and he refused to go farther. One of them returned with him, and the other said he would bring the chiefs to the river. La Salle returned to his boats, — the lost hunter had meanwhile been found,³ — and on the 3d of March he continued his voyage.

On the 13th, after sailing forty-five leagues, the sound of drums and war-cries gave notice that the savages had discovered them, and on the right bank of the river their village could be seen. La Salle established himself at once on the left bank and in an hour's time built a fort on a point of land there. The Indian chiefs sent across a canoe, — the occupants of which received the calumet of peace, — and pleasant relations were at once opened

A meeting with the savages.

¹ La Salle's text is distinct. "Pour aller vers la rivière *Divine*, appelée par les Sauvages *Chicagou*." On many of the maps the name *Divine* is given to the Illinois.

² Their name is mentioned in the narratives of De Soto.

³ The hunter's name was Prudhomme, and was given to a fort at this place, which retained that name long after.

between the parties. La Salle remained with his hosts three days, and, when he left, they provisioned him from their stores. He noticed, at once, the difference between them and the northern Indians. "These are better formed," he says, "free, courteous, and of a gay humour. The northern Indians are all *triste* and of severe disposition."

This village is described as opposite the mouth of the Ohio. "Many kinds of fruits and peaches were already formed on the trees." La Salle planted a cross there, with King Louis's arms, and on his return, he found they had surrounded the cross with a palisade. They also gave him provisions, and interpreters to communicate with their allies, the Taensas, eighty leagues further down.



Wisconsin Indians gathering Wild Rice.

On the 22d he came to the Taensas, whom he found living in eight villages. He had passed, without stopping, the villages of the Arkansas. He describes the houses of the Taensas as built of walls of mud and straw, the roof of canes, which form a dome ornamented by painting. "They have bedsteads and other furniture and embellishments. They have temples in which they bury the bones of their chiefs, and they are clothed with white robes, made of the bark of a tree, which they spin." The whole account shows relationship to the Natchez and, probably, to Mexican or other Southern tribes. Their chief received De Tonty hospitably, La Salle having

The Taen-
sas.

sent him as his ambassador. Continuing their navigation, the French opened communication with the Natchez, who told them that they were still ten days from the sea. On the 2d of April they were for the first time attacked by Indians, who belonged to a tribe called Quinipisa.¹ The French had offered them the calumet, but the savages fired their arrows and fled. La Salle did not pursue them, but kept on his course. On the 6th the river divided into three branches. La Salle took the west, he sent De Tonty to the middle, and Dautray to the left. Two leagues farther and the water was salt, — a little more, — and the sea appeared, and the great discovery was made!

On the 9th of April, La Salle planted a cross with the arms of France. They sang the hymn *Vexilla Regis* and the *Te Deum*, and in the name of King Louis he took possession of the river and all the streams which fall into it, and all the countries which belong to them. This act of possession has been substantially respected ever since. It is under this act that France held her rights to the great province known as Louisiana, — and, therefore, it is under this act that the United States holds the State of Louisiana, and all its territory north of the line of Texas and west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, to this day. It must be remembered, that, until 1803, the name LOUISIANA applies to the whole Mississippi valley.

La Salle's provisions were nearly exhausted. The party found some dried meat near the mouth of the river, and were glad to satisfy their hunger with it, till the suspicion was started

that it was the flesh of men. On this the whites left it to the savages, who declared it was delicious.² On the 10th of April, La Salle began his return; and, until they came to the Quinipisa Indians, the party had to live on alligator's flesh and potatoes. He suc-

La Salle at
the mouth
of the Mis-
sissippi.



Portrait of Louis XIV.

His return.

¹ On the map, as drawn by Franquelin, this is spelled Kennipesa, the same as were afterwards spelled Colapissas, and Aqueoupissas, "Those who hear and see."

² See report of Father Zenobe, of which the original is in possession of M Dooz, of Baton Rouge.

ceeded in capturing four women of the Quinipisa; he explained to them that his intentions were peaceable, and by their means purchased maize and other supplies from the tribe. He was well received by the Taensas and Arkansas, arriving at the villages of the latter on the 17th of May. When he was a hundred leagues below the Illinois River he fell dangerously ill. He was therefore obliged to intrust his dispatches to De Tonty, who went on in advance. La Salle himself was detained forty days by his illness. He arrived at St. Joseph at the end of September, but the approach of winter prevented his return to Quebec. "He thus finished," he says in closing his report, "the most important and difficult discovery which has ever been made by any Frenchman, without the loss of a single man, in the same country where Jean Ponce de Leon, Pamphile de Narvaez, and Ferdinand de Soto perished unsuccessful, with more than two thousand Spaniards. No Spaniard ever carried through such an enterprise with so small a force, in presence of so many enemies. But he has gained no advantage for himself. His misfortunes and the frequent obstacles in his way have cost him more than two hundred thousand livres. Still he will be happy if he has done anything for the advantage of France, and if his endeavors may win for him the protection of Monseigneur."

Father Mambré took to France La Salle's report of his great discovery. Unfortunately for the great explorer, Count Frontenac had been replaced by M. de la Barre, who had conceived a dislike of La Salle. He had written home, charging him with the Iroquois war; and he afterwards represented that La Salle was a mischief-maker among the Indians, who perverted his royal commission for the purposes of mere trade. But so soon as La Salle himself was able to report in person at Paris, he swept away any injurious impressions which had been thus made. The French monarchy was never at a higher point of success or ambition. The peace of Nimeguen in 1678 had given to Louis almost all he could ask for. Seignelay, the Minister of Marine, listened with pleasure to La Salle's narratives.¹ He sent directions to La Barre to restore Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) to his agents; and to La Salle himself he gave large powers for the colonization of Louisiana.

In the memoir, which is still preserved, which La Salle addressed to the Marquis Seignelay, he proposes to establish a colony sixty leagues above the mouth of the river. This would have been, according to his own map, not far from the point where the Atchafalaya makes a separate course from the Mississippi to the sea, — and it is probable that he intended at that point to establish his colony. With-

¹ On Franquelin's map, made in 1684, under La Salle's direction, the Mississippi is named the "Colbert," and the Red River is named the "Seignelay."

out any disguise, he proposes, as the principal object of this colony, such an attack on the back of the Spanish possessions, as was to open to the French their thirty silver mines in New Biscay. And he coolly remarks, that if the peace of Europe makes it necessary to postpone such designs, it will be well to be prepared for them in the event of a war. He says that Spain makes six million crowns yearly by these mines, and that, with superior ease of transport of silver, France will make much more. La Salle is truly enough called a representative of the spirit of chivalry, and to the real spirit of the chivalrous ages such a proposition as this not unfitly belongs.

Seignelay and the King gave him more than he asked for. The colonists sailed from Rochelle on the 24th of July, 1684, admirably well equipped, in four vessels, — a part of a fleet of twenty-five, of which the others were bound to the French West Indies and to Canada. But the passage across the Atlantic was then long. Much time was consumed in stopping at San Domingo, and the year had almost ended before the squadron of La Salle was near the mouth of the Mississippi. By a terrible misfortune, due to the difficulty of rightly calculating longitude in those times,¹ they passed the true mouth of the great river.

On the 1st of January, 1685, La Salle landed, — perhaps on the southern shore of our State of Louisiana, near the Sabine, — but he could learn nothing from the Indians, and continued west for a fortnight longer. When they found the coast trending south, they were sure of their own error. But the captain of the fleet, Beaujeu, refused to return along the coast, and after an altercation between him and La Salle, the vessels entered Matagorda Bay, which they called the Bay of St. Bernard. Here the stores of the colony were landed, and here Beaujeu, who had been at cross-purposes, left them. By such a series of misfortunes did it happen that the State of Texas was the earliest, after Florida, of the States which we call Gulf States, to be colonized by Europeans. Beaujeu left the party on the 12th of March,² under circumstances of cruel desertion. On his return to France he made the most unfavorable report, and to him, and possibly to Jesuit hatred, may it be attributed that no relief was sent out to the great explorer.

To the stream which flows into Matagorda Bay from the northwest, La Salle gave the name *Les Vaches*, from the buffaloes he found

¹ A quarter of a century after, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet were lost on the coast of Cornwall, because their longitude was more than a degree out of the way.

² He left among other stores eight cannon, which the King had given to the colony. They were lately to be seen at Goliad, identified by having Louis XIV.'s mark upon them.

there. Near the same spot, the town of Lavaca retains the name, the only name given by La Salle to his establishments in Texas which has been preserved. The name St. Louis was given to the new settlement. The Indians, whom he found in Texas, were of the same great race as the tribes he had met on the Mississippi. They had large and populous villages, with well-built cabins, said to

The Texas
Indians.



La Salle's Landing in Texas (reduced fac-simile from Hennepin).

be sometimes forty and fifty feet high.¹ They had traded with the Spaniards for horses, clothing, spurs, and silver spoons, and knew what money was. La Salle found them gentle and hospitable. Among such tribes he was to pass what little was left of his adventurous life.

¹ Father Douay's narrative. It is supposed that the name Texas is from the Spanish Tejas, in allusion to these covered houses.

His colony once sufficiently established, he left it on the 1st of November, 1685, on an expedition of discovery, always hoping to find, what Joutel, his second in command, learned to call "his unfortunate river." Once and again from such expeditions, in which he traversed Texas far in different routes, he returned to the settlement, always to hear some new story of misadventure. But his own buoyant and easy temper would restore the spirits of his men, and he would find new resource in every difficulty. At last, at the end of 1686, he determined to lead a party across to Canada to obtain succors from France for the colony, for which, thanks to Beaujeu's treachery, no supplies had arrived in two years' time.



Signature of Beaujeu.

On the 7th of January, 1687, this hero, who combines in his own character so much that would have challenged regard in a chevalier of the days of Philip Augustus, — and would command respect in the vigorous enterprises of to day, — left the wretched colony, on what was to prove his last adventure. For want of better material, the clothing which he and his men wore was made from the sails of the little vessel which had been lost. He was to lead his party nearly two thousand miles overland. The same journey may be made to-day by railroad, and the traveller if he chooses, takes his ease. But even now, no man thinks the journey a trifle. Poor La Salle and his companions were to make it with little guidance beside that which the compass gave them, and must trust to their weapons or their address, to secure their passage among hostile tribes.

Overland
journey to
Canada.

He had bought five horses from the Indians, who had already learned the use of horses from the Spaniards. These beasts were used as pack-horses for the party. Twenty of the colonists, among whom were seven women and girls and some children, were to remain behind under Barbier, a hunter, who had been married since their arrival in America, and who was appointed governor in the place of Joutel. La Salle made them a farewell address in his own engaging way, and all who were to stay, while they felt the necessity of his journey, were melted to tears. Yet, doubtless, they felt that their dangers were less than his.

The travelling party consisted of about twenty also. La Salle and his brother Cavalier, the priest, with their two nephews, — Joutel and Father Anastasius, Duhaut and Liotot, the surgeon, were those who seemed the most distinguished of the party.

La Salle's
companions.

Beside them were a man named Hiens, who had been a buccaneer, and was sometimes known as English Jem, and Nika, a faithful Shawnee Indian.

In that climate, there is no real hardship in travelling in January, and had the party been better provided, it would have made rapid progress, compared with what proved possible. But they lacked shoes, until they could supply their place with buffalo-hide and deer-skin. The rivers were swollen, and they were obliged to make boats from hides to ferry them. Thus they crossed the Brazos, and in two months' time, they approached Trinity River. Nothing but the scantiness of their equipment, and the fullness of the streams and rivers, accounts for the slowness of their progress. Meanwhile the members of the party were not on good terms. La Salle appeared reserved and anxious, and Liotot and Duhaut had quarrelled with young Moranget, his nephew.

Le cavalier

Signature of Cavalier.

On the 15th of March, La Salle sent a party from camp to find some provisions which he had left on his last expedition. They found the provision spoiled, — but they killed two buffaloes, and sent to La Salle for horses to bring the meat. La Salle sent Moranget and two others with the horses. They found the successful hunters, among whom were Duhaut, Liotot, and Heins, already curing the meat. Moranget, hot-headed boy as he was, broke into rage with them, because they had put by for themselves some part of the meat, to which the customs of hunting entitled them. It was not the first of

Mutiny in
the camp.

Moranget's outbursts of rage. Duhaut was so angry, that he conspired with the others to kill Moranget, — and, as he knew the fidelity of Nika the Indian, and Saget, La Salle's servant, their death also was determined. Night came, the three victims each served his watch in turn. So soon as they slept, Duhaut and Heins stood by with their guns cocked, — and Liotot, with an axe, killed the three sleeping men. La Salle was six miles away.

They did not dare join him. When the others had been absent two days, La Salle sought them in his anxiety, accompanied by the friar Anastasius. As they walked he talked with the priest on religious themes, and of his gratitude to God for his safety in twenty years' peril. Suddenly he was overcome with profound sadness, and was so much moved that Father Anastasius scarcely knew him. They came near Duhaut's camp, and La Salle noticed two birds of prey hovering above. He saw on the ground a piece of bloody clothing. He fired his two pistols to summon the hunters. They heard the shots, and crossed a little river to meet him. La Salle asked for his nephew. One of them replied insolently, that "Moranget

Murder of
La Salle.

was along the river." La Salle rebuked him. Duhaut fired his gun in reply, and La Salle fell dead, — shot through the brain.

"There you are, great pashaw,"¹ — this was the contemptuous cry of the false surgeon. Such was the death of one of the noblest heroes of France, when he seemed at the very prime of his life. He was only forty-three years old. Had he lived, with his spirit and power of command, to carry out the enterprise he had planned, the history of Louisiana must have been different. By his death, the valley of the Mississippi was left for nearly twenty years more to be the home of savages.

After his death, the first history of his colony, which had left France in such high hope, sinks into the separate effort of the colonists to escape with their lives from a wilderness. In a quarrel among the murderers, Duhaut, who had himself fired the fatal shot which killed La Salle, was himself killed, and the little company afterwards broke in pieces. Death of Duhaut. Joutel, Father Anastasius, — the two relatives of La Salle, — and four others, made a separate party, which persevered towards Canada. They had horses, which they had obtained from the natives, and, by following a northeast course, from the country of the Caddos, above the lake of that name on Red River, they came out, to their delight, on the 24th of July, upon a cottage built in the French fashion, and a cross upon the northern side of the Arkansas River, just above the place where it unites with the Mississippi.

The cottage was the home of two Frenchmen, Charpentier and De Launay, both of the city of Rouen, whom De Tonty, La Salle's old companion, had left at the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi, in the spring of 1685. De Tonty had gone down the river, in vain, in hopes to meet his old chief there. The names of these Frenchmen deserve permanent record, as those of the persons who established the first permanent post of Europeans south of the Illinois River, in the valley of the Mississippi.

From this point the friends of La Salle went home by routes now familiar to the French. The fate of the twenty colonists left at St. Louis, in Matagorda Bay, is not clear. A Spanish officer, dispatched to find them in 1689, found only the deserted settlement. Two of the

¹ "Te voilà, grand bacha, te voilà." Joutel's narrative. There are three narratives by members of this wretched expedition: Father Cavelier, Joutel's, and that of Father Anastasius. We have followed Mr. Parkman's thrilling narrative. The spot is not determined. The Texan historian supposes it to have been near the Neches River where the old Indian trail crosses that stream. Yoakum's *Hist. of Texas*, i. 38. But the old map of De Lisle places it distinctly at a point about seven miles west of Trinity River, in the county of San Jacinto, not very far from the field of the critical battle known by that name.

murderous party were arrested by the same officer, and were eventually condemned to the Spanish mines. Thus the first French effort to colonize the southwest left no sign, in 1689, but the cottage of the two Frenchmen who were established at the mouth of the Arkansas, with the addition of a third from La Salle's party.

The successful colonization of Louisiana, and from Louisiana upwards, of the valley of the Mississippi, was due not to the spirit of chivalry, so far as that was represented by La Salle, or to his chivalrous plans for seizing the Spanish silver mines, but to more modern developments of the spirit of mercantile adventure.

It is probable that the long and successful enterprises of La Salle and his companions were the first steps which led to the education of a race of men still existing, known as the Canadian Voyageurs. In all the great river adventures of North America from those days down, these voyageurs have taken their part, humble, but none the less essential. The names of such men are in the narratives of Hearne and Mackenzie, of Lewis and Clarke, of Franklin, Back, and the Simpsons. The nomenclature which they have created is still in use on all the American rivers between New Brunswick and California, and their readiness to undertake any of the hardships of a campaigner's life makes them favored volunteers in the composition of any expedition of adventure. From the time when De Tonty went down the river in 1686, in unsuccessful hope of meeting La Salle, there was, perhaps, not a single year that some of these voyageurs did not "try the adventure" of the Mississippi in whole or in part.¹

But it was not for ten years after La Salle's death that the French Crown made any effort to renew the colonization of the Mississippi valley. The work was then put into competent hands.

The Sieur Lemoyne d'Iberville was the third of eleven brothers, sons of Charles Lemoyne, Baron Longueuil, of Canada. To him was intrusted the oversight of an expedition fitted out by the King to plant a colony. Two frigates conveyed the colonists, of which D'Iberville himself commanded the larger, so that the evils of a divided command, which had broken the strength of La Salle's effort, were avoided. A third vessel joined at Saint Domingo, and on the 25th of January, 1699, the expedition arrived at the island of St. Rosa, just below Pensacola. At this point the Spaniards had established themselves more than a month before.

¹ It has been said that a party went to the mouth of the Mississippi as early as 1686. No such party made a permanent establishment; this statement is derived from some recollection of De Tonty's expedition.

D'Iberville spent some weeks in exploring the coast, and on the 2d of March entered the Mississippi River. He had with him Father Anastasius, who had accompanied La Salle, and who found no difficulty in recognizing its

Le Moyne D'Iberville

Signature of D'Iberville.

turbid waters and its majestic flow. Evidence more convincing to D'Iberville was found, when, forty leagues up the river, they found the Bayagoula Indians, who brought out cloaks which La Salle had given them, a breviary which Father Anastasius had left in 1682, and a letter which De Tonty had left in 1686. They called it "a speaking bark."¹ D'Iberville's first post was at Biloxi Island, in Mobile Bay. He returned to France, and was again despatched to the river. He founded his second post at a point on the Mississippi, now known as Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below the present city of New Orleans.

The settlement at Biloxi was within the limits of the present State of Alabama, and was the first establishment of whites there. It was abandoned after a year for a station further up on the Mobile River, about eighteen leagues from the sea. The settlement at Poverty Point was the first settlement made in Louisiana. It was established in 1700. By this time D'Iberville had the assistance of a Canadian colony to meet him by the way of Lake Erie and the Miami portage.

The settlement at Biloxi.

While D'Iberville was absent in France, his brother Bienville fell in with an English ship, commanded by Captain Barr, which was twenty-eight leagues up the river, having been sent out to explore and take possession of the Mississippi. Bienville boldly told him that the Mississippi was farther west, that this river was a dependency of Canada of which he had taken possession, and Barr went in search of the great river, just where poor La Salle had looked for it so vainly. The reach of the river where this interview took place is still known as the "English turn." The expedition thus arrested was a private expedition sent out by Coxe, an Englishman, who held a charter given by Charles I., for a supposed province of Carolana or West Florida. Our only other account of this expedition is by Coxe's son, and was published twenty years after. He complains that the captain of one ship deserted the other, but says that one of the two ascended the river one hundred miles.²

¹ "*Écorce parlante.*"

² The younger Coxe's map is drawn to show that all of southern Louisiana, except the

During the war of succession, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, Spain and France were in alliance, and the Spanish governors,



Portrait and Signature of Bienville.

both of Mexico and of Florida, rendered one and another service to the infant French colony which D'Iberville, and his brothers Bienville and Serigny, requited as they could in their weakness.¹ The history of the infant State is but little more than that of a small garrison, whose enterprising commanders were making alliances with the neighboring savages. Communication was constantly kept up with Canada, and in 1700, Le Sœur, an explorer of mines, went so far as Lake Superior, and returned, with what the chronicler says was two hundred thousand pounds of copper ore.² It must be doubted whether any such

quantity was carried across the Portages of Wisconsin or Minnesota, especially as Le Sœur's journal says that it was in three canoes.

The pacification of Europe resulting from the Treaty of Utrecht, gave the signal for an enlargement of the little colony. At that time the military force in Louisiana did not exceed one hundred French soldiers, and seventy-five Canadians. There were perhaps three hun-

very mouths of the Mississippi, was included in the charter of "Carolana," that is, was north of 31° north latitude. The line of 31° is the northern line of our State of Florida, and the southern of the greater part of Mississippi. Coxe claims the river for England on the ground that his father's ship was the first to enter it from the sea. It probably was, but the claim of discovery is absurd. Still, had William the Third lived longer, he might have followed up this claim.

¹ *Archiv de la Marine*. No. 9, No. 458 in Mr. Forstall's list.

² La Harpe's narrative, preserved in MS. in the Philosophical Society's Library. The text is, "Monsieur Le Sueur arriva avec 2000 quint* de terre bleue y verte, venant des Scioux." The narrative, in an English translation, has been published by Mr. Trench in the *Louisiana Historical Transactions*.

dred whites beside, and twenty negroes held as slaves, scattered over the enormous territory known as Louisiana. So soon as the peace came, the King granted the whole territory to Antoine Crozat, one of those great financiers who play so curious a part in the French history of those times. The grant says specifically, that in consequence of the war there had been no possibility of reaping the advantages which might have been expected. It says also that Crozat's zeal, and singular knowledge in maritime commerce, encourages hope for as good success as in his former enterprises, "which have procured great quantities of gold and silver to the kingdom in such conjunctures as have rendered them very acceptable."

Grant of
Louisiana
to Crozat.

In the grant, the great rivers are thus named: "The river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, the river St. Philip, heretofore called Missouri, the river St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache." But these names have lasted as little as the other special privileges granted to Crozat. The grant cedes all territories watered by the Mississippi. Crozat appointed as his governor, La Mothe Cadillac, a soldier, in place of Le Muys, who had died on his passage home. Le Muys had been the governor-general named by the King.

Crozat's gov-
ernment.

Cadillac arrived at the colony in May, 1713, bringing the news of peace, the news of the grant to Crozat, and of his own appointment. With him came several officers of administration. D'Iberville had died, but his influence in the colony was inherited by his brother, Bienville, so long celebrated in the history of Louisiana. Naturally enough altercations grew up between the new officials and Bienville and his friends, which were the basis of parties extending well down into that century. In a colony where there were not a hundred persons resident at any one point, and at this time not more than four hundred persons in all, such altercations were, doubtless, all the more bitter. Crozat's plans were based on the hope of commerce with the Spaniards. But the Spanish government changed its policy, and fell back on a system of exclusion, which had originated with Philip II., and which generally characterized its rule of its colonies, until it brought that rule to an end. Cadillac remained in the country but two years. He made some personal explorations, and ordered an expedition into Texas, which will be best described in our chapter on the early history of that State.

Beginning of
Bienville's
influence in
the colony.

His successor was M. de L'Épinay. Bienville was appointed King's Commandant, while De L'Épinay was Governor-general. There was

no less dissension between these two than between Bienville and Cadillac. But the fortunes of the colony were not dependent on as trivial motives as the discords of local commanders. With the death of "Le grand Monarque" in 1715, and the accession of the Regent Duke of Orleans to the sway of France, a new destiny awaited Louisiana. It came through the spirit which was given to emigration by the enterprise, so disastrous in Europe, of the famous John Law, known in history as the Mississippi Scheme.



Indians in a Canoe (fac-simile from La Hontan).

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

JOHN LAW. — THE REGENT ORLEANS. — LAW'S BANK. — THE WESTERN COMPANY. — RENEWED EMIGRATION. — THE INDIAN COMPANY. — SPANISH WAR. — NEW ESTABLISHMENTS. — FAILURE OF LAW'S PLANS. — RUIN OF SPECULATORS. — MISSIONS IN LOUISIANA. — THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS. — ESTABLISHMENT AT NATCHEZ. — RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS. — CUSTOMS OF THE NATCHEZ. — CHOPART'S FOLLY. — ITS RESULTS. — CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE NATCHEZ AND CHICKASAWS. — BIENVILLE RE-APPOINTED. — HIS ILL-SUCCESS AS A MILITARY LEADER. — VAUDREUIL AND KERLEREC.

JOHN LAW was born in Edinburgh in April, 1671, the son of a goldsmith of considerable fortune. The goldsmiths of that day were the bankers of the world, and all the social privileges of a banker of to day belonged to this Scotch goldsmith then. John Law was but fourteen years old when his father died. He was educated with care, but did not choose to embrace his father's calling, preferring a life of pleasure and travel. He left his mother at the age of twenty, and went first to London, where, like many other adventurers, he applied his knowledge of finance and mathematics to the calculations of the gambling table, without more success than is usual. His mother paid his debts and saved his estate. For himself he became popular in London; but the fortune of Louisiana was changed, as it happened, on the 9th of April, 1694, when in a duel in Bloomsbury Square, he killed on the spot a gentleman named Edward Wilson, "commonly called Beau Wilson." For this



John Law.

offence he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the King. He was, however, thrown into prison on some charge connected with the duel, but he effected his escape and fled to the continent.

At Amsterdam he became a clerk of the English Resident, in order to study the system of the celebrated Bank of Amsterdam; and at thirty years of age he returned to Scotland. About the year 1700, he presented in print a plan for what we should now call The National Bank of Scotland, — far in advance of

His career
and finan-
cial
schemes.



The Regent Orleans.

the financial wisdom of the day, and, indeed, only differing from the systems now in use in the European national banks, so far as it included the system, then universal, of monopolies of commerce and of farming out the revenue. Another plan of his, at this time, that for a land bank, has been often brought forward since, but never really tried.

Neither Scotland nor England was prepared for his financial schemes, and, returning to the continent, he engaged himself in the not uncongenial occupation of gambling, — managing faro banks with profit. This occupation brought him into acquaintance with the Duke of

Orleans, an acquaintance which afterwards proved so important. On the close of the war of the succession he urged his financial plans on the French government, which was already bankrupt. But Louis XIV. rejected them, not so much because the plans were not good, of which nobody in France was a judge, as because the author of them was a Protestant. Law went to offer them to Victor Amadeo at Turin, and to the Emperor of Germany. Both these sovereigns declined to try his experiments. But at their courts and elsewhere, he won two million livres at gambling, — and this he carried to Paris, where it became the nucleus of his after fortunes.

Reception of
his plans on
the conti-
nent.

Louis XIV. died. His ambition, his selfishness, and in especial, the war of the succession, had brought France to bankruptcy. It is not fair to ascribe this bankruptcy to John Law. The truth is, that he

postponed for a few years the inevitable catastrophe. To borrow the language of the modern exchange, he flew the great kites, which, for a little while, promised to carry France over an abyss. When the King died the royal stocks were at a discount of from seventy to eighty per cent. A treasury report of September 20, 1715, shows that the annual expenses were one hundred and forty-eight million livres.¹ All the receipts of the year were pledged in advance, except three millions. Seven hundred and ten millions of stocks were due in the current year. The troops were not paid, commerce was ruined, and whole provinces were depopulated. The Regent was urged to proclaim the crown bankrupt. The Regent declared that he should be dishonored, and that France would be dishonored, by such a course. In place of it he attempted every half way measure known in his time, or indeed, since, to insolvent states or failing merchants. When it is remembered, that in fourteen years the expenses of the monarchy had been two billions of livres more than the revenue, and that this amount had been borrowed; that the arrears, when the King died, were seven hundred and eleven millions, and the deficit on the year then current was seventy-eight millions; when it is also remembered that Law's plans, such as they were, maintained the credit of the crown for five years; the injustice will be seen of that sweeping charge, which says that the public bankruptcy of France was the consequence of those schemes.

When the Regent came into power he had placed the Duke de Noailles at the head of the department of finance. To this department he referred Law and his plans. Law proposed a public bank, which should collect the revenues, carry on the great monopolies, issue bills current as money, and discount notes of merchants and others who wished to borrow. The Council of Finance rejected this proposal, and Law substituted a private bank of discount, on a basis which seems modest to later times. The capital was six million livres, divided into twelve hundred shares. It was authorized to discount merchants' notes, and to issue bills redeemable in coin. The Duke of Orleans accepted the title of Patron of the bank, which was opened in Law's own house.

Their acceptance in France.

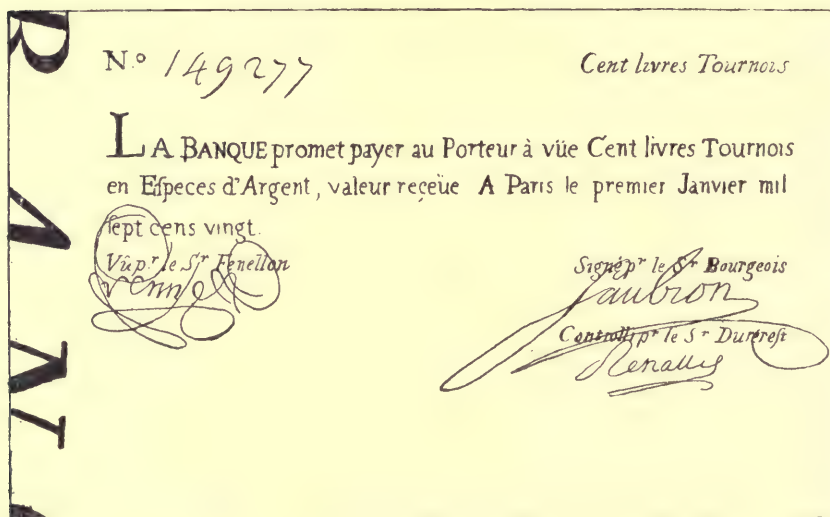
So necessary were these simple bank facilities, in the disordered commerce of France, that the bank at once became popular and acquired credit. At the end of a year Law's predictions were fulfilled, and he was able to take a second step. The government, also, could give him its countenance, by a decree ordering

History of Law's Bank.

¹ The value of a livre varies, from time to time, especially as it is a paper livre or made of silver. But the reader of our time may remember to advantage, that, in 1700, the word represented, in substance, what the word "franc" stands for now.

public officials to receive the notes of the bank, as if they were coin. From this time, of course, they answered all purposes of exchange within the kingdom. With such facilities the notes instantly gained value, the deposits of gold and silver increased, and the bank was on the high road of prosperity. Its notes even commanded one per cent. more than specie, at times, for the government was not above tampering with specie; but the bank redeemed its notes in the coin it received. The trade of the country felt the benefit to commerce of such a currency. Taxes were paid cheerfully, and branches of the bank, in accordance with Law's original plan, were established in five provincial cities.

A second feature of Law's great scheme had been the management of the great commercial monopolies, which made, at that time, a part



Fac-simile of Bank-note issued by Law.

of the commercial system of all the great nations. He was now tempted to engraft this part of that plan upon his private bank. And it is from that temptation, and the plans made in consequence, that Law became the founder of New Orleans, and, practically, the person who directed the French settlement of the valley of the Mississippi. Crozat, who had obtained the grant of the Mississippi trade for twelve years, had not been successful in his plans, for reasons which have been stated. He asked permission to give up his privilege, and Law gladly became his successor. It seems as if Crozat had attempted commerce only, with hopes of success in mining, while Law, with a broader view, expected to make

the colonists at least support themselves by agriculture. The contract for the trade in beaver in Canada expired in 1717. Law, therefore, asked permission to form a company, which should unite all the commerce of Louisiana with the fur trade of Canada. The Regent granted all that he asked, in an edict issued in August, 1717.

The company thus formed received the name of the "Western Company." The grants made to it were for twenty-five years. The sovereignty over all Louisiana was granted to it, on the condition of homage to the king of France, and of a gold crown at the beginning of every new reign. This token of vassalage indicates the nature of the hopes with which it was undertaken. The capital was nominally one hundred million livres. But subscribers were permitted to pay three fourths of their subscriptions in royal bonds, which were still at the old discount of seventy or eighty per cent. Only one fourth of the subscription was asked for in coin. It will be seen, therefore, that the real capital paid in was about forty million livres.



New Orleans in 1719 (from an old Map).

With this capital Law and his associates went to work with spirit in the details of colonization. We can still refer to the little emigration tracts which they circulated through France and Germany to collect emigrants. Vessels were armed, troops sent forward, and colonists enlisted. The great feudal cultivators of France did not encourage the emigration of peasants. The emigrants, therefore, were not so often as might have been wished, persons used to agriculture. They were indeed enlisted largely by the hope of collecting gold, — then, as now, the hope most tempting to a poor and discouraged people. M. de L'Epiney was recalled, and Law showed his good sense and knowledge of the position by appointing Bienville Governor-general of Louisiana. Bienville was also instructed, probably by an echo of advice given by himself, to select a new site for the capital. With the

Preparations for colonization.

Bienville governor. The settlement of New Orleans.

knowledge he had acquired of the geography of his dominions, he chose the admirable site of New Orleans, commanding the approaches to the sea by the river and by Lake Pontchartrain, and here in February, 1718, he left fifty persons to clear the ground and to build. Through the year different vessels arrived with colonists for different landowners, — in one party alone eight hundred persons.

The next year two of Bienville's brothers arrived with news of the short Spanish war, set on foot by the folly of Alberoni. With great promptness Governor Bienville moved against the Spanish port of Pensacola, and took it. It was soon retaken by a superior force, but was again captured by a French squadron in September. Meanwhile, without check from the war, John Law was going forward with apparent success in his great schemes. The Western Company, as the charter called his corporation, had not at first attracted much public attention. But its shares gradually rose to par, that is, to a money par, though they had been largely paid for in reduced securities. In May, 1719, he was strong enough in public confidence to obtain from the Regent power to join with it the East India Company of France. The exclusive right of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope was given to it. Its name was changed to that of "The Indian Company," and, for its new purposes, it was authorized to issue fifty thousand new shares at a par of five hundred livres.

But the company was already so prosperous that it refused even to
The Indian Company. issue these new shares at less than five hundred and twenty livres, fifty livres down, and the remainder in twenty equal monthly payments. Nor was any person permitted to take one new share who did not exhibit four old ones. Old shares, therefore, rose rapidly under the new enthusiasm. This condition brought them from three hundred livres up to seven hundred and fifty livres, — that is, they rose from sixty per cent. of their nominal value to fifty per cent. above it.

It was at this crisis, when the Western Company became the Indian Company, that it really won the bad name which from that moment to this has hung around the "Mississippi Scheme," so called.¹ A capital of forty million livres was not an extraordinary sum with which to develop the fur trade of Canada, and all the resources of the Mississippi Valley. The methods of the Company for its legitimate business, even in the midst of stockbroking in Paris, were judicious, though they were not so considerable as its capital would have justified. Concessions of land, as they were called, were

¹ Which has seemed to attend subsequent financial transactions which bore the same name.

made to adventurers under the Company, and these adventurers sent out settlers, as the Company itself did. In 1718, seven vessels were sent out with stores and emigrants, numbering in all, perhaps, fifteen hundred persons. The year 1719 sent eleven ships, besides those ships of war belonging to the crown, which assisted in the operations against Pensacola. Meanwhile new establishments for trade were opened on the Red River, the Missouri, and the Upper Mississippi.¹ In this year five hundred negroes from the Guinea Coast were brought in, and another cargo arrived the next year. A terrible epidemic, contracted at St. Domingo, where the vessels always stopped, swept through the emigrants of 1720. From one vessel, one man, who was set on shore at his own request, was the only person who ever arrived; the ship itself was never heard of again. In 1721 nearly a thousand white emigrants arrived, and thirteen hundred and sixty-seven slaves were brought from Guinea, not three quarters of the poor wretches who were embarked for the voyages. In this year the *Garonne*, belonging to the Company, with supplies and three hundred German emigrants, was taken by pirates near St. Domingo.

This year, however, the most active of the operations of the Company, as far as Louisiana was concerned, was the last of its prosperity at home. The popularity gained by the union of the East and West India Companies in August, 1719, was so great, and the demand so flattering for the consolidated stock, that Law was able to advance another step towards his original design, and to undertake, by the Company, the payment of a considerable part of that terrible public debt, with which the Regent's administration had found itself saddled by the later wars of Louis the Magnificent. In exchange for the privilege of collecting the revenue of France, he proposed to take up, by the issue of company stock, government stock to the amount of more than fifteen hundred millions, a considerable part of which was approaching maturity. The plan was gigantic, but it offered unquestionable advantages. If so large an enterprise could have been carried out with the privacy and delicate handling necessary, it seems to have rested on an intelligible and practicable basis. In fact the new shares which Law issued, of which nine tenths were to be paid in government stock, were sought with overwhelming eagerness. This means, partly, that the French people went crazy. But it also means, partly, that people trusted John Law and his business-like methods of administration more than they did

Progress of
emigration.

The "Mississippi
Scheme."

¹ In the Yazoo country, at Baton Rouge, at Bayagoula, at Ecores Blancs, at Point Coupée, at the Black River, at Pascagoula, and among the Illinois. All these plantations proved permanent.

the Regent Orleans and the men around him. For the real question was, whether the holders of government securities would or would not exchange them for his securities, when they could do so, if they would add a payment of one ninth of the amount in cash, for all which they would receive his bonds, or those of his company. The speculators and the capitalists of France alike, chose to make the change. And this is the cause of the frenzy, in which all France combined to give, for a moment, an exaggerated value to the bonds of the India Company. It was not the possession of the whole valley of the Mississippi. Land is as valueless in itself in any market, as is the ocean



A Caricature of the Time of the "Mississippi Bubble."

or the clouds. It needs the occupancy of men — men who know how to subdue the earth — before it has a money value. If the Indian Company could have given this element of value to their empire on the Mississippi, it would have been worth the whole debt of France a hundred times told. But such inhabitancy, or such a population, is not to be gained by any inducements which such companies can offer.

For the moment, however, the public enthusiasm supplied the place of more substantial values. Three hundred thousand new shares were applied for, where there were but fifty thousand to distribute. The enlargement of currency, accompanied by universal confidence, quick-

ened every form of industry. The annual taxes were reduced by fifty-two million livres in the year 1719, while thirty-five millions had been taken off before, since the Regent's accession to power. The rate of interest fell, lands rose in price, labor found its reward, and plenty appeared everywhere. The author of such wonders was hailed as a demi-god; the crowds followed him, the nobility courted him, the Regent honored and obeyed him. To John Law, the Scotch goldsmith's son, poor France owed the one gleam of prosperity which she had enjoyed for twenty years.

Momentary effects of the plan. Law at the height of power.

It is said that in the three years of its power in Louisiana, the Indian Company expended twenty-five million of francs. It would probably be impossible to say what this immense sum was expended for. La Harpe, a very competent authority, testifies that eight million francs only were expended on supplies and transportation for the colony, and he avers that this sum brought no return to France. He says that convicts and prostitutes were sent out as colonists; that inexperienced clerks were put in charge of the stores and plundered them openly; that the Company did not hold to its contracts with Swiss and German companies, and with miners; that these contracts themselves were unfortunate; that it was always making places for adventurers, and always quarrelling with Bienville. All this is said more simply, when we say that a company of directors in Paris undertook to rule a colony in America. Napoleon has taught us that two good generals are worse than one bad one. When a directory of generals is on one side of the world, and their army is on the other, its ruin is certain. It is a curious question, whether under a careful management, that part of the capital of the Company which was subscribed for the development of Louisiana, could, in these days, have been made productive. An annual income of four per cent. would have satisfied the shareholders. Their privilege ran for twenty-five years, and when it reverted to the crown, the separate holders could take lands to represent the principal. It is certain that the furs of Canada and of Louisiana would not amount to

The Company's rule in Louisiana.



Arms of the Western Company.

an annual value of one million six hundred thousand livres. Indeed, the Company relied, not so much on furs, as on mines and tobacco. They never found any mines of value, and the product of tobacco was inconsiderable. So far their empire in the West yielded them but little. If, however, the Company had been willing to do as Winthrop and his associates did, go themselves with their charter to the province of which it made them masters, it could not have been

hard to make that province worth forty millions francs before 1742. But no man of the stockholders, though the examples were before them of Winthrop, of Champlain, of Penn, and other colonists, had, at any moment, any such idea.

Whatever may have been the legitimate basis on which Law's earlier plans were founded, all recollection of it was swept away and all thought of any basis was forgotten in the whirlwind of excitement which swept over France, when all men tried to join in the successes of those whose early investments in Indian stocks had proved fortunate beyond the wildest hope. Under this wild excitement shares issued at 500 livres eventually sold at 5,000 livres, and even more. In its five issues, the Company put out 624,000 shares, which at the nominal par amounted to 312,000,000 livres. To pay four per cent. interest on these, would have required 12,480,000 livres annually. It is an interesting fact that its income was more than six times this amount, being 80,500,000 livres annually. The Company was therefore amply able to make good its technical obligations. But, of course, persons who had bought for 5,000 livres a share nominally worth 500, would not be satisfied with a miserable annual income of twenty livres for that investment. The price of shares was merely fanciful. It could not be held at the fictitious level. And the moment the decline began, nothing would arrest it. These statements are due to the memory of John Law. He undoubtedly made the grossest errors in his efforts to arrest the fall of these securities. But it was, in the first instance, not the audacity of his proposals, but their success, which caused his ruin.

Ruin came. So soon as the holders of shares began to buy with them houses and castles and jewels, and did not buy other shares, so soon as they ceased to speculate and began to invest in real securities, so soon the price of bonds fell. All the ingenuity and all the audacity of Law, all the willing help of the unscrupulous Regent could not arrest the fall, more than they could make water run up hill. In one year from the greatest success of the "system," as this rash adventure was called, it had wholly disappeared. In that time thousands had become rich who were poor, thousands were poor who had been rich. Law fled from Paris, and all his estates were sequestered.¹ This was in November, 1720. News of his fall and flight arrived in Louisiana on the 15th of April, 1721. The year 1721, however, saw the largest accession yet made of emigrants to the colony.

Wild speculation in the stock.
Ruin of the Company and of Law.

¹ For an admirable account of all Law's transactions, examined in the light of modern financial science, such as it is, see M. Thiers's chapters, translated into English with illustrations, by Frank S. Fiske.

As the "system" rolled on, adding one extravagance to another, it was announced that Law had become a Roman Catholic. Whatever may have been the sincerity of this conversion, it was followed by his appointment as minister of finance, and men said he had become a Catholic that he might become a minister. It was perhaps this conversion which gave rise to the first measures of the Company for assisting the religious missions in Louisiana, — missions to which, in the outset, France owed even her knowledge of the river. Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, the writer to whom we have since owed our most interesting history of New France in that century, who was indeed the diligent historian of Jesuit enterprise

Voyage of
Charlevoix.



View on the Arkansas River.

through the world, embarked at Rochelle, in July, 1720, to visit the Canadian Missions. He was at Kaskaskia, in our State of Illinois, in November 8, 1721. The brethren of his order had already established a post here, six miles from the Mississippi. He went from this point down the river in a canoe made from a long walnut tree. Thirty miles above the mouth of the Arkansas he found the village already in ruins where Law was to have established, on his own concession,¹ nine thousand Germans from the Palatinate. All who came were discouraged, and eventually planted what is now known as the "German Coast" above New Orleans. No part of the world shows more beautiful homes and farms than those made there by these exiles who were then thought to be abandoned to misery. Charlevoix found that

¹ The concession was twelve miles square.

the small-pox was already ravaging tribes which La Salle had found numerous. He arrived at Natchez, on the 15th of December, and at New Orleans on the 31st. It is amusing now to see, that the little circle of critics in New Orleans thought, that, if he had chosen, he could have found his way to the Western Ocean.¹ That enterprise was reserved to Lewis and Clarke, nearly a hundred years after, and occupied them then more than two years. The Jesuit missionary proved his own good sense, and made good his Christian profession, by reconciling Bienville the Governor, and Hubert, one of the other officers, who were in one of the chronic quarrels which embittered life in the petty colony.

Charlevoix, like the other early explorers, sent home accounts of the resources and geography of the country, which are amusing when read by the light of our modern knowledge. We have seen that La Salle proposed to establish his colony as an easy method by which the French could attack the Spanish silver



Ilex Cassine (Yaupon).

mines. La Harpe, one of the most valuable officers who served under Bienville, in a report which he presented at home, urged the necessity of keeping the English away from these same silver mines of New Mexico. And in Charlevoix's first letter describing the resources of the new colony, the two productions which he describes with most enthusiasm are the "apalacchine" and the wax of the candleberry. The first of these is already wholly forgotten. It is the *Ilex Cassine* of the botanists, and, at the time Charlevoix wrote, had a reputation as a substitute for tea, and even as dispelling the emotion of fear. There will be many, even among the

American readers of these lines, who have never heard of candleberry wax, which Charlevoix supposed was to be an important article of foreign export. Those who ever have made a candle from it, will sympathize with the "five or six slaves," who being unfit for ordinary duty, were thought by the good father sufficient to gather a shipload of wax every year.

¹ By a curious parody on this criticism, the biographical dictionaries, French and English, say that Chateaubriand, at the end of the eighteenth century, crossed from the Mississippi to the Pacific, — an impossible journey in the period of his tour.

The city of New Orleans, so named in honor of the Regent, was regularly laid out on paper when Charlevoix visited it, — on the convenient plan made by La Tour and Pauger, but it was still a city on paper. There were two hundred people encamped there, who were to carry out the plans of the engineers. To each applicant a lot was given sixty feet in front by twice that depth. Each landholder was directed to fence in his lot and to leave a vacant space, three feet wide, for open drains which should carry off superficial water. These ditches were connected, and a dyke or levee of earth made on the river side. The seat of government was removed thither in the same year, and the names of the two hundred settlers whom Charlevoix found there, are preserved. Bienville's is first upon the roll.

Founding of
New Or-
leans.

The result in America of the work of the Western Company, or the Indian Company, had been the establishment of a few thousand emigrants in a climate to which they were not accustomed, on soil of whose capacities they were ignorant, with hopes which could not be gratified. A staff of officials, larger than would be appointed now for the same region, though its population is counted for millions, quarrelled among themselves, but regularly drew their salaries. The common-sense and practical intelligence of Bienville were the most cheerful element in the horoscope of the infant state.

The French establishment at Natchez was the most flourishing of the trading establishments on the river. The massacre by the Natchez Indians of almost all its male inhabitants, was the first terrible event which broke the course of the development of the colony, and the vengeance taken upon that tribe was the first great effort made by the colonists against the natives.

The settle-
ment of
Natchez.

The policy of La Salle had been to conciliate the natives of all tribes. He would not permit his men to fire upon them, except under extreme provocation, and he would not adopt the easy policy, which was a favorite policy with the Spaniards, of taking one side or another in their mutual feuds. D'Iberville and Bienville seem to have been willing to continue in a policy of conciliation. But, from the beginning, it was the custom of the French to supply the Indians with guns, powder, and shot. They relied on the Indians of the north for hunting, as the supply of furs to Europe made the largest element in their trade, and they boldly took the risk that such arms might be used against themselves.

So long as the charge of the outposts was entrusted to officers of humanity or discretion, this hazardous policy, which armed the Indians as well as the whites, brought few disastrous consequences. All parties regarded themselves as adventurers, and the loss of one life,

more or less, in a brawl with savages was not regarded so seriously as it would have been in the earlier settlements of New England. As early as 1716, some Indians of the Natchez tribe, or allies of theirs, had killed some *voyageurs* coming down the river. Bienville suspected that they had been instigated to this atrocity by English traders from the Carolinas. He took resolute measures. He seized on some of the Natchez chiefs, and gave the tribe to understand that he would take the lives of these men if the heads of the murderers were not sent to him. After some intrigue and wavering, caused partly by their doubt of his firmness perhaps, and partly by real inability to meet so hard an order, it was complied with in full. From this moment the Brother of the Sun, as the chief of the Natchez was called, must have felt that he had a master. This transaction is known in the colonial history as the first Natchez war.

French policy toward the Indians.



View of the Mississippi at Natchez.

So far as we can see, the Natchez might have been retained, as a useful ally of the French, for an indefinite period, but for the folly and selfishness of one French commander, named Chopart. The tribe was more compactly organized than most of the Indian tribes. It understood subordination to its chiefs, and, indeed, in many other regards, showed a higher civilization than that of most of the Indian nations. The conjecture has always seemed probable that it was an off-shoot from that superior Mexican race, the civilization of which, as described in the exaggerated accounts of the

The Natchez tribe.

companions of Cortez, is still one of the problems and wonders of history. The Natchez worshipped the sun. His temple was of oval shape, built of clay, without windows, and arched in a dome. It was about one hundred feet in circumference, and, to defend it from the rain, was covered with three layers of woven mats. Above it were three wooden eagles, one red, one white, one yellow. No person was permitted to live in it, but the Guardian of the Temple had a little shed without, where he lodged. The whole was surrounded by a palisade on which were exposed the skulls which had been brought back from battle. In this temple a perpetual fire was kept, supplied from time to time by the Guardian of the Temple. It was his duty to feed the fire with logs, to see that they did not blaze, and that the fire did not go out.

The palace of the great chief, who took the name of the Brother of the Sun, was similar to the temple. It was raised on an artificial mound, that he might the better converse with his brother in the heavens every morning. The door of the palace fronted the east, and, when the sun arose, his brother saluted him with howls, ordered that his calumet should be lighted, offered to him the three first puffs of smoke, and raising his hands, and turning from east to west, directed his course for that day through the heavens.

On the death of the supreme chief his sister's son succeeded. The princesses of the blood espoused none but men of obscure family, and had the right of dismissing a husband whenever they pleased. The power of the Brother of the Sun was absolute; no man would refuse him his head if he asked for it, and if he appointed a guard to wait upon the French, none of these men were permitted to receive any wages. He had a sort of body-guard, or personal staff, appointed even at his birth. For, so soon as an heir presumptive was born, a certain number of infants was chosen from the infants of the tribe near his age, and these were assigned for the service of the young prince. They hunted, fished, planted, and farmed for him,—they were his servants, and they furnished his table. That they might serve him in another world, they all sacrificed themselves to follow him, when he died. In a religious rite of great solemnity they were strangled that they might go at once to be his servants in the world of spirits. All these customs, and many others, described in the early writers, are analogous to those ascribed in the Spanish writers to the Mexican tribes. Charlevoix observed bas-relief carvings, “not so badly done as one expects,” among the chiefs of a neighboring tribe.

The Natchez were not disposed to make war, but for some reason, perhaps because of the small-pox which their new friends gave

Their gov-
ernment and
customs.

them, their numbers diminished rapidly after the arrival of the French, or were supposed to do so. It was thought that they were more numerous in La Salle's day than when Iberville landed; and, in 1722, Charlevoix thought they had diminished in six years from four thousand to two thousand fighting men. They were fond of the French, and the French found them very useful. Opposite to their town, the French had established a post which bore the name of Rosalie, a name still preserved. It was given by Bienville in compliment to Mad. la Duchesse de Pontchartrain. The convenience for trade, the excellence of the soil, and the beauty of the situation, which is exquisite, called up a very considerable number of whites,—and, as has been said, this was the most successful settlement in the valley. After the “first Natchez war,” for nearly ten years this beautiful village showed every sign of external prosperity. But for the folly and selfishness of Chopart, the commander, this prosperity might have continued.

Chopart formed the idea, which seems almost insane, that he should like the site of the great village of the Natchez for his own home, and that the fine plain about it would be an admirable plantation for himself. He had the effrontery to send for the Brother of the Sun, and to tell him that the great chief of the French had ordered the Natchez to leave this village, as he needed it. The chief and council refused indignantly. They said that the nation had long possessed this territory, and that it was sacred. The very ashes of their fathers were buried beneath the temple. They reminded him that till now all the points occupied by the French in their territory had been given in token of regard, or had been bought and paid for. Chopart was deaf to their arguments. He insisted that in two months' time they must be ready to remove. The wily Natchez pretended, after deliberation, to assent to his mad demand. Chopart even made them agree to pay an indemnity in compensation for the extension of time.

In fact, however, the Natchez agreed, in secret council, that they would by one fell stroke get rid of the French, and that forever. They sent messengers to the other Indian tribes to bind them to the same work of destruction. Nor did any tribe refuse so far as to betray them. The Choctaws joined eagerly in the plan, and took, as their part, the destruction of the French on the lower part of the river. To make sure that the massacre should take place on the same day, at all the lower settlements the Choctaw chief and the Natchez chief exchanged parcels of little sticks, in each of which were as many twigs as would indicate the number of days before that appointed for the butchery. This had been fixed at the

Chopart's
madness

The Indian
plans for
retaliation.

time when Chopart had directed the abandonment of the village and the temple.

The fatal night came on without any preparation on the part of the French to oppose the Indians. Women from the Natchez tribe, more faithful to their French lovers, or to those who are so called, than to their race, warned them of their danger. Some of these men communicated the warning to Chopart, but he ridiculed their fears, arrested them and put them in irons. He had just returned from a visit of state to the Brother of the Sun. The Indians had well kept their horrible secret, all parties had drunk and revelled together, and it was not till three in the morning that Chopart returned, received the report of danger, ordered the men to be ironed who brought it, and then retired to sleep off the effects of his debauch, warning



Chopart and the Indian Envoys.

the sentinel not to call him till nine in the morning. This was on the 28th of November, 1729.

Morning came. There was not a settler's house but had in it one or more Indians, who came in on one pretence or another. The great chief set out from his village, attended by his warriors, beating the drum of ceremony, and bearing the calumet aloft. The calumet, as La Salle had seen, may be a calumet of war as well as of peace. The pretence of the procession was that they might bring to Chopart the tribute exacted in payment for delay. They reached his house and wakened him. He came out in his *robe de chambre*, and bade the cortège enter. They did so and offered their tribute. They then proceeded to the river, where a galley just up from New Orleans was unloading valuable stores. Every Indian in the train picked out his man among those

Massacre of
the French
settlers.

at work on the galley, fired, and killed him. The discharge was the signal agreed upon. All through the settlement the Indians closed on the French, and in an hour's time more than two hundred¹ Frenchmen were killed. Of the garrison, which consisted of one small company, only one soldier escaped. Most of the women and children were spared, to be held as slaves. But some of the women were killed in the effort to defend their husbands.

Chopart was among the last to be killed. He saw the slaughter, but saw it too late. He fled to his garden, not so much as Death of Chopart. seizing a gun. He whistled for his soldiers, — but, they were not left to hear. He was surrounded by Indians. But no Natchez would lay hands on him. He was a dog, they said, unworthy to be killed by a brave. A Puant chief was called, who killed him with a club.²

Had the simple arithmetic of the Natchez and Choctaws proved as accurate as they expected, that day would probably have been the last of the whole colony. But if, in the best calculations of the greatest, a little dog may do more mischief than he can conceive, — what must not be expected in the computations of ignorant savages? It happened that one day when the Natchez chief burned his fatal stick in the temple, his little son stood by. While the father's attention was engaged elsewhere, the boy, with a child's passion for imitation, burned two sticks, as he had seen his father burn one, without being observed. In consequence of this accident, the Natchez pounced upon their prey two days earlier than the day fixed upon in their solemn treaty.

With all the facilities of modern skill, the traveller is a long day in descending the Mississippi, even on the flood, from Natchez to New Orleans. The distance, in a direct line, is more than a hundred miles, and, by the winding of the river, it is twice as far. The poor fugitives from Natchez had no means of carrying the intelligence of the massacre to New Orleans in the fatal two days which were left to that post. When, therefore, on the appointed day, the first of December, six hundred of the Choctaws assembled in force by the Lake of St. Louis, Perier, the governor, had no notice of what had taken place above. The Choctaws sent to him a delegation, saying that they had come to present to him the calumet. Perier was alive to the advantage of conciliating this important tribe; but he was too good a soldier to admit them inside his fortifications. He sent a civil message, that he would gladly receive the chief with thirty of his warriors. This answer disconcerted the Choctaws, and seems to have been enough

¹ This number corresponds best with what we know of the colony. But Dumont says seven hundred.

² The Puants were Indians from Green Bay, now in Wisconsin.

to avert an immediate attack. They sent a delegation to the Natchez to present the calumet to the great chief. The delegation was not received with such honor as was expected. They soon learned that the Natchez had made their attack two days before that agreed upon. What was worse, perhaps, in the presents which they received, from the plunder then taken by "the Brother of the Sun," there were no guns, powder, or balls. The Choctaws were indignant at all this, and turned their rage against the Natchez. They accused them of selfishly anticipating the assault, that they might gain all the benefits. They forbade them to kill any of their captives, lest they should have to account for such lost lives to the Choctaws.

Meanwhile, on the third of December, fugitives who had escaped the slaughter, arrived at New Orleans. Perier acted with promptness. He sent an officer to communicate with the Choctaws, and, before long, had succeeded in engaging these

The news
at New Or-
leans.

fickle savages on his side. He formed a little army, and, with his new allies, moved against the Natchez. The negotiations and preparations consumed the months of December and January, but, in February, the Choctaws arrived at Natchez, sixteen hundred in number. The French contingent joined them in March, and the fort of the Natchez was invested. They did not stand a siege in which cannon



Costumes of French Soldiery early in the Eighteenth Century.

were to be served against their palisades. They agreed to surrender their prisoners and to make peace on those terms. Loubois, the French commander, on the spot, acceded to these terms, without meaning to keep them, having a theory that he was not bound to keep faith with them, more than they would with him. The next morning, therefore, after he had received the prisoners, he prepared to renew the siege. But he found that the Natchez did not trust him

any more than he deserved, and that they had abandoned their town.

The main body of the tribe kept together, and, after one or two efforts to surprise the fort at Natchez, moved up the Red River, and made an attempt on that at Natchitoches. But St. Denis, the commander, was too watchful for them. The same summer, Perier, finding himself reinforced by three companies of marines from France, made a final movement up the river. He found the Natchez in their last retreat, attacked them and compelled them to surrender. In truth, two hundred of them, of whom most were women, were taken prisoners, and were sold as slaves to the plantations at St. Domingo. Three hundred escaped, and found asylum among the tribes which hated the French. At this day, among the Creek Indians, who now cultivate the fertile lands reserved to that tribe in the upper valleys of the Washita River, there are three hundred or more good citizens who speak the Natchez language, and trace their descent back to the vassals of the "Brother of the Sun."¹

The poor Natchez, however, in their untimely insurrection, achieved more than they knew. For when the news of the destruction of the only promising post on the river reached Paris, the Western Company, quite discouraged, represented to the king their loss, and returned to him their unprofitable right in the colony. The king, very wisely, appointed Bienville its governor again, in the place of Perier, and Bienville's last administration began. He arrived at New Orleans in 1734; Perier, who had been promoted to be lieutenant-general, resigned the government and returned to Europe.

The surrender by the Western Company marks the miserable failure of the old system of giving the business of colonization over into the oversight of favored boards of men who did not mean to emigrate. After thirty years of nursing, after all the energy of Law's movements, and the large sums of money which had been expended on the colony, its population, when it was returned to the king, was estimated at only five thousand. Of these, nearly two thousand were negroes. The whole number was scattered among eleven posts. Fourteen years later, a careful census showed even a smaller number, — so that this estimate of five thousand, even, was probably exaggerated. In 1745, there were but seventeen hundred white men, fifteen hundred women, and two thousand and twenty slaves, of whom the Illinois had about three hundred white men, the Missouri posts two hundred, and Natchez, which had been the most attractive settlement of all, only eight white men and fifteen negro slaves. It must be remembered, therefore, that we are still tracing

Failure of
the Western
Company's
system.

¹ See Gallatin's *Synopsis*, *Arch. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 114.

chronicles which derive their interest only from the results which were to grow from petty beginnings, and not from the numbers engaged, or, indeed, even from the personal characteristics of most of the actors.

Bienville probably wished to show, that if he had been commander, the savages would not have come off so well as they did under Perier's administration. He demanded of the Chickasaws that they should surrender the Natchez. The Chickasaws had by this time cemented alliances with the English of Carolina, — they were confident of their own power, — and they sent back word to Bienville that the Natchez and they now formed one nation, and that they should not comply with his demand. Bienville then determined to attack the Chickasaws. He sent orders to D'Artagnette, who commanded the fort at Kaskaskia, among the Illinois, to

Bienville's
designs
against the
Chickasaws.



Bienville's Army on the River.

meet him in person on the 10th of May, 1736, in the Chickasaw country, with the largest army he could muster from Illinois Indians, French troops, and settlers. Bienville himself proposed to lead an army from New Orleans and Mobile. The expedition thus set in motion was by far the most formidable which the little colony ever attempted. Bienville's contingent made its rendezvous at Mobile. On Easter Day, the 1st of April, it moved up the Mobile River in a fleet of thirty piraguas and as many batteaux. On the 20th he reached a point which he called Tombecbé, — which is the Jones's Bluff of the Little Tombigbee River of the Alabama geography of to-day. Hither he had sent an advance guard, the year before, to

build a fort. The Choctaws met him there with the calumet, and received the tribute, for so they began to regard it, — in consideration of which they served as auxiliaries. On the 4th of May, the army, thus reinforced, reëmbarked and proceeded slowly up the river, and, on the 24th disembarked for the last time, and then began the construction of a palisade and shed for the protection of its stores.

The enemy was in a stockade fort, seven miles distant, built upon a hill, surrounded by the cabins of an Indian village. The fort was built of heavy timbers a foot in diameter: it was circular in shape, with three rows of loop holes. The Chickasaws were not only protected by the logs, but stood in pits or trenches which covered all but the upper parts of their bodies. They kept silence, and let the French come within good musket shot before they fired. As the French approached they saw Englishmen whom they supposed to be allies of the Chickasaws. The stockade proved to be quite too strong to be taken by storm, as Bienville had proposed. After a loss of nearly one hundred and twenty, very severe for so small a force, he was obliged to withdraw his men, without producing the least effect on the enemy.¹ He spent the night in his camp, but on the next day he had the grief of seeing that his men, who had been left dead on the field, had been cut to pieces by the Chickasaws, who had exposed the quartered bodies on the palisades in derision. A rumor was spread that D'Artagnette, with the Illinois contingent, was approaching. But Bienville had no such good fortune. He returned to his camp on the Tombigbee, not much molested on his retreat. His attack was made on the 26th of May.

The French
repulsed.

Poor D'Artagnette had, in fact, with military precision, arrived in time to make the junction contemplated in his orders. He reached the Chickasaw country on the 9th of May, and waited within sight of the enemy till the 20th, but heard no news of Bienville. His Indians murmured, and wished either to retreat or attack. D'Artagnette chose to attack, — and did so successfully, — but while driving the Chickasaws from a second village he was himself wounded. His Indians abandoned him, — but a loyal company of forty-eight Frenchmen held by him. This force was so small, that he was compelled to surrender, and he and they were prisoners of the Chickasaws at the time when Bienville made his rash and unsuccessful attack. The whole Illinois detachment had been 396 men, of whom 130 were French, 38 Iroquois, 38 Arkansas, and 190 Illinois and Miami. So soon as Bienville retreated, the savages took their French prisoners to a plain, tied all but one of them to stakes and

Fate of the
prisoners.

¹ This estimate of the loss is that of Du Tortre in a despatch sent to Paris. Dumont's account says the French loss was thirty-two killed, and at least sixty wounded.

burned them to death by a slow fire. The whole expedition was a wretched failure, of which the blame seems to rest with Bienville. The Chickasaws never lost the prestige which their success gave them. The historian of Alabama says of them : " The Chickasaws have never been conquered." ¹

In 1740 Bienville led another expedition against them by way of the Mississippi river. He moved with thirty-six hundred men, — of whom one third were whites and the rest negroes and Indians, — from Fort Assumption, which stood near the site of our city of Memphis. This was the largest army which the colony had ever put in the field. The unconquered Chickasaws were frightened, and offered to make peace on condition of surrendering all their white slaves. Bienville assented. He received from them two English prisoners, satisfied himself that they had no French in their hands, and with this concession, withdrew his expedition. The Chickasaws pretended, and the French believed what was probably true, that the Natchez had, for the time, so far withdrawn from their confederacy, that a war against the former tribe did not serve the purpose of vengeance against the latter. The two campaigns certainly did not add to the reputation of Bienville as a military leader. But he retains the reputation of a successful administrator of a colony, who had to act often on his own responsibility, who was always separated from his metropolitan masters by an ocean of slow navigation, and often by the frequent wars. He dismissed his auxiliaries with presents. Fort Assumption was razed, and no new military works were erected on its site for one hundred and twenty years. After an absence of more than ten months the army returned to New Orleans. Bienville himself returned to France the next year, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Bienville never returned to America. He died in 1767.

In truth Louisiana had succeeded as a royal colony no better than it succeeded under the Western Company. Its officers and garrisons in Bienville's time entailed on the Crown an annual expense of five hundred thousand livres, — not a very large sum in current money, but not inconsiderable in the pinched finances of the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. If the figures could be relied on, with which the Western Company gave back their charter to the King in June, 1731, its population was then five thousand on the Mississippi and all its affluents, beside two thousand slaves. A census taken fifteen years later showed a population of only four thousand whites, of whom eight hundred were the troops in the garrisons. These figures would show even a decrease in the years of the Royal administration. Twenty years later, under the careful admin-

Second
campaign of
Bienville.

¹ Pickett's *Alabama*.

istration of Ulloa, a census showed a population of 5,526 whites, and about as many blacks. It was not unnatural that Louis XV. should



Louis XV.

care but little for his namesake, which, after half a century of nursing, had shown such considerable growth, and gave so little visible promise of improvement. An army of eight hundred men to protect four times their number of settlers gave indeed but little hope for any permanent establishment of value.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was appointed Bienville's successor, and he filled the post of Royal Governor at New Orleans for eight years, whence he was transferred to Canada. He was in fear that the English would attack him by sea, as

through the Choctaw allies of the Carolinians and Georgians they threatened him by land. Under more vigorous lead the English would have done so. But no English fleet attempted to force his petty fortifications. By land, his people were, again and again, in terror of attack from the Choctaws of the English party. At one time Vaudreuil was inspecting his post at Mobile, so that the colony at New Orleans was without its chief. On the German Coast so called, on the river, and indeed close to the little city, the Choctaws killed one and another Frenchman. Vaudreuil returned to find the city in dismay. He sent out detachments of regulars, militia, and friendly Indians, on every side. His strategy was successful, and was rewarded by the capture of the whole Choctaw army, excepting two men. The others, — only eleven in number, — were brought prisoners to the city, and the Marquis's satisfaction for such a victory was of course chastened by his mortification for the terror of his subordinates.

Vaudreuil's
conflicts
with the
Choctaws.

In 1750 that part of the Choctaws who were attached to the French interest obtained a series of crushing victories over the smaller party who were in the English interest, and, by what was known as the Grand Pré Treaty, extorted such hard terms as to secure for a time peace from their most dreaded enemy. The Chickasaws offered peace also. But Vaudreuil wrote to his government that he did

not want to make a treaty with them till he had conquered them. In this desire, he was never gratified.

In 1751, so great was Vandreuil's consideration at Court, and so desirous was the Court to maintain Louisiana against the English, that he had under his orders two thousand soldiers, — a force more than one third of the whole white population of that immense region. With such a force the expenses of the colony of course increased also, and in the last year of his administration they were 930,767 livres. On the 9th of February, 1753, he gave up his place to Capt. Kerlerec of the Navy, and took the command of Canada. The petty victory over the Choctaws which we have mentioned, a series of anxious discussions about the paper currency of a handful of traders, and the well sustained memoirs in which a large staff of officers explain how the river should and how it

Administra-
tion of Ker-
lerec. — Pro-
ductions of
the Colony.

should not be defended, make up the voluminous annals of the colony during his administration. Meanwhile that conquest of the soil and climate made progress which is so seldom recorded in history, but on which all history of course depends. That commerce in the wax of the candleberry to which Charlevoix had called attention, still attracted interest. One year the king bade Vaudreuil purchase the whole crop on his account at the rate of ten or twelve livres a pound. A dispatch of a later year says that one planter raised six thousand pounds of the wax, a handsome crop for those days at the rate named. The report says that this is the only luminary used by the inhabitants. Another report of the year 1752¹ speaks of the difficulties of the cotton culture, resulting from the amount of labor necessary to separate seed from fibre, and alludes to a gin which M. Dubreuil, the same planter who had succeeded best with the wax, had invented for that purpose. This unsuccessful gin antedates Eli Whitney's by forty-one years. The manufacture of sugar, sufficient for the needs of the few colonists, was introduced, but afterwards declined. Indigo was cultivated, and eventually became an article of export. There can be no doubt that while the expenses of the crown doubled in the period of Vaudreuil's stewardship, the real prosperity and wealth of the planters were increasing in a larger proportion. Full memoirs preserved in the French Archives show that intelligent men, even then, foresaw in a small degree some part of the immense value which the valley of the Mississippi had in store for the world. It is interesting to see that at a period of scarcity in New Orleans the Illinois farms were already productive enough to supply the distant seaport with bread-stuffs. The culture of silk and tobacco

¹ No. 241. Portfolio No. v. *Archives de la Marine*, Sept. 22, 1752. M. Michel to the minister.

is eagerly recommended, and the development of the mines of copper and lead in the northwest, the existence of which was perfectly well known to the officers of the crown.

The administration of Kerlerec, as governor, covered ten years. At the end of that time he was recalled to France, and thrown into the Bastile. He was a captain in the French navy, who had distinguished himself in battle. But in the colony he was constantly quarrelling with Rochemore, the intendant of commerce, and his arrest was caused by charges of mal-appropriation of ten millions of livres in four years under the pretence of preparation of war. He held office during the most of the French war of George II.'s reign, and for long periods of that time was left without any direct dispatches from France; for the English cruisers, who never attacked him directly, were successful in cutting off all his communications. Kerlerec's administration began with high hopes of conciliating the Choctaws. But he soon lost confidence in them, and his reports home, regarding the under officers of the crown, and indeed most of the people, with whom he had to do, were anything but flattering. The army itself was recruited from such worthless material as to give Kerlerec quite as much trouble as the savages whom it was to keep in order.



Coins struck in France for the Colonies.



The Old Fort at Saint Augustine

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPANISH COLONIZATION.

SPANISH FOOTHOLD IN THE UNITED STATES.—SUCCESSIVE ACQUISITIONS BY THE UNITED STATES.—THE FORTUNES OF FLORIDA.—BORDER WARS WITH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.—OGLETHORPE'S EXPEDITIONS.—FLORIDA CEDED TO ENGLAND.—ITS POPULATION.—DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA.—ORIGIN OF THE NAME.—ROMANCE OF ESPLANDIAN.—FATHER NIÇA'S PRETENDED DISCOVERIES.—CORONADO'S EXPLORATION IN ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.—DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA.—HIS RECEPTION BY THE INDIANS.—LOCALITIES OF HIS DISCOVERIES.

THE destiny of the United States has passed so far under the empire of institutions which have an English origin, that it is easy to forget how large a portion of her territory has in other times belonged to the Spanish crown. The prevalence of the English language as the language of public procedure in every State and Territory, and the sway, in a very large degree, of English law and the habits of English administration, are enough to keep out of view the fact, that, at one time or another, more than half the present territory of the United States has been, on the map at least, subject to the King of Spain. The Spanish claim to Mexico and the regions north of it, was pressed indefinitely northward. Somewhere on the coast of what we call Oregon, Drake saw the shore in 1579, and he took possession of the country in California for

Extent of
Spanish
dominion in
North
America.

the English crown as New Albion. But England scarcely asserted her rights under this discovery for centuries.

At one and another time since she seized the port of Astoria in 1813, she has made one and another claim to this territory, running back to her rights under Drake's discovery. But the decision which gave to the United States, holding under the Spanish claim, the region south of the line of 49° north latitude, states, quite correctly, the average opinion of the older geographers.¹ On the seacoast of the Pacific the Spanish claim resulted from a series of discoveries and explorations, beginning, as will be seen, when Hernando Cortez discovered California in 1536. In the interior the eagerness for silver early established colonies of which Santa Fé in New Mexico was the most important of those far to the northward. It is generally supposed, that the droves of wild horses now found through the whole of Western America, as far north as the climate will permit, were of Spanish origin. So far as the natives received any supplies from the workshops of civilization, it was from Spanish traders; and, to this hour, some fragments of the Spanish language, acquired at a very early period, will be found in their dialect.

Eastward of the Rocky Mountains, the Spaniards showed no disposition to extend their dominion, after the expeditions of De Soto and Ponce de Leon had seemed to prove that no treasure of gold or silver was to be found there. The Spanish government made no protest when, under Louis XIV., the French claimed a right to the whole valley of the Mississippi, founded upon the discoveries of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle. On the ground, an irritable commander of a Spanish post in Texas might quarrel with an impetuous French officer in a garrison on the Red River. But at home the policy of Spain was well defined; and if the King of France were willing to keep a line of defence between the English colonies and the Spanish mines, the King of Spain made no objection. It was not until the treaty of Paris, in 1763, that the King of France showed that he was tired of this expensive good-nature. He then gave this immense territory to his well-beloved brother of Spain, who showed himself, indeed, somewhat coy about receiving the magnificent but costly present. Twenty years afterward, the Spanish crown gave it back to France, only to learn, in a few months, that France had sold it to the young Republic of America.

Florida, from which so much was hoped in the days of Ponce de Leon, had remained in the possession of Spain, after the cruel mas-

¹ This claim was reinforced by Gray's discovery of the Columbia River, and Lewis & Clarke's exploration of it. These discoveries gave to the United States precisely the same sort of right as that which La Salle's gave to France, for the valley of the Mississippi.

sacres which have been already described.¹ But no discoverer had found gold, or silver, or the fountain of life in Florida. The Spanish posts, therefore, were simply military positions, held to insure the command of the Gulf of Mexico. On the eastern side St. Augustine, without trade, and with but a small civil population, was held by Spain until 1762, when it was ceded to England, to be restored in 1783. By Spain it was ceded to the United States in 1819. On the other side, Pensacola, as has been seen, once and again fell into the hands of the French. Afterwards, with Eastern Florida, it fell to the English. But no settlement of Florida followed from either of these establishments. The territories, nominally Spanish, thus added to those which were colonized under the flag and protection of England, or under titles derived from her, cover rather more than half of the superficial area of the United States, with the exception of the province of Alaska, recently purchased from Russia. Of the several parts of this immense domain, the earliest to come under the dominion of the United States, was the western part of the valley of the Mississippi, which was that which came latest under the Spanish flag. In 1819 the United States acquired Florida from Spain, and all her rights on the western shore of the continent north of 42° north latitude, comprising the State now known as Oregon, and Washington Territory. In 1845, by a joint resolution, the Congress of the United States annexed Texas to the Union, and this decision was confirmed by the arbitration of war. The question whether Texas were a part of Louisiana or not, had always been an open question between France and Spain, but it had practically been yielded by France, and in the treaty of 1819 the United States had acquiesced in that decision. By the treaties with Mexico of 1848 and 1853, the dominion of the United States was extended by the acquisition of California and the region now covered by the territory between that State and Texas.

We recur now to the earlier history of the Spanish possession of these regions.

The reader has already been told² of the destruction of the oldest town in the United States, St. Augustine, by Sir Francis Drake, on his return from his expedition to the Spanish Main. The Spanish Armada occupied the attention of England too intensely, when Drake returned, for any effort to be made, either to follow up his victory in Florida, or to renew the English establishment at Roanoke. The Spaniards who had fled from his arms in Florida, returned to the ruins of their fort and reestablished it. The Menendez, who has earned the right to be

The Spaniards in Florida.

Events after Drake's capture of Saint Augustine.

called "great" by his cruelty and falsehood, had died. But the government of St. Augustine was made hereditary in his family¹ until the year 1655. The history of the colony, meanwhile, is scarcely more than that of an insignificant garrison, elevated occasionally to general interest in the events of a general war.²

In 1593 twelve brothers of the order of St. Francis were sent to
Missions in Florida. Florida, to continue such missions as had been established among the natives. By their efforts and those of other brethren sent to continue and enlarge their work, many missions were



General View of St. Augustine.

established in the course of the next hundred years. Of these, the most important was at first at the island of Guale. But the chief of the savages in this neighborhood excited his people against them, in a severe attack which resulted in the murder of five priests, and the cruel injury of another. The Governor avenged them by burning the granaries and dwellings of the Indians. In the years 1612 and 1613, thirty-one missionaries of the same brotherhood were sent to Florida, and the name of St. Helena was given to it as a religious province of that order.³ Twenty missions were now established, and the brethren

¹ In Buckingham Smith's collection of Florida papers is the will of one of the smaller Menendez governors.

² It has been admirably treated, in its detail, by Mr. Fairbanks in his history. The South Carolina Historical Collections give original authorities on the "wars" with Carolina.

³ This name must not be confounded with the name of St. Helena on the shore of South Carolina, though both had the same origin.

preached to the natives with success in their own language. In 1638, a war broke out between the colony and the Apalachee Indians. Such Indians as were captured were reduced to slavery ; the tribe was so far overcome as to be kept for the time within its own limits. Meanwhile the growth of the colony was so small, that in 1647, eighty-two years after Menendez founded the colony, the number of families in St. Augustine was but three hundred, and this was almost the whole of the settlement. There were also fifty Franciscan friars domiciled in the city. When it is remembered that Menendez took with him two thousand six hundred and fifty colonists from Cadiz, it will be seen that the history of Florida, thus far, had been a history of decline and not of progress.

Slow growth
of the col-
ony.

With the colonists of Virginia and other northern colonies the Spaniards had little intercourse, peaceful or otherwise. So soon as Charles II. gave a charter for the settlement of Carolina, which was in 1663, jealousies arose on both sides, and the hatred of Englishmen for Spaniard, and Catholic for heretic, was enough to keep the little colonies suspicious of each other, even when nominal peace united their sovereigns at home. In 1665 an expedition under Captain John Davis, a buccaneer, made a descent on St. Augustine and ravaged the town. In 1667, however, Charles II. of England concluded a treaty with Spain,¹ in which Spain conceded to England all colonies which Charles and his subjects "then possessed." On the other hand, Charles agreed to cut off all future protection from the buccaneers, who, till this time, had considered Spanish property to be fair prize if found in the Pacific, and were not distressed if they seized it in the other great ocean. No English settlement was in fact made in Carolina, under Charles's charter, until 1670. But, in the diplomacy of the two nations, it was virtually agreed that the English claim to that region was good, and the line of the St. Mary's River was eventually agreed on as the line of the separation between the English and Spanish dominions. It is therefore, to this day, the dividing line between the State of Georgia, which bears an English name, and that of Florida, which retains the Spanish name given it by Ponce de Leon.²

Spanish and
English
claims.

The Spaniards, on their side, attacked the English colonies in 1670 and 1686, but without other success than burning and ravaging the homes of a few settlers on the coast. Such raids, of course, kept up the feeling of mutual hatred, strong enough at the very best. But

¹ Each king was Charles II. Charles II. of England reigned from 1660 to 1685. Charles II. of Spain reigned from 1665 to 1700.

² See vol. i., p. 147.

for the rest of the seventeenth century, there was no exploit on either side which deserves the name of war.

Menendez had been authorized, at the very beginning of the colony, to introduce five hundred negro slaves. So many laboring men pressed themselves upon him in Spain, that he made no use of the concession. But in 1687 one hundred negroes were introduced as slaves, and for nearly two centuries Florida suffered under the disadvantage of slave labor. Cabrera, who was governor in 1681, undertook the enterprise of removing the Indians not Christianized to the islands of the coast. The result was simply an insurrection of these tribes, who took refuge within the limits of Carolina. In a subsequent incursion, these Indians attacked the Tomoquas, a Christian



Pensacola.

tribe, friendly to the Spaniards, whose name is still preserved in the Tomoka River. They killed a large number of the Tomoquas, and carried the other prisoners to the colony of St. Helena, where their Christianity did not protect them so far but that they were reduced into slavery.

Meanwhile, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida, the Spanish government established a fort at Pensacola, in the year 1696. The name of the place, spelled by them *Pen-cacola*, is that of a tribe of Indians who once resided there. The Spaniards were stimulated by the efforts of the French to settle at the mouth of the Mississippi, and, indeed, had only just founded Pensacola when the French colony under D'Iberville arrived. A square fort, known by the name of Charles, the king of Spain, a church, and other public buildings, were erected. Andres d'Arriola was the first governor. Within two years D'Iberville touched at the new post, nor was it long before his brother was attacking it, in the War of the Succession. Before that time, however, new opportunities

The settle-
ment of
Pensacola.

for carnage and ravage had been found by English and Spaniards on the eastern shore.

Near the close of the year 1700, on the death of Governor Blake of Carolina, James Moore had been chosen as his successor. With the poor object of personal gain from the traffic in Indian slaves, he granted commissions for the capture of Indians with power to sell them as slaves; and, on the outbreak in Europe of the war with Spain, he undertook an expedition against St. Augustine with the same object in view. He embarked with this purpose in September, 1702, having arranged that Daniel, an officer of spirit, should make a descent upon the town by land, while Moore himself block-
aded the harbor by sea. The Spaniards, under their gov-
ernor Cuniga, had heard of the movement, and retired with
their effects into their castle. When Moore arrived, he found his
guns too weak to assault them, and sent Daniel to Jamaica for heavy
artillery. While Daniel was absent, two Spanish ships, one of
twenty-two guns and one of eighteen, appeared off the harbor, and
so terrified the English that they raised the siege. Moore retired
by land to Charleston, without losing a man, burning the town of
St. Augustine and his own transports. Daniel, on his return with
the mortars and guns for which he had been sent, hardly escaped
capture.

English ex-
pedition to
St. Augus-
tine.

The Spaniards retaliated for this foolish assault in exciting the Apalachee Indians, their allies, to attack the English set-
tlements. The Apalachees marched, nine hundred in num-
ber, but fell into an ambush of the Creeks, who were always the
firm allies of the English, and were routed by them. In reward for
this service, all who survived of the Indians who had been held as
slaves in St. Augustine and those who had been taken since 1640,
were now set free by Cuniga, under a promise that they should return
to work on the fortifications whenever they were needed. Cuniga
urged the government at home to send him the means to make five
new posts on his frontiers. Before any such aid reached him, Moore,
with a thousand Creeks and about fifty of the Carolina militia, at-
tacked the Indian allies of the Spaniards and defeated them. He
carried away three hundred slaves, — most of the people of seven
Indian towns.¹ He burned San Luis and Ayaralla, and took the
church plate and vestments, and everything else of value. These
Indians had, before this time, made some progress in civilization — it
was, perhaps, the loosening of the habits of savage life which made
them so easy a prey to the untamed savages who attacked them.
This incursion was followed by others, frequent enough to forbid the

Spanish Re-
taliation.

¹ South Carolina Report in Carroll's *Collections*, ii. 353.

recolonization of the wasted country before the end of the war. So enraged were the Indians that the Carolinians were obliged to put up forts for their frontier defence, one of which was established at Apalachicola, close to the limits of the State of Florida.¹ The Yemassees, who had been driven out from Carolina into Florida, kept up an unremitted warfare on the frontiers.

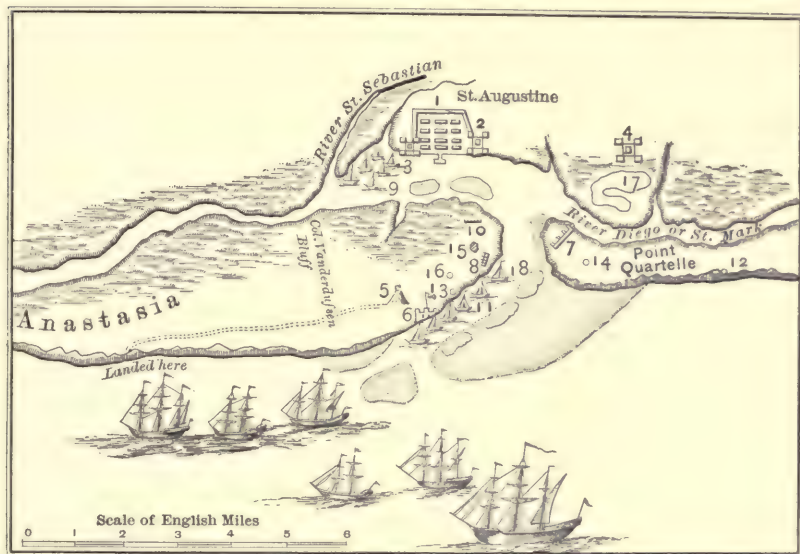
So soon as Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, learned in 1719, that war existed between Spain and France, he took Pensacola by surprise. The Spaniards retook it at once, in the same way. But, in September of the same year, Bienville took it again. This time the French commander destroyed the fortifications and the town, leaving only a small battery and a handful of men. In 1722, the Spaniards reoccupied the harbor, and built a town on Santa Rosa island, near where Fort Pickens now stands. But the settlement was gradually transferred to the northern side of the bay, where the present city of Pensacola stands; the point taken on the island having proved particularly sandy and barren.

In 1732, Oglethorpe's settlement of Georgia pressed even closer than Carolina had done on the frontiers of Florida. Oglethorpe claimed that the Altamaha was the southern boundary of his province. The English fort, King George, erected on the banks of that river, had already given umbrage to the Spaniards, and in 1736, the Spanish government ordered Oglethorpe to evacuate all territory south of St. Helena Sound. The Governor brought three companies of foot with him to Frederica, the most northerly Spanish settlement, — the place still known by the same name on the sea-coast of Georgia. Oglethorpe went at once to England for aid. At that moment the people of England were indignant with Spain for other reasons, and Oglethorpe returned, with the commission of major-general, and a regiment of men. The Spaniards strengthened St. Augustine in their turn. In October, Walpole's pacific policy was abandoned, war was declared, and the English sent a squadron under Admiral Vernon to the West Indies, with directions to aid Oglethorpe, who at once set on foot operations against St. Augustine. He succeeded in cementing the alliance between the English and the Creeks, who hated the Spaniards with a very perfect hatred.

The officers of the navy having agreed to coöperate in the attack on St. Augustine, Oglethorpe appointed a rendezvous on the Florida side of the St. John's River and moved on the 9th of May, 1740, with

¹ This is not at the site of the present town of Apalachicola. The point was farther up the river of that name, not far from Chattahoochee. The fort known as Savanas was still farther up, and must not be confounded with the site of Savannah.

four hundred whites and a large party of Indians. The next day he invested a Spanish outpost called Diego, belonging to a Spaniard, named Spinosa, reduced and garrisoned it. He then returned to his rendezvous, and with his whole command—two thousand men, regular troops, provincials, and Indians, moved against Fort Moosa, two miles from St. Augustine. The Spaniards abandoned this post and retired into the town, which he had given them time to provision by driving in cattle, while he was occupied with Fort Diego and his counter-marches. He was compelled to blockade the harbor and invest the town. He left



Oglethorpe's Attack on St. Augustine (from "An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition to St. Augustine." London, 1742).¹

ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at Moosa, to intercept all supplies of cattle for the town. This was all the force he left on the land side. He sent Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, to take Point Quartelle on the water side, about a mile distant from the castle, and build a battery. With his own regiment and most of the Indians he landed on the island of Anastasia. One of the ships was stationed to the southward to block up the Matanzas passage, and the others blockaded the harbor. Batteries were erected on Anastasia.

Having made these dispositions, Oglethorpe summoned the Spanish

¹ KEY TO THE MAP. — 1. The Town. 2. The Castle. 3. A Battery. 4. Moosa or Negro Fort. 5. The Look-out. 6. Small Fort abandoned by the Spaniards. 7. A Battery of one mortar, and three six-pounders. 8. A Battery, one mortar, two eighteen-pounders, and one nine-pounder. 9. Six half galleys at anchor (Spanish). 10. A Battery, two mortars, four eighteen-pounders, and one nine-pounder. 11. Harbor "where our vessels lay." 12. Carolina Regiments, first Camp on Pt. Quartelle. 13. Sailor's Camp. 14. Carolina Regiments, Second Camp on Pt. Quartelle. 15. Carolina Camp upon Anastasia. 16. The Volunteers' Camp. 17. Gen. Oglethorpe's Camp after he went from Anastasia.

garrison; to receive from the Governor the cheerful answer that he should be glad to kiss his hands in the fort. Oglethorpe then began his attack by throwing shells into the town, which were returned by the fort and six half galleys in the harbor. Little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren of the English navy offered to lead a night attack against the Spanish galleys, but a council of war declared this impracticable. On the other hand, the Spanish commander sent out a detachment against Colonel Palmer in his isolated post at Moosa, and broke it up, killed him and sixty-eight of his men, and took many prisoners. A party of Chickasaws coming to the English camp, cut off a Spaniard's head and brought it to Oglethorpe. He showed his indignation, called them barbarous dogs and bade them begone. The proud "unconquered Chickasaws" were offended, and said the French would not treat them thus, had they carried in an English head, — which was probably true. These allies, thus rebuffed, deserted the English camp. The vessel at the Matanzas passage was not a sufficient guard on the south. For, by the Mosquito inlet, which runs parallel to the sea, supplies from Cuba were received by the garrison. The master of the vessel at Matanzas Inlet could see them pass, beyond his range of prevention. Some Spanish prisoners, who were carried to Oglethorpe, told him that the reinforcements were seven hundred men, with a large supply of provisions. All prospect was thus lost of starving the garrison.

Retreat of
the English.

The naval commander of the English feared hurricanes, and said he must withdraw. The Carolinian troops withdrew without asking leave. And poor General Oglethorpe himself, sick of a fever, was obliged to withdraw his own regiment, and reached Frederica early in July.

So disgraceful a defeat of a force so considerable greatly elated the Spaniards. When their supplies arrived from the Havana, they had but three days' bread, and they piously ascribed their relief to St. Rosana, the Virgin of the Apalachees. The Carolinians, who had expended men and money freely in the expedition, were indignant, and charged Oglethorpe with utter incompetency, nor were the officers of the English army and navy of another opinion.

Monteano, the Spanish Governor, who had defended his post so well, expected a renewal of the attack in the autumn, which would have been a much more favorable season for his enemies. He begged for reinforcements, and received eight companies of infantry. But no second attack came. He was tempted to retaliate. A terrible fire had devastated Charleston, and he urged the Governor at Cuba to make an attack on the place at the moment of its exhaustion. His advice was not taken in 1741, but in the next year a fleet of thirty-

six sail with two thousand men was sent to him. He added a force of one thousand men, took the command, and sailed for the harbor of St. Simon's, better known now, perhaps, as the harbor of Brunswick. This movement, however, was, in its turn, unsuccessful, and Monteano returned as much mortified as Oglethorpe the year before.

In March of the next year, Oglethorpe took the aggressive, and marched to the very walls of St. Augustine, with such celerity, that his Indian allies killed forty Spanish soldiers before they could enter the fort. But, failing to draw out the Spaniards for an encounter in the field he again retired, and in 1748, peace at home closed these miserable hostilities on the frontier. The garrison

Continued
hostilities.



Old Gate at St. Augustine.

at St. Augustine was so reduced that in 1759 the whole force was but five hundred men. When in 1762 hostilities broke out again between England and Spain, an English fleet seized the Havana, and, on the negotiation of peace, Spain was glad to cede Florida to regain Cuba. This measure indeed was necessary to the tripartite diplomacy between England, Spain, and France, in which eastern Louisiana was ceded to England. For, where eastern Louisiana began and where Florida ended, had never been determined. Spain gained by that treaty all western Louisiana, and could well afford to give up Florida to the victorious English, who thus carried to the Gulf the frontier of that colonial empire which was to be theirs for so few years. The English government named

Cession of
Florida to
England.

General Grant Governor of East Florida, and he received the post from the Spaniards. At the period of the evacuation the whole population amounted to 5,700 persons, including a garrison of 2,000 men. Many left the place never to return. Three years afterward, a traveller speaks of Picolata, a small fort and garrison on the St. John, Mr. Rolle's settlement, twenty-five miles above, and Mr. Spalding's trading house, fifteen miles farther up, as the only stations on this magnificent river.¹ The greater part of the population of Florida consisted of a mixture of the remnants of the Cowetas, Talipoozas, Coosas, Apalachees, Cussetas, Ockmulgees, Weetunkas, Pakanas, Taensas, Chaesihoomas, Abékas, and other tribes, who had organized in a confederacy under the name, since well known and formidable, of Muscogees. From this confederacy the Seminoles afterwards parted; their name Isty-Semole, wild men, indicates that they were hunters, rather than farmers. In 1773, Bartram speaks of the Seminoles as but a weak people in respect of numbers; he supposes all of them would not people one of the Muscogee towns. As civilization advanced, and the Indian towns were broken up, the "wild men" must have gained accessions from their former kindred. Bartram "ventures to assert that no part of the globe so abounds with wild game or creatures fit for the food of man" as the territory which they then inhabited. The population of this Muscogee confederacy, sixty years after, was twenty-six thousand.² The population of Indians and whites in 1762 was probably larger than that of whites and negroes in 1830, when there were only about fifteen thousand of each of those races, reported in the census of the United States.

While the kings of Spain followed up thus languidly the expeditions of Ponce de Leon and of Hernando de Soto, in Florida and the other eastern regions traversed by those adventurers, their viceroys and other officers in Mexico showed more eagerness both in discovery and in colonization to the northward, and their enterprises, both by sea and by land, come within the range of the historian of the United States.

Hernando Cortez himself, as early as 1534, sent out an expedition of discovery under Hernando de Grijalva on the Pacific coast, in which that commander first discovered the peninsula of California. Not long before, a Spanish author,³ who had with very inferior genius attempted to write a sequel to Lobeira's inimitable romance of Amadis of Gaul, had invented a pagan queen of

Condition of
Florida at
and after
the cession.

Grijalva in
Lower Cali-
fornia.

¹ Bartram found only the same settlements in 1773, three more trading-posts were to be established in that year. His map shows the sites of "Rollestown" and Spalding's post.

² Roman's *Florida*. Gallatin's *Synopsis*, p. 101.

³ Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo.

Amazons, who brought from the "Right hand of the Indies" her allies to the assistance of the infidels in their attacks on Constantinople. In this romance—which bore the name of "Esplandian,"—the Emperor Esplandian, the imaginary son of the imaginary Amadis, appears as the Greek emperor, living in Constantinople. The imaginary Amazonian queen is Calafia, and to her imagined kingdom, blazing with gold and diamonds and pearls, the author had given the name "California," a name perhaps derived from the word Calif, which in the mind of the children of crusaders was connected with paynim lands. This romance, which would now be forgotten but for this name California, and from a single reference to it in Don Quixote,



Portrait of Cortez

was a comparatively new novel in the days of Cortez, the first edition having been issued from the press only in the year 1510, and the second in 1519. Both Grijalva and Cortez were still deluded by the universal impression of their time that they were on the coast of Asia or in its neighborhood; and, having discovered this region near the latitude of Constantinople "on the right hand of the Indies," they were not unwilling to engage the interest of the romance-reading world by giving to their discovery the name of the gold and diamond bearing region of Amazons.

Origin of the
name Cali-
fornia.

This unknown country, which by this accident gave the name to the country which proved to be the richest gold-bearing region in the world, was thus described by the exuberant fancy of the romancer. twenty-five years before Grijalva discovered the peninsula of California, and at least thirty years before the discovery of that part of the mainland which has yielded to the world its untold millions of gold.

"Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terrestrial Paradise,¹ and it was peopled by black women without any man among them,

¹ In the cosmogony of that time it was supposed, as it had been supposed in Dante's time, that the Terrestrial Paradise was opposite to Jerusalem. Compare Mr. Hale's paper, *Am. Ant. Soc. Transactions*, April, 1872.

for they lived in the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardy bodies, of ardent courage, and great force. Their island was the strongest in all the world, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed and rode. For in the whole island¹ there was no metal but gold. They lived in caves wrought out of the rock with much labor. They had many ships with which they sailed out to other countries to obtain booty." In another part of the romance it is said coolly that precious stones are to be found in California like stones of the field for their abundance.

The imperious and impetuous Cortez was dissatisfied with the slow progress of Grijalva, and embarked himself, in hope of more success, with four hundred Spaniards and three hundred slaves in 1535. He had, before this, sent a small expedition north by land, of whose fate he never heard a word. He now coasted both sides of the Gulf of California, then called the Gulf of Cortez, but known for nearly two centuries afterwards as the Red Sea.² During his stay in the bay of Santa Cruz he learned the distressing news of the arrival of the Viceroy Mendoza. The appointment of this officer by the Emperor Charles left to the great conqueror no civil administration, and restricted him to his duties as military commander. So eager was he, however, for the further prosecution of discovery at the north, that he sent Francisco de Ulloa to continue it, and in the course of two years Ulloa traced the coasts of California nearly to the mouth of the Colorado River of the West.

The very first exploration of the Gulf of California resulted in the discovery of pearls, and from that day to this the pearl fishery has been prosecuted there. In the excited notions of that day, it was taken for granted that a country which produced pearls would produce gold and diamonds; and it can hardly be doubted that a reflected glory from the romance of "Esplandian," and the gorgeous description there of the imagined California, hung over the unexplored parts of the namesake of that province. Spaniards are proverbially ready for building castles in the air; and, although the voyages of Grijalva, of Cortez, and of Ulloa, brought back no diamonds, and no gold, yet they brought pearls enough to awaken popular interest and curiosity. As it happened, also, these reports gave birth to another romance hardly second in absurdity to the fables of Esplandian. Mendoza, the viceroy, was disgusted when he found that his rival Cortez still insisted on his right to send out explorers. When

¹ It is possible that this reference to the island gives the reason why, in face of all explorations, the geographers so long marked the peninsula of California as an island.

² So called by Marquette in his Narrative.

Cortez sent out Ulloa, Mendoza borrowed money with which to send out Vasquez de Coronado in the same direction. Coronado sent in advance a Franciscan friar named Marco de Niça, who had with him a negro, one of the four men who had crossed the continent from the perilous expedition under Narvaez.¹ This Father Marco showed a facility in narrative, which belongs only to the master of that "lie with a circumstance" which is said to be the most deceptive lie of all. Returning to Coronado he announced the discovery of seven cities, whose number alone suggested the famous "seven cities" of the island of the old legend.² To the capital of these Seven Cities the name Cibola, or Cevola, was given. He gave a description of the city of Cibola, as he finally arrived there after thirty days of travel from St. Michael in Culiacan.³

Expedition
of Marco de
Niça.

According to his story, Stephen Dorantes — the negro, who had served as in some sort a guide, and whom he had sent before him — had been killed by the jealous inhabitants of this city. Niça himself, however, determined to see it with his own eyes; and thus came near enough for the mountain prospect which he describes. He then fled back with his story to St. Michael in Culiacan, "with more fear than victuals," as he says.

In sharp contrast with his tales of gold and silver and turquoises and diamonds, is the business-like report of Vasquez de Coronado, who with a little army followed up the father's traces. On the 22d of April, 1540, they left St. Michael, and on the 23d of June, had arrived, by travelling in a northern and northeasterly direction, on the confines of a desert country of which Niça had warned them. Through the desert "is a most wicked way, at least thirty leagues and more because they are inaccessible mountains." After the thirty leagues, however, they found pleasant country, with rivers and grass, and, in a day more, they met Indians who at first seemed friendly. But a day or two more showed that the natives meant to defend their passes, but brought Coronado to a town, which he called Grenada, and which, however unlike the Cibola of Father Marco's description, he was willing to accept for it.

Expedition
and report
of Coro-
nado.

"To be brief," he writes, "I can assure your honour that the friar saith truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite the contrary." Still the names of the cities proved to be correct, and although the houses were not wrought with turquoises nor lime nor brick, they proved to be "very excellent good houses" of three or four lofts high, with good lodgings and fair chambers and ladders

¹ See vol. i., p. 156.

² See vol. i., pp. 13, 35. Compare note xxiv. in Appendix to vol. iii., Irving's *Columbus*.

³ See vol. i., p. 192.

instead of stairs. The seven cities were within four leagues of each other and all together made the kingdom of Cibola.

Of turquoises, Coronado found none, though he thought some had been carried away in fear of his arrival; of emeralds he found two, which were lost on his way home; and of gold none. This was the sorry result of the monk's story and of the expedition founded upon it. The natives wore cotton dresses, though Coronado thought the country too cold for cotton.¹ He said they ate the best cakes that he



A Pueblo restored (from Cozzens).

ever saw, and had the best way of grinding. One woman of Cibola would grind four times as much meal as four Mexican women. They brought their salt from a lake only one day's journey from their city. But they had no knowledge of the Northern Sea, nor of the Western Sea, at which ignorance Coronado did not wonder, for he believed himself one hundred and fifty leagues from the Western Ocean. He describes what we must suppose to be buffaloes, as "sheep as big as a horse, with very great horns and little tails, — with their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness."

Here ends Coronado's own narrative, which deserves respect and credence. He would not return without doing something nor with empty hands, and as he was told that the country was better and better he went on. Cardenas with a company of cavalry continued

¹ It afterwards proved that these dresses were made from the thread of the *maguey*.

westward till he came to the sea. Coronado went to Tiguex and there had news of the long-sought Quivira. After sieges and battles and other adventures, he found a region which he accepted as worthy of that name. But in place of the hoary-headed King Tatatrax whom he was to find here, who was girt with a Bracamart and worshipped a cross of gold with the image of the Queen of Heaven, Coronado found a naked savage, with a jewel of copper hanging from his neck, "which was all his riches." After two years of such misadventures, Coronado fell from his horse and went mad. The rest of his party, excepting one or two stragglers, returned to Mexico.¹

They represented Quivira as in the latitude of forty, with grass, plums, mulberries, nuts, melons, and grapes, but without cotton. The people dressed in ox-hides and deer-skins. They reported, Gomara says, that they had seen ships on the coast, with golden albatrosses or pelicans on their prows, the seamen of which made signs that their voyage had been thirty days.

The narrative of Gomara is entitled to little historical regard,—that of Father Niza to none. But the manly letter of Coronado commands respect, and his narrative was unexpectedly confirmed nearly half a century after, by a new discovery which enables us to fix with some precision the site of Cibola and the "seven cities." Coronado's report displeased Mendoza, who had spent large sums in the expedition. But Coronado insisted that the country was poor and too far from succor, and therefore no establishment was made there. An after narrative gives a more particular description of the buffalo, and alludes to the custom of the natives of burning the buffaloes' dung. These notices are alone sufficient, in a degree, to locate Quivira. But his tale of dogs, trained as beasts of burden, has not yet been confirmed by other writers. With the introduction of the horse, the Indians may have abandoned such use of those animals. Meanwhile, upon the coast, after various failures, a voyage was made in 1543, which resulted in the discovery of the sea-coast of that part of California, which is now so important a State. Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed with two ships from the port de Navidad, on the 27th of June in that year.

Touching near the point of the peninsula, he coasted it on its ocean side as far as the latitude of 44°. Here he found extreme cold in March of 1543-44, and returned. He gave names to different points, which have not been retained, with the exception of Cape Mendocino, which he named in honor of the Viceroy Mendoza, who had sent him. He described it as a large cape between mountains covered with

¹ Gomara, cited in Hakluyt, iii. p. 454.

snow. This cape subsequently became the point best known upon that coast, because the Spanish fleets took their departure from it on their way to the East Indies, and it was made the object of the fleets eastward bound. Cabrillo placed it about the latitude of 40° north; it lies, in fact, a few minutes northward of that parallel. Like all other Spanish voyagers of that time, Cabrillo missed the remarkable Bay of San Francisco, the entrance to which is not easily discerned. Near its parallel he described some hills covered with trees, which he called the Point of San Martin.

In the next year Juan Rodriguez repeated this voyage, by sailing as far as Cape Mendocino; but it was reserved for Sir Francis Drake, the great English seaman, to discover a seaport in California. He spent some weeks on shore, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He was engaged in his celebrated voyage round the world. With his little fleet, consisting of the *Pelican* of one hundred tons, the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold* each of eighty, Drake



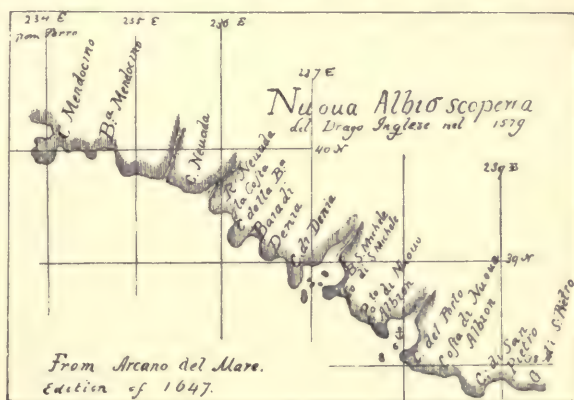
Sir Francis Drake.

had passed the Straits of Magellan, and entered the Pacific Ocean on the 6th of September, 1578. On the 30th, he lost sight of the *Marigold* in a gale, and never saw her again. On the 8th of October, the *Elizabeth* deserted him; and he was left to pursue his voyage of adventure and discovery in the *Pelican* alone. He was for the rest of that year and the beginning of 1579 the terror of the Spanish ports in the South Seas. Having left the port of Guatulco on the Mexican coast, on the 16th of April, he went directly to sea, and having first

sailed west and afterwards north, he ran as far north as the parallel of 43° , or, according to other accounts, of 48° north latitude,—where they were all dismayed by exceeding cold. Six men could hardly do the work of three, so stiff was the rigging from ice, and this as late in the year as the month of June. On the 5th, they made land, and anchored in a bay much exposed to winds and flaws, and, “when they ceased, there instantly followed thick stinking fogs, which nothing but the wind could remove.” If this land, the first seen by Drake on the

coast north of Mexico, were indeed under the parallel of 42° , as one account implies, it is the shore of Pelican Bay, which has been rightly named from his ship, at the line which divides Drake in California. But, although the accounts are confused, Drake seems to have seen the coast as far north as $43^{\circ} 30'$ of north latitude, and indeed the claim was made that he saw it at 48° .¹ This latitude corresponds best of all with the accounts of the severe cold. But Robert Dudley, a son of the Earl of Leicester, himself an explorer, and well acquainted with the survivors of these voyages, says: "The reason why Drake sought and found the port of New Albion, was that having passed beyond Cape Mendocino in latitude forty-two and a half, in seeking for water as far as forty-three and a half, he found the coast so cold in the month of June that his people could not bear it."² Dudley gives the same latitudes to Drake's discoveries on his map, and it seems probable that the parallel of $43^{\circ} 30'$ marks the northern limit of Drake's discovery. Discouraged by the cold, Drake ran down the shore toward the south-east, and on the 17th of June, "it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay with good wind to enter the same." In this bay, which he called the Port of New Albion, he lay for more than a month, having landed his men, while he refitted his vessel, and built a little fort on shore.

The next morning after their arrival an Indian appeared in a canoe making tokens of respect and submission. He brought with him a little basket of rushes filled with an herb called tabak, which he threw into Drake's boat. Drake tried to recompense him, but in vain, — he took nothing but a hat thrown into the water. Then and afterwards, the ship's company of the *Pelican* thought that these natives revered them as gods. Drake proceeded to land his stores, by way of preparation for repairing his ship. As he landed, a large company of the Indians



Drake's Port of New Albion.

¹ Humboldt evidently thought so. See Humboldt's *New Spain*, ii. 337, *et seq.*

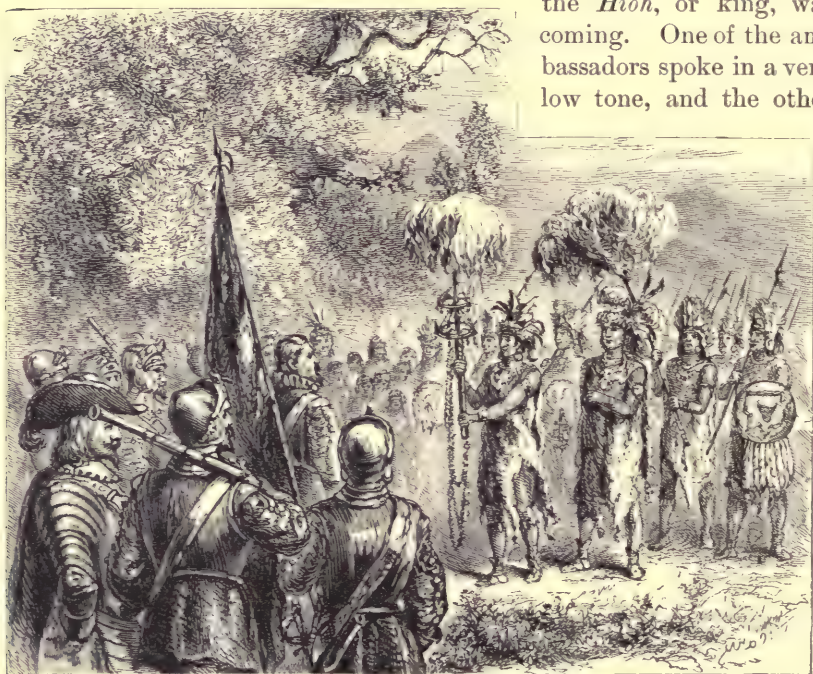
² Early maps, and a note on Robert Dudley in *The Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc.* Oct. 21, 1873.

approached, and, to the end of his sojourn, the most friendly relations were maintained between them and the Englishmen. Drake exerted himself, probably not without success, to remove the impression that he and his were gods. But he took the precaution of fortifying his camp with care against too eager advances.

On the 26th of June, the news of the arrival of the strangers having been widely dispersed, a greater number of people assembled, among them the king himself, a man of goodly stature, with many other tall and warlike men, and a guard of a hundred strong. He sent two messengers in advance, to say that

An embassy
from the In-
dians.

the *Hioh*, or king, was coming. One of the ambassadors spoke in a very low tone, and the other



Drake and the Indian King.

repeated the message verbatim, very loud, in a ceremony which lasted half an hour. They then asked for a present in token of friendship, which Drake gladly gave. On their return to the king he and his train appeared in pomp. In front of him marched a tall man with the sceptre or mace of black wood, a yard and a half long. Upon it hung two crowns, one larger than the other, with three long chains of bone. Such chains were regarded as marks of honor, the links in each were almost innumerable. The king was clothed in a dress of rabbit skins, — this being a distinction which the others might not claim. The guard were dressed in other skins. The great body of the people

were almost naked. Those about the king's person wore feathers as a sign of honor, and had "cawls of feathers" covered with a down growing on an herb, exceeding any other down for fineness, and only to be used by those around the king. The common people were almost naked, but their hair, also, was tied with feathers, arranged in a different way.¹

Drake received them cordially but with precaution. The sceptre-bearer and another officer then spoke for half an hour, one repeating very loudly what the other said in low tones. This ceremony was followed by a dance, in which the women joined. After this they asked Drake to sit down, and the king and others were then understood by the Englishmen to ask him "to become the king and gover-



California Indians and their Summer Huts. (From Bartlett.)

nor of their country," to whom they were most willing to resign the government of themselves and their posterity; and more fully to declare their meaning, the king, singing with all the rest, set the crown upon Drake's head, and enriched his neck with all their chains. They saluted him by the title of *Hioh*, and in a song and dance congratulated themselves that now he was their king and patron they were the happiest people in the world.

Drake having half a continent offered him in this manner, thought best to accept it, not for himself, but for his queen. "In the name and for the use of Queen Elizabeth, he took the Sceptre, Crown and Dignity of that Land upon him, wishing that the riches and Treasures thereof, wherein the upper parts abound, might be as easily transported to England as he had obtained the sovereignty thereof." When the ceremony was finished, the common

Drake made king by the savages.

¹ La Perouse and Langsdorff observed their fondness for feathers, as late as the end of the eighteenth century. "The feathers are twisted together into a sort of ropes, and then these are tied close together, so as to have a feathery surface on both sides." Langsdorff counted in one feather bandeau four hundred and fifty tail-feathers of the golden-winged woodpecker. Each woodpecker furnishes but two feathers.— See Forbes's *California*, p. 183.

people eagerly offered sacrifices to the strangers with shrieks and weeping, tearing the flesh from their faces with their nails. The English vainly attempted to dissuade them, by lifting their hands and eyes to heaven. During their stay the people generally brought sacrifices every third day, till they at last understood how much the English were displeased by them.

As soon as the English had finished the repairs upon their ship, Drake and some of his company made a journey into the interior. He found the Indians living in villages. The houses were made by digging round holes in the earth, covered by poles of wood, which met in the centre "like a spired steeple," the whole being covered with earth. The door "made slopous like the scuttle of a ship" was also the chimney.¹ The people slept in these houses on rushes on the ground, around a fire in the middle. The country was very different from the barren sea-shore. It was fruitful, and furnished with all necessities. The adventurers saw thousands of deer in a herd, and were much

Expedition
into the
interior.



Drake's Departure.

interested by the ground squirrel, which they describe as a peculiar "coney." The whole country was a warren of them. Their bodies were as big as the Barbary coney, their heads as the heads of the English, the feet like the feet of a want, and the tail long

like that of a rat. The coney had on each side of the chin a bag into which to gather such food as he did not need to eat.

Returning to his port, Drake took possession of the country in the

¹ Captain Beechey found similar houses as late as 1827.

name of Queen Elizabeth. He erected a monument which was, like so many other monuments of possession, only a wooden post with a copper plate upon it. On this he inscribed an assertion of the right of Queen Elizabeth and her successors to that kingdom, with the time of his own arrival, and a statement of the free resignation of the country by the king and people into her hands. Her picture and arms, and Drake's arms, were also engraved on this remarkable plate, which must have done credit to the amateur engraver from the crew of the *Pelican*.

After this ceremony of possession, the ship sailed for the Moluccas, to the great grief of the native king and his followers, who lighted fires on the cliffs as if to cheer them on their way. Drake's departure.

It is a curious question, not yet decided by geographers, what was the bay where Sir Francis Drake repaired his ship, and on the shore of which he encamped and took possession. The various accounts differ about the highest north latitude attained by Drake, but when driven back by cold weather he came south, they agree "it was within thirty-eight degrees toward the line." "In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay with good wind to enter the same." Was this bay the Bay of San Francisco, of which the opening, by the Golden Gate, is in $37^{\circ} 49'$ N. latitude, or is it the open bay just above this, marked on the maps as Sir Francis Drake's Bay, or is it Bodega Bay, where the latitude of the anchorage is $38^{\circ} 19'$?¹ Within so narrow a range it would be idle to infer anything from Drake's general statement that the good bay which God led him into was in 38° . Either of them is near enough to meet that definition.

The maps annexed will enable the reader to understand this difficulty. The more modern one represents the coast substantially as it has been drawn by the accurate hydrographers of our own time. The other was drawn early in the seventeenth century by Robert Dudley, son of the great Earl of Leicester, himself a navigator and the son-in-law of Cavendish, one of the explorers of the South Seas. Drake's port of New Albion will be found on this, so drawn as to represent sufficiently well the double bay of San Francisco. If this were the only authority it would probably be granted that Drake's port was San Francisco Bay. But it is quite certain that the Spaniards, who eagerly tried to rediscover the port, with this map in their possession, did not succeed until near two hundred years after. Long before they did discover it, they were seeking for it, calling it the Bay of San Francisco—that name probably having been taken from no less a

¹ These latitudes are those of Captain Beechey's survey.

saint than the heretic, Sir Francis Drake. In 1769, a land party discovered the great bay which runs south from the entrance, now called the Golden Gate. But it was not until 1776 that this inland sea was connected by the Spaniards with the ocean.



Map of a Part of the California Coast.

It is urged on the one side, that Sir Francis Drake would never have called "Jack's Bay," which is the Sir Francis Drake's bay of the maps, "a fair and good bay," nor thanked God as for a special providence for the wind which took him into that open roadstead, which under the circumstances, he could hardly have kept out of. If indeed, he did land, and unload his ship there, repair her, and take in his cargo again, lying for five weeks there, he is the last shipmaster who has done so. Having done so, that he should have drawn the bottle-shaped bay, which appears on the charts of his time, seems impossible. For such reasons, high authority¹ concedes that he entered the Golden Gate and the Bay of San Francisco, now known by that name. On the other hand, it is urged that

the physical distinctions of the Golden Gate and the present San Francisco Bay are so marked that Drake or his historian must have said more of them: that "fair and good bay," is not language as strong as should be used of that matchless harbor, and that once discovered, it could never be forgotten. The weight of Californian opinion at this time seems to be that Sir Francis Drake never entered the Golden Gate. In one of the early narratives of his voyage, in Hondius's voyages, the annexed map of the bay, unfortunately with no scale, is given in the margin. It bears this inscription in very bad Latin: "The inhabitants by terrible frequent laceration of their bodies deprecate the departure of Drake, now twice crowned, from this harbour of Albion." But it is clear enough, from an examination of the copy of a small part of the Bay of San Francisco, from Captain Beechey's survey, that the draughtsman of Hondius's² map, had no knowledge of that great estuary.

¹ So Davidson in the *Coast Pilot*, and Mr. Greenhow.

² For the copy of Hondius's very rare map, we are indebted to Mr. Charles Deane.

It is equally sure, however, that his map represents no other bay on the coast, and that it must, therefore, be taken as merely imaginary.

Dudley also says that Drake found many wild horses at the northward, — at which he wondered, because the Spaniards had never found horses in America. It is customary to account for the immense herds of American horses on the assumption that the Spaniards introduced them. Drake's visit, however, to Port New Albion was but thirty-eight years after Coronado's visit to

Cibola, — which, as we now know, was at least five hundred miles away. It is difficult to believe that a few stray horses from Coronado's troop, should, in so few years, have multiplied into large herds observed by Drake on the distant seaboard of Oregon. Coronado had but few horses, would have had fewer brood mares, and would have been apt to mention any loss of a large number of auxiliaries so essential.



Hondius's Map of Drake's Bay.



Spanish Coat of Arms on the St. Augustine Fort.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND COLONIZATION.

FATHER AUGUSTIN RUYZ. — RIO DEL NORTE. — CUNAMES. — ACOMA. — ZUNI OR CIBOLA. — JUAN DE OÑATE. — EL PASO. — "EL MORO." — INSCRIPTIONS. — VISCAINO. — EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO. — SALVATIERRA. — ARIZONA — PABLO QUIHUE. — FATHER AUGUSTIN DE CAMPOS. — EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS. — LA SALLE. — DE LEON. — ST. DENIS. — DON MARTIN D'ALARCORNE. — TEXAS.

Two years after Drake's departure a land expedition on the other side of the Sierra brought the lost cities of Cibola to light again.

In the year 1581, the Franciscan Father, Augustin Ruyz, interested by the report of some Conchos Indians, undertook an expedition northward, which resulted in the re-discovery of Quivira and some certainty as to the location of the Cibola of Coronado. Eager to save souls, Ruyz obtained leave to travel thither, and started with two brethren of his order, and eight soldiers. Leaving the mines of Santa Barbara in Northern Mexico, in the southern part of the present province of Chihuahua, four hundred and fifty miles from the capital, they began their journey northward; but one of the friars having been killed by Indians, the soldiers deserted the others, and left them to go forward alone. When at Santa Barbara the soldiers reported the plight in which they had left these holy men, a spirited gentleman of St. Bartholomew, a station in the neighborhood, named Antonio de Espejo, raised a company for their relief, and started, in November, 1582, with a caravan of one hundred and fifteen horses and mules and some Indian guides. They travelled northward through various tribes, and soon struck the Conchos River, which flows into the Rio del Norte. Here they found natives who seemed to have some knowledge of the symbols of Christian faith, and when asked how they obtained it, they said that three Christians and a negro had passed that way, and had instructed them.

The Spaniards believed these missionaries to have been Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, with their negro whose escape from the wreck of Narvaez's party has been described.¹ Con-

¹ Vol. i., p. 156.

tinuing northward, the explorers met men, willing to trade with them, who wore cotton garments, made of stuffs striped with white and blue.¹ They could only converse with them by signs. But they saw among them the precious metals; they learned that these were obtained from a place at five days' journey westward. After travelling together for some days,—probably along the foot of the Organ Mountains — they found a Concho Indian whose language they could



The Organ Mountains, near El Paso.

in part understand. He told them that fifteen days westward there was a large lake, and that, after passing this, they would come to large towns with houses of three or four stories high, whose inhabitants were well clothed. He even offered to conduct them thither. The adventurers were not able to follow his directions, because they were still pressing to the north in pursuit of the two priests whom they hoped to succor.

Travelling up the valley of the Rio del Norte they passed for fifteen days together a forest of pines, "such as men see in Castile," without meeting any inhabitants. Eighty leagues farther they came to a little village, whose inhabitants surprised them by the skill with which they tanned their leather, which was of as fine quality as that of Flanders. After two days' stay with them, still following the river, of which they found both banks cov-

The Valley
of the Rio
del Norte.

¹ The impression of later travellers is that this cloth was that made from the maguey fibre.

ered with poplars, varied sometimes by nut trees and vines, a journey of two days brought them to villages containing ten thousand persons, where they were well received. The houses were well built, four stories high, with good chambers, most of them having fire-places for winter. The people were well dressed in cotton and leather, with good shoes and boots, such as the Spaniards had not seen among the natives before. To this country they gave the name of New Mexico.

After remaining with them for four days the travellers went on to another tribe called the Tiguas, of sixteen towns. Here it was that the missionary had been killed, and here in a town named Poala, they obtained news of the murder of the two other fathers whom they were seeking, Lopez and Ruyz. The Indians seeing the interest taken in these men by so large a company, fled from their houses and could not be persuaded to return. Espejo determined to establish a camp here, and with only twelve companions to prosecute the further discovery. In two days more he came to a country of eleven towns, of which the natives said the population was more than forty thousand. Espejo believed that this country was next to the famous Cibola. He was cordially received and found the appearance of rich mines, and observed that, in the houses where the idols were, there were pieces of silver. After this expedition he returned to his camp. Here he obtained news of the province of the

Quires, six leagues from the Del Norte. He visited them, and found five towns, with a population of fifteen thousand people. The Spaniards were pleased to find a pye in a cage, "as you may see in Castile," and umbrellas, like those of China, on which were painted sun, moon, and stars. At this point Espejo fixed his latitude and found it $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north. If this observation were correct, he was in the limits of the present State of Colorado; but this must have been an error of more than two degrees.

Fourteen leagues further he found the Cunames, who had five towns, with a population of twenty thousand people. Their houses were built of stone and lime and were the best he had seen. They also had the precious metals. Next to them were the Amejés, thirty thousand in number: fifteen leagues westward, the travellers found the town of Acoma, inhabited by six thousand people. This town is still in existence, probably with the same race of inhabitants. It was on a high cliff, which has more than fifty platforms in height, and could only be ascended by steps cut out of the rock itself. At this the Spaniards greatly wondered. All the water was in cisterns. The people met the Spaniards cordially and brought them presents of clothes. Their arable land was two leagues away and was watered by artificial means from a little

The Tiguas.
The Quires.
The Cunames, the Amejés, and the town of Acoma.

river in the neighborhood. Here the Spaniards spent three days, and were entertained by a solemn ball.

This curious spot is perfectly known. Similar cave dwellings in other regions have been identified, described, and pictured by the recent surveying parties of the United States government. The description of Acoma is so distinct that it is clear that at some point Espejo must have left a little while before what we call the Del Norte, and come on the waters of the Puerco River.¹

Twenty-four leagues further west, Espejo and his men came to the province known as Zuni by the natives, and Cibola by the Spaniards, which Coronado had entered half a century before from the Gulf of California. They found the crosses planted by him and other tokens of his presence, among others three baptized

Espejo
reaches Ci-
bola.



Acoma.

Indians, who served them as interpreters. These men apprised them of a great lake sixty days further on, where were great cities with much gold. The province of Zuni still retains its name. The Zuni

¹ Judge Cozzens thus describes Acoma in 1860: "It stands upon the top of a rock at least three hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The Pueblo can only be reached by means of a staircase containing three hundred and seventy-five steps, cut in the solid rock. At the upper end of this is a ladder eighteen feet long, made from the trunk of a tree, in which notches have been cut for the feet." — *The Marvellous Country*, p. 287.

A narrative by Mr. Holmes of similar residences now in ruins, further west, describes such edifices where Spanish civilization has not followed on that of the natives. The remnant of the cave dwellings may still be traced. The openings are arched irregularly above, in a soft and friable shale, a hard stratum serving as a floor. In many instances, this gave a platform by which the inhabitants passed from one house to another. Fragments of mortar still show that the houses were plastered. They probably had doors and windows.

A drawing by Mr. W. H. Holmes, who visited a series on the San Juan, in 1875, shows their appearance at that time. In another drawing, Mr. Holmes gives his impression of their appearance when occupied, as Espejo may have seen them.

people still live there, and maintain at their altars the worship of the days of Espejo.

Espejo was disposed to go still farther on his adventures. But, finding the religious men and most of the party unwilling, he went on with nine soldiers only. After travelling twenty-eight leagues, they came to the city Zaguato. After some suspicion, they were hospitably welcomed. Espejo, after a few days' stay, went with five companions forty-five leagues farther. Here he found the mines of which he



Map of California, Arizona, and New Mexico.

had been told. With his own hand he took ores which contained a great quantity of silver, of which he could see that the vein was very large. The Indians of the neighborhood received him kindly. They told him that on the other side of their mountains was a river eight leagues wide. They showed by signs that it flowed to the Northern Ocean, and on its banks the towns were so large and so many that their own were nothing but hamlets in comparison. With this intelligence Espejo returned to Zuni, or Cibola. Unfortunately the account does not tell in what direction Espejo travelled from the site of the Zuni. Their pueblos are placed by the surveyors of the United States government about latitude 35° north, and longitude

109° west.¹ The city of Zaguato, twenty-eight leagues distant, is not easily identified. The interesting tribe of Moquis are now at about that distance to the northwest of the Zuni.

When Espejo rejoined his party the greater part of his people determined to return to Santa Barbara. But he himself, with eight soldiers, undertook the further exploration of the River del Norte. Having returned to the Quires, he found, twelve leagues west of them, the Hubates, twenty-five thousand in number, who received him kindly. Their houses also were four or five stories high, and their hills covered with pine and cedar. Next to this tribe were the Tamos, who were not friendly; and Espejo, rather than risk a conflict with them, returned home by another valley, of a river which he called the River of Cows, so many did he find there. This stream brought him to the Conchos River, by which he returned to the valley of St. Bartholomew, whence he had departed. He found that the other part of his party had preceded him. The expedition had lasted nearly two years.²

Further ex-
plorations of
Espejo.

The interest excited in Spain by these discoveries must have been very great, although with the policy which then prevailed at Madrid, no official publication was made of them. It seems to be by accident that the narrative of Espejo was printed in connection with the history of China, from which the vigilance of Hakluyt at once reproduced it for English readers. Orders were given from Madrid that New Mexico should be occupied, and as early as 1594 we have the thanks of the king to the company of Jesuits for their success in planting missions there. In that year it was attached to the ecclesiastical charge of Father Martin Pelez of Cinaloa, the most northerly station till then held, and on the other side of the Sierra. In 1595, the Viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Monterey, sent Juan de Oñate into New Mexico, and under his directions colonies were planted in the valley of the Rio Grande.³ One of Oñate's settlements was near Santa Fé, which may probably, therefore, claim to be settled before Jamestown, and to be, after St. Augustine, the oldest town built by whites in the United States. Acoma is an older town. The original settlement by Oñate was made with

The news of
these discov-
eries re-
ceived in
Spain.

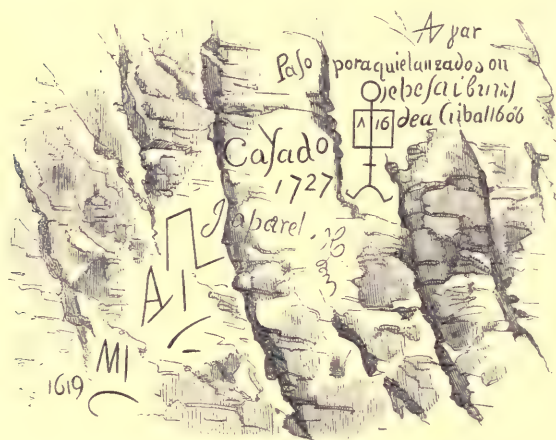
¹ It is in section 77 of the Hayden Survey.

² This narrative is preserved by Gonzales de Mendoza, the author of the "History of China" and the "Itinerary to the New-World." It is perhaps embellished by exaggerations. But it carries with it, — in many of the local descriptions which were not verified for nearly three centuries by other narrators, — evidence that Espejo went over the ground which he described. He may be considered, therefore, as the discoverer of New Mexico, and the valley of the Gila, above the points where it had been explored by Coronado. It is probable that in the word Tiguas we have the origin of the name Texas, which next appears in the form Latekas, used by La Harpe.

³ Allegre, *Hist. Jesuits*, vol. i., p. 325. Mexican edition of 1842.

one hundred soldiers and five hundred settlers, and it is not probable that the establishments in New Mexico largely exceeded these numbers for a century. A bloody massacre by the Indians in 1640 is alluded to by the Jesuit historians, and in 1680, by a successful union of the pueblos, they drove all the Spaniards from the upper river and compelled them to take refuge in El Paso. Successive expeditions against the Indians from that point proved unsuccessful till 1692, when Diego de Bargas regained possession of the valley for the Spanish garrisons.¹ The town of El Paso, on the Mexican side of the frontier of the United States, where the western boundary determined by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo begins, was proba-

bly founded by Oñate. The Piro Indians had a village called Sinecu, which still exists within the precincts of the town. From the missionary establishment there, it is probable that the town of El Paso sprang. The signs of Moorish architecture may be still noticed in the public buildings of El Paso, as in other mission buildings of Mexican



Inscription Rock.

or Spanish origin in that region; and the venerable church itself is supposed by the worshippers to have been built in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.

From this time, with various reverses, the valley of the Rio Grande was held by Spanish priests and officials, with some settlers. Inscription Rock, a remarkable rock on the west side of the Sierra Madre, not far from the pueblo of Acoma, records, not insufficiently, the history of this outlying province, in the autographs, or autoglyphs, of the men who belonged to the time. For two hundred and ten feet of its height this rock has a natural polish. At a distance it perfectly resembles a Moorish castle, so that the Spaniards called it "El Moro." Indians and Spaniards have used it as a monument rock; and when Lieut. Simpson saw it in

¹ The dates given by Pike, Allegre, and Venegas are confused, but those in the text are furnished for Lieutenant Simpson by Don Donaciano Vigil, Secretary of State for New Mexico, and may probably be relied upon.

1849, he found a large number of inscriptions still visible. Some were mere savage carvings of hands or animals, but many were in Spanish or a sort of Latin.¹

On the western coast, the news of Drake's discovery stimulated the court of Spain to make some new efforts to save the land, whose natives had given it to the heretic queen. Under the king's own orders Viscaino, an officer of ability, was again despatched on the survey of the coasts of California. After one voyage on the gulf, which resulted in disaster, he sailed from Acapulco for a second on the 5th of May, 1602, and went as far as the parallel of 42° north. He rediscovered the harbors of San Diego and Monterey, and gave to them those names. He reported that the natives on the coast were docile, clothed with the skins of sea-wolves, — but with abundance of hemp, flax, and cotton. The Indians all told him, he said, that in the inland were large towns, silver, and gold. Viscaino's manuscripts have not been brought to light. His second voyage was not finished until 1603. It appears that his instructions were to put into "Puerto Francisco," and see if anything was to be found of the ship *San Augustin*, which in 1595, had been sent from the Philippine Islands to survey that coast, and had been lost there.

Action of
Spain in
regard to
California.
Viscaino's
voyage.

¹ With praiseworthy accuracy Lieutenant Simpson copied these curious records, and in his Report fac-similes of them were published. There are thirty-eight inscriptions in his list, ranging from the 16th day of April, 1606, when some officer "passed this place with despatches," down to 1836. It seems to have become a custom with the Spanish officers to leave here a brief account of their mission. As the other records of New Mexico before 1680 were burned by the Indians in that year, the earlier of these inscriptions supply names and dates not elsewhere accessible. The character of them may be understood from such examples as these:

"Passed this place with despatches — 16th day of April, 1606."

"J. Apaulla, 1619."

"Bartolome Narso, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of New Mexico, for our Lord, the King, passed by this place on his return from the pueblo of Zuñi, on the 29th of July, of the year 1620, and put them in peace at their petition, asking the favor to become subjects of His Majesty; and anew they gave obedience. All which they did with free consent, knowing it prudent, as well as very Christian.

"To so distinguished and gallant a soldier, indomitable and famed, we love. . . ."
(The rest of this inscription is illegible.)

"Here passed General Don Diego de Bargas to conquer Santa Fé for the royal crown, New Mexico, at his own cost, in the year 1692."

Judge Cozzens, in 1860, found and copied an earlier inscription: "Don Joseph de Bazemzalles. 1526." Judge Cozzens rightly says, that such an inscription could only be truly carved by one of the lost officers whom Cortez sent north in a quest for the lands of silver. Of that band of twenty men there is no history since they left Cortez, excepting on this silent stone.

But, among Lieutenant Simpson's inscriptions, there appears, perfectly distinct, on another part of the rock, "Por aqui pazo el Alferez Dⁿ Joseph de Payba Basconzelos el ano que tugo el Canildo del Reyno a su costa a 18 de febo de 1726 Anos." *Tugo* is some misspelling of the stone-cutter, — but the meaning is that this officer, whose rank was that of lieutenant, passed here in an expedition undertaken at cost of the council of the kingdom.

She was under the direction of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermenon. Her pilot, Volanos, was chief pilot of Viscaino's squadron. Having passed the latitude of Port Francisco, they returned to look for it, and anchored under La Punta de los Reys. This is the westerly point of "Jack's Bay." They did not land, and Viscaino having parted from his tender, continued his voyage in search of her. He thus lost his opportunity of discovering the great Bay of San Francisco. He ran up the coast, as far north as 42° , and then, because his whole company were sick with a terrible distemper, they returned to Acapulco. The tender persevered as far as 43° . Here her com-



Acapulco.

mander found a river whose banks were covered with ash trees, willows, and other Spanish trees. But he had passed farther than his orders directed, and he returned to Acapulco also. No such river exists in that latitude. The Columbia is as far north as 48° .

Philip III., of Spain, or some minister of his, on the reception of this report, issued a very interesting order, of the greatest stringency, that the search for a harbor should be renewed, and that Monterey should be occupied. But the fatality of inaction, which governed both Mexico and Spain, prevailed. Viscaino died as he was preparing for the expedition ordered, and the occupation of Northern California was reserved to another century. Men, widely differing from those who discovered California, acting under another class of motives, undertook the colonization which for a century and a half had been neglected, since it proved that she had no cities of gold and turquoises. The Spanish court, meanwhile, had changed as

Order of
Philip III.

much as the adventurers in Mexico had changed ; and the appeals to Charles the Second of Spain rested on different motives from those which had swayed the Emperor Charles, who from his distant throne lifted Cortez or put him down at his will.

After one and another inefficient scheme for the conquest, as it was called, of California, a royal order came from Mexico to Spain that all enterprises in that direction should be laid aside. At this moment the Jesuit body, hardly yet declining from the maturity of its power, was urged by the persons in command in Mexico to take the charge of California. The Viceroy offered to the Jesuits the necessary sums, to be paid out of the king's treasury, if they would undertake the enterprise. The Mexican chapter of the society was convened for the consideration of the proposal, and answered that while the society would undertake the spiritual duty of furnishing missionaries, they saw great inconveniences in undertaking the temporal charge of such an enterprise, and declined. The general council urged it again, but again the society refused. The last of these refusals was in 1686.



Portrait of Philip III. of Spain

Eusebio Francisco Kino, a brother of the Jesuit Society, who had come from Ingoldstadt in Bavaria, in pursuance of a vow made when seemingly at the point of death, undertook, almost single-handed, the regeneration of the peninsula of California. To his efforts, as it proved, the first settlement was due of those parts of California and Arizona which now belong to the United States. It is said that as early as 1658 he had been connected with the explorations of Arizona.¹ He had afterwards been engaged in the examinations of the peninsula of California made by order of the government. In 1686 he left the city of Mexico, as superior of the province of Sonora, the Mexican province immediately south of Arizona.¹ In 1670, with other priests, he set out on a mission on the Gila. In 1672, he began a mission among the Yaquis. Before 1679 he and his companions had established five missions among Yaquis, Opotes, and Papa-

Father Kino
in Califor-
nia.

¹ Cozzens's *Wonderful Land* (Arizona), p. 32. Mr. Cozzens refers to MSS. in the monastery of Dolores. Kino accompanied Admiral Otondo as early as 1648.

goes.¹ On the left bank of the Gila, he established Encarnacion and San Andres. In San Andres he describes one of the "great houses," four stories in height, which recall the memories of Cibola. His wishes for California were not accomplished until 1697, when Father Salvatierra was appointed to make collections for a mission in Lower California, and at length sailed from Hiagui in that service on the 10th of October.

The sedulous efforts by which he and his companions attempted to civilize and Christianize the savages of that peninsula, do not belong to this narrative. But as a consequence of these plans, a series of missionary efforts grew up, which resulted in the first civilization of the State known as California of the American Union, the limits of which correspond nearly with those of the province of Upper California, as it is described in the narratives of Mexico. The friendly relations of Father Kino in Sonora on the eastern side of the Gulf of California, with Father Salvatierra on the west side, led constantly to mutual offices of kindness and help; and the history of the two regions is substantially one history of two provinces, administered in the same spirit and under the same general system. In one expedition of Salvatierra, he passed to the head of the gulf, and satisfied himself that California was indeed a peninsula. "This discovery," he says, "we owe to the holy virgin of Loreto;" and he adds, "these are the steps by which within a few years California may come to be the soul of this kingdom, the main source of its opulence, the scene of cheerful industry; and accordingly I conclude that you will charge all persons that they continue to assist us in these missions of Nuestra Senora de Loreto de Californias."² There was only this external distinction between the missions of California and those of Sonora: that in California a handful of soldiers was in each mission placed under the direction of the Fathers. In Sonora, the garrisons, if garrisons there were, were directed immediately by the viceroy. But scarcely any difference in result seems to have arisen from this distinction. It must be understood that the word Sonora, in the history of that country at that time, includes what is known to our geographers as Arizona.

Having selected a point for a mission, the fathers began immediately to invite and induce the Indians to attend the daily religious services. As soon as they themselves acquired the language of the country, they taught the natives the catechism in that language. By way of rewarding those who attended on the services, the fathers served out rations to them, and attempted in the same way to wean all the

The Californian Missions.

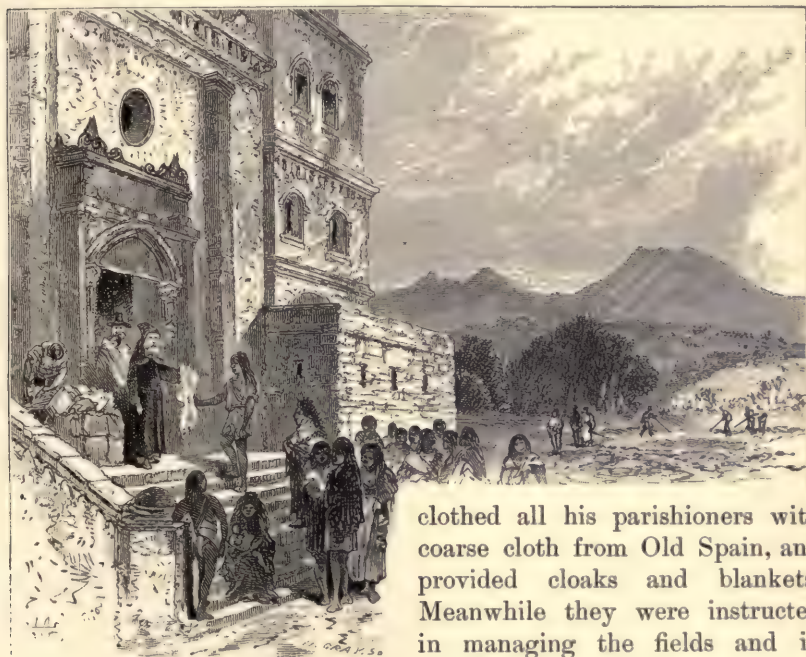
¹ *Noticias Estadicas del Estado de Sonora*, by Jose Francisco Velasco. Mexico, 1850.

² *Venegas*, vol. i., p. 307. English translation.



JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN CALIFORNIA.

savages from the habits of wanderers. In California all who attended divine service were wholly supported by the mission. Every morning and night they received an allowance of "atole," a sort of hominy; at noon they were served with boiled Indian corn, called pozoli,¹ and with fresh or salt meat and vegetables, according as the mission provided. All the sick, aged, and children from six to twelve, and the Indian governor of the village, were also thus provided with food. Beside these, a weekly allowance of the same amount, was made to such Indians of the rancherias as came to be catechised and as attended the divine service on Sunday. The missionary priest also



The Mission Indians.

clothed all his parishioners with coarse cloth from Old Spain, and provided cloaks and blankets. Meanwhile they were instructed in managing the fields and in irrigation; and as they would not save the crops, Venegas says,

the fathers preserved them for their regular use. Wine, which was at an early date produced in the Californian missions, was the only product withheld from them, the fathers early learning that such was the only method to save them from drunkenness.²

The effect produced by such a system would not immediately appear. But, after a generation, a body of children had grown up to be men and women, without any habits of the chase or of war, and with the habit of farm labor and regular attendance on the

Effect of the Missions.

¹ Cozzens's *Wonderful Land*, 37.

² Venegas, i. 432.

rites of the church. The missions were, in many instances, very small establishments. One father with one soldier might be all the white population. The father then appointed one Indian as governor of the village, one to the charge of the church, and a third to be the catechist of those who were undergoing instruction. So simple a system was considered sufficient. In the absence of the father the soldier acted as his vicegerent, having "an eye to everything" as is the expressive phrase of Venegas.¹ He could seize delinquents, and mildly punish them, "unless in capital cases," which were referred to the captain of the garrison. The minor punishments were more or less lashes; the severer punishment was imprisonment in the stocks. The first care in every mission was for the education of the children. Some of them were selected from every Californian mission to be sent to Loreto, the chief station. They were instructed in reading, writing, and singing, and in the Spanish language, and afterwards as they showed ability were promoted to be churchwardens or catechists in the several "rancherias."

It is mentioned as an exceptional instance in these plans, that, on the peninsula of California, Father Ugarte taught his Indians to spin wool and weave it, himself making the distaffs, wheels, and looms. He added the industry of making sail-cloth from hemp. This was a violation of the whole colonial system of Spain, which attempted to compel the colonies to obtain all their manufactures from Europe. Venegas, the Jesuit historian, is eloquent in his description of the ruinous effects of this policy in the province of Sonora. The cause of the poverty of Sonora, he says, is its want of almost all necessary manufactures and trades. While other European nations encourage these in their colonies, Spain depresses them. But the immediate consequence of manufacture, he says, is the promotion of agriculture, for the providing of the raw material and for feeding the artisan. The policy of Cortez, therefore, was to encourage manufacture, and this policy was continued by some of his successors. But his policy having been overturned, poor Sonora must receive from Mexico the cloth which had been bought in Cadiz, after it had been carried thither from Holland.

As the expense of the Jesuit missions involved the feeding and
 Their sup- clothing of all the converts, neophytes, and catechumens, it
 port. was of course considerable, and, so long as any mission was
 in its infancy, it must be supplied by contributions from the faithful
 all over the world. At this point the literary ability of the Jesuit
 brethren was called upon, and the attractive histories of their mis-
 sions, published through Europe, assisted their indefatigable collections

¹ *Venegas*, vol. i., 435.

of money. The Fathers never founded a new mission unless some benefactor had endowed it with ten thousand dollars. This sum furnished, at five per cent. interest, five hundred dollars, which was allowed for the support of the missionary and his unavoidable expenses with the Indians. A royal grant of three hundred dollars for each missionary seems to have provided in part for other missions. Venegas, the historian of Jesuit missions, explains still farther, that the funds for the first seven missions were invested in farms near the city of Mexico, and that the necessary supplies of cattle and of corn were furnished from these farms. To the agent who had these farms in charge the king's payment was made, of eighteen thousand dollars a year for the payment of the garrisons and of the seamen employed by the missions. From these funds, and from the products of the farms, were paid everything necessary for worship, for the building and repair of the church and for the maintenance not of the priest only, but of his people. It is interesting, at this time, to observe, that in Salvatierra's report of the 25th of May, 1705, he says, "in those parts of the country that are conquered and discovered there are very promising appearances of mines."

These anticipations were fully confirmed as that century went on. The acquisitions from mines in Arizona, as we now call it, and from Sonora cannot be accurately distinguished. But it is certain that Arizona well earned its name,—which is derived from *Arizuma*, a name said to be given by the king himself to denote its richness in silver. As early as 1683, the attorney of the king brought a suit in Sonora to recover a mass of virgin silver weighing twenty-eight hundred pounds, which he claimed as a "curiosity," although it was found in the mine of an explorer named Gandra.¹ A wide desert separated the silver-bearing parts of Arizona from the Pacific. A long transport by land separated them from the Gulf of Mexico. But the traces of old mining operations and the records of the viceroyalty of Mexico alike show, that in face of these discouragements, very large mining operations were conducted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the frontier provinces which are now States and Territories of the United States.

The tranquil arrangements of the Jesuits, which attempted to substitute for savage life the proprieties and decorum of pueblos of men and women trained to act like obedient children, were constantly broken in upon by savage uprisings, which the fathers considered as so many triumphs of the devil. As early as 1695 the Janos, Jocomes, and Apaches were at war. The Conchos Indians joined in the fray, which was for the time suppressed by

Difficulties
encountered
by the Mis-
sionaries.

¹ Cozzens, as above, p. 41.

the energetic efforts of Antonio de Solis, the military commandant. But none the less on all sides of the frontier were there fears of a general rising. An Indian called Pablo Quihue was considered the head of a conspiracy. He had been the governor, under the scheme just now described, of the mission of Santa Maria Basieraca, but he now proved faithless to his masters. He told all the natives that in the last sixty years they had gradually given away all their lands to the Spaniards; that the fathers, instead of acknowledging such gifts gratefully, had seized the lands and enslaved the people. Lands, flocks, herds, houses, women, and children were all at the disposal of the priests. "Do they tell you that their soldiers protect you? Do they tell you that they will defend you? Do they tell you that you live in true religion, in obedience to the king and in peaceful life? So they told us when they came, and we, like fools, received them as men who came from heaven to bless us. What has come of these magnificent promises? You can see. The Apaches, the Jocomes, the Janos, have for years desolated our fields and stolen our flocks. Have the fathers protected us? Have their soldiers helped



Indian Council (from La Hontan).

us; have they not been our ruin? Have more Sonoras, Pimas, Tarau-
mares, and Conchos fallen under the
arrows of the Apaches, than have
perished under the cruelty of the
Spaniards. At the least alarm, they
charge us, whom they have enslaved,
with being apostates, traitors to God
and to the king, enemies of our coun-
try and allies and accomplices of the
Apaches! They show more enmity
to us than to them! Do they treat
them as cruelly as they treat us? Have the Apaches ever seen their
faces? And have they ever hurt us so much, as these protectors of
ours?" Such is the remarkable speech, which Allegre, a Jesuit histo-
rian, is frank enough to put into the mouth of this rebel.¹

So well founded were his arguments, so imposing the outside force
of the Apaches, and so hateful the Spaniards, that his hopes
might have been crowned with success, but that, by an ac-
cident so often repeated in savage annals, the conspiracy
broke out too early in one quarter. The Cuquiarachi, Cuchuta, and
Teuricatzí broke into rebellion before his plans were ripe. The peo-
ple of these places seized the ornaments of the churches and fled with
them into the mountains. This precipitancy disarranged all the plans

An unsuc-
cessful In-
dian rebel-
lion.

¹ Allegre, iii., 93 : Mexican edition.

of Quihue. The rebellion was suppressed ; and the fathers were able to praise the loyalty of many of the pueblos, whose people joined with the Spanish soldiery in the movements necessary, and in one case sustained a battle which lasted from day to night, without their assistance.

In 1697 new invasions from the Apaches and Jocomes wasted Sonora ; and again the suspicions of the Spaniards were roused against the people of their own flocks, including Pimeria, as the missions among the Pimos began to be called at that time. It was true that the Pimos suffered as much as the

Indian invasions. —
The invaders repulsed.

Spaniards, or more, but they fell under the suspicion which in all colonies, English, Spanish, or French, has always hovered over converted Indians. An inspection by a Spanish officer wholly relieved them from this suspicion. It proved that they had beaten the

Apaches in fight, as they do to this day, and were in no way entangled with them. His report estimates the numbers of the Opas and Maricopas as about 4,000. He speaks of their aqueducts and fertile land, their crops of wheat and houses of adobe, much as a traveller of to-day might do. But it must be remembered that they



California Indians catching Salmon.

then occupied a site lower down the Gila River than that which they live upon to-day.¹ At length, on the 30th of March, the chief of the Quiburi, one of the "reduced" or converted tribes, struck a fortunate blow with his people upon the marauders and wholly defeated them. By this blow, rather than from any action of the Spanish troops, as would appear, the tranquillity of the missions was for some time assured. In a pastoral visit made to the northern stations at this time Father Kino made an observation of latitude at St. Rafael de Actun, which fixes that place as in the parallel of 32° 30' 45" north. He frequently alludes in his letters to the certainty that California is a peninsula, as it had been pronounced by Cortez and his

¹ Emory's report, on the authority of Kit Carson.

contemporaries. The later geographers, for a long time, insisted on marking it as a long island; and it was long before the intelligent assertions of the Jesuit Fathers, though founded on personal observations, were attended to by the map-makers. In January, 1699, on one of these tours of inspection, Fathers Kino and Gilg met five hundred Yumas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas at a point three leagues above the junction of the Gila and Colorado. These people had traditions of the arrival of Spaniards from the east, which probably referred to the party of Oñate. They told of a visit from a white woman whom the Fathers supposed to be an enthusiast named Maria de Jesus Agreda, who had gone out alone as early as 1630, among the savages.



Junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

These people also said that at the north there lived white men who wore clothes, who at times came armed to the Colorado, and brought goods in exchange for skins. This can only allude to some expedition of French traders, of which we have no account, or possibly to the expedition from Boston, already alluded to, which is said to have preceded by a year the expedition of La Salle.

So far at least, as their written history goes, the flourishing condition of the Pimeria, which was the result of the Jesuit labors in Arizona, ended with the death of Father Kino in the year 1711. This remarkable man, one of the most successful and enterprising of apostles, had been a professor of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria. By a divine call

Death of
Father
Kino.

he was led to abandon his professorship and to enter on the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen. His indomitable spirit, his courage and adventure, led him to such successes, as have been described. His zeal constantly outran the slower notions of the Mexican Viceroy, and he was frequently in conflict with them and with other authorities. It was only after long delay that his plans for the reduction, as it was called, of California, were adopted; and he was frequently held back in his undertakings in his beloved Pimeria. It is said that he himself baptized more than forty thousand infidels, — and that he would have baptized many thousand more had the zeal of the church behind him been sufficient to provide them with teachers and ministers. San Xavier del Bac, as it now appears, gives an idea of the external appearance of the churches he founded. The people of



The Mission of San Xavier del Bac.

Arizona believe this building to be the very same which was erected under his direction. In this temple the worship of the Catholic church is still maintained by a handful of Papajo Indians.

His successor was Father Augustin de Campos. But he could not prevent the decay of the missions. Probably the enthusiasm of Europe and Mexico had been turned in other directions, and it was impossible to provide ecclesiastical chiefs for these frontier settlements. The slow death settling upon Spain, — attributed by most students of history to the inevitable lethargy attendant on Jesuit counsels, — hindered the aid which the Spanish monarchs themselves often tried to give the missions. Nothing is more amusing, if it were not at the same time pathetic, than the narrative by Venegas of the ingenious ways in which the officials of the crown resisted and defeated the pious orders of their kings. For many years, the Jesuit historian tells us, the people of the villages maintained their crops and built their houses in a civilized way. But as time passed, they fell

Decay of the
Missions.

back toward the habits of savage life. Many of the villages had no Spanish ministers till 1731, when a sudden revival for a moment filled the posts anew. Dolores and Remedios were entirely unpeopled, and many others suffered from the invasions of the Apaches.

In 1740 a rebellion broke out, more critical than any before, led by an "apostate" Indian named Muni, one of the Yaquis, — another named Baltazar, and another named Juan Calixto.

A new Indian rebellion.

Succeeding in Mayo they passed to Cedros and Bayorca. Muni was at one moment taken prisoner, but having been liberated he was so far encouraged that with his Yaquis he continued his ravages. So efficient was this rebellion that the villages of the valley of the Gila were wholly cut off from Mexican inspection, and, indeed, they have remained in much that condition ever since. In 1744 Father Keeler, who attempted to revisit them, was permitted to pass no farther than the first village of the Moquis. A second revolt in 1750, under one Luis, did still more to break up the missions of the southern part of Sonora, which now constitutes the Mexican state of that name, and well nigh completed the isolation of Pimeria in the valley of the Gila. The authority of Luis over the Pimeria was not broken until the year 1753, when a new governor seized him and put him in prison, where he soon died of "melancholy." His relative took refuge with the Seris, a barbarous tribe on the Gulf of California, always their enemies till now. Some fathers were despatched, after this success, to renew the abandoned missions; but it would appear that their decay could not be arrested.

Their history is at the bottom the same as that of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, which have attracted more of the attention of students of social order. By these experiments it is proved possible to

The lesson taught by these attempts.

educate savages in a state of tutelage, and to maintain the outward external aspects of exquisite order and simplicity.

The lover of tranquillity, delighted with such social order when he sees it contrasted with the strifes of a more active world, describes the pretty scene as an Arcadia, if he be of a classical bent; or as the kingdom of heaven on earth, if he be trained in another school. But the moment a storm comes, or the moment the mild tyranny of the spiritual father is removed, it proves that this people, so gentle and so simple, have not been educated to the care of themselves. They have been taught to obey, in a false school, which has not taught them either to direct or to command. And the lovely village, so charming to the traveller who sees it from the outside for a day or two, is swept away, like a vision of the night, and leaves almost as little trace behind.

For the missions of Pimeria and of Upper California, the final blow was struck, — so far as Jesuit supervision went, — on the 25th of June, 1767. "A little before the break of day," says the historian, with a certain pathos, "the decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits went forth, with the great seal itself, from the council chamber of Charles III." In the endless intrigues, in which the history of the company of Jesuits is involved, perhaps from its own nature, the balance had gone against it heavily, at that moment, in the dying court of Spain. King Charles was so eager to secure the execution of his decree that by an autograph letter to the viceroy of Mexico he notified his will, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico followed with much more rapidity than had attended the execution of many of the decrees in their favor. The accounts given by the Jesuit writers and their enemies as to the origin of this decree, belong rather to the history of Europe than to that of Pimeria. It was due to the influence of Choiseul and Aranda, who seem to have succeeded in convincing Charles that the Jesuits had circulated slanders regarding his own birth. Certain is it that the blow was sudden and unexpected.

The expulsion of the Jesuits.



Portrait of Charles III. of Spain.

When, in 1683, the French explorer, La Salle, addressed to the king of France his memoir on the foundation of a colony in Louisiana, the silver mines of New Mexico were so well established, that the prime reason suggested by him for his enterprise, was the ease with which the French might seize the product of those mines, and bring it down the Red River. After two hundred years, that route is not yet taken by the silver of New Mexico and the neighboring regions. But it may yet prove true, that by a railway through the valley of the Red River these stores of silver, the magnitude of which has deranged the balance of the coinage of the world, may find their way to their market. The Spanish government was as quick as La Salle to note the danger to their mines from his enter-

New Mexico
and Texas

prise. When his unfortunate colony landed, in fact within the limits of our State of Texas,¹ in Matagorda Bay, which they called the Bay of St. Bernard, the nearest Spanish positions on the gulf were the port of Panuco, near the present Tampico, more than two hundred leagues distant, and El Paso on the Rio Grande. The Spanish settlers had been driven from New Mexico by the rising of 1680, nor was possession regained until 1695. Early in 1686 the viceroy of Mexico, Laguna, was informed of the French expedition of La Salle. But its destination was unknown; and the historian of Texas believes that the Spaniards learned from the Comanche Indians of the colony in St. Bernard's Bay. A council held in Mexico determined on an expedition of discovery and repression, and to this expedition Captain Alonzo de Leon was appointed, under the title of Governor of Coahuila.

De Leon arrived at Fort St. Louis on the 22d of April, with his command of one hundred men. He found there the wreck of the unfortunate French colony; and, learning from the Indians that there were French stragglers among the Cenis, he visited them and found two of the murderers of La Salle, whom he took prisoners. They were sent to Mexico and thence to Spain, and then sent back to Mexico and condemned to the mines.

De Leon made a favorable report as to Texas, and it was determined to establish a mission at Fort St. Louis. In 1690 this was done. The king approved of this proceeding, saying it was of importance for the security of his dominions in New Mexico. Venegas, the historian of California, expresses a mild regret that the necessities of the crown diverted to this enterprise treasure which he is sure could have been well used on the Pacific shore. But the French were too near for delay. It would indeed seem as if, till this time, the policy of Spain had been that ascribed to the ancient Persian prince, who kept a portion of desert three days journey in width between his own empire and many others. But Texas was then a desert far more than three days wide. If such were the policy, it gave way before the danger that other colonists might inhabit the desert. In 1691, Don Domingo Teran was appointed governor of Coahuila and Texas, and with fifty soldiers and seven lay friars, proceeded to establish missions and military posts. These they began, but in 1693 they were all abandoned, in face of hostile Indians, and the king approved of the abandonment. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, Spain had no posts in Texas. On the west side of the Rio Grande, the posts still known as Presidio del Norte and El Paso were maintained as stations on the road to New Mexico.

When in 1712, Louis XIV. gave to Antoine Crozat a grant of

¹ See chap. xxi.

Louisiana, it was so phrased as to extend his boundaries to the Rio Grande on the west. In 1714, he sent out Huchereau St. Denis, a young man of noble family, on an expedition to the western part of his new domain. Leaving Natchitoches on the Red River, where a trading post had already been established, St. Denis crossed Texas, and in August reached the mission of St. John Baptist on the Rio Grande, where he was hospitably received by the commander. But, so soon as Don Gaspardo Anaya, the Governor of Coahuila, heard of his arrival he arrested St. Denis and one of his

Expedition
of St. Denis.



El Paso.

companions and sent them to Mexico, where they were imprisoned for six months. After two years, however, he returned to Mobile, having escaped or been released. He married the daughter of Villeseas, the governor of St. John Baptist, and from that day began a system of smuggling between the Mexican territories and those of Louisiana, which has continued to this time.¹

Those movements alarmed the Spaniards again, and the Duke of Linares, now Viceroy of Mexico, made new efforts to prosecute the colonization of Texas. A new mission was established in the Bay of St. Bernard, and one among the Adaes, only fifteen miles from Natchitoches. It was therefore within the present line of the State of Louisiana. A mission called Dolores was

Spanish at-
tempts to
colonize
Texas.

¹ Yoakum, *Hist. Texas*, vol. i., 48. *American State Papers*, vol. xii. Mr. Gayarré has made a romance from these adventures.

established west of the Sabine, and San Antonio de Valero was placed on the right bank of the San Pedro, about three fourths of a mile from the present church at San Antonio. The present position of San Antonio was soon after chosen instead of the first, for reasons which recommend themselves to every visitor to that beautiful city. Soon after, a mission was established near the present town of Nacogdoches, and a sixth near San Augustine. The establishment of these missions was intrusted to a captain named Don Domingo Ramon. When he was at the Adaes he visited San Denis at Natchitoches, and was hospitably received.



San Antonio, Texas.

The Texan missions were from the first in the hands of Franciscan fathers. But the methods of these fathers were not materially different from those which we have described as practised by the Jesuits. At each presidio or mission there was a garrison, with a military commandant; but these garrisons were sometimes very small. A *plaza de armas*, surrounded by the church, barracks, storehouses, and other public buildings, was the centre of the establishment. Around these huts were built for the "reduced" or converted Indians.

After the declaration of war of 1718 between France and Spain had been heard of on this distant frontier, the little garrisons made an attempt to imitate the contentions of their masters in Europe. The Frenchmen, La Harpe and St. Denis, broke up the Spanish posts and drove the garrisons from the lesser stations to San Antonio. The Marquis de Aguayo, the Spanish Governor of New Estremadura, collected five hundred men to drive them back, but they had already retreated, and Don Aguayo reëstablished the garrisons¹ which they had put to flight.

Conflicts between the French and Spanish.

¹ *Am. State Papers*, vol. xii.

In the same year Don Martin d'Alarcone had been appointed Governor of Texas. After the success of Aguayo's expedition, a larger army was fitted out against the French settlements on the Upper Mississippi. The Spaniards lost their route, and falling in with the Missouri Indians, mistook them for Osages. They had relied on the assistance of the Osages against the French. Now, the Missouris were the firm allies of the French. The Missouris had the address to encourage the mistake, till they had received from the Spaniards pistols, sabres, hatchets, and what the narrator speaks of as fifteen hundred muskets, a number which is incredible. With these arms, however, the Indians massacred all the Spaniards except the priest, and this misfortune ended the Spanish claims on the Upper Mississippi.¹ The French home government, in the meanwhile, ordered Bienville to establish a new post in Matagorda Bay, which he did. But the detachment was soon withdrawn on account of the hostility of the Indians.

A royal order of 1721 directed the Spanish authorities to attempt no further hostilities against the French, but to fortify the bay of St. Bernard and other important posts. A garrison called "our Lady of Loretto" was accordingly established at St. Bernard. In the next year the four garrisons which defended Texas, consisted of one hundred men at the Adaes Mission, twenty-five at the Neches, ninety at the bay of St. Bernard, and fifty-three at San Antonio. There were no colonists, excepting the fathers, at the missions, but Aguayo, before returning to his own department, recommended the introduction of colonists. So soon as he departed, the forbidden trade between French and Spanish frontiersmen began again, and when, in the war of 1726, France and Spain were in alliance, this trade gained new activity.²

Further
progress of
Texas under
Spanish
rule.

In 1728 the Spanish government ordered the transportation of four hundred families from the Canary Islands to Texas. The garrisons were reduced to one hundred and fifty-three men in the whole province. Of the four hundred families ordered, thirteen arrived at San Antonio, and this new population was a stimulus to the missionary efforts. In 1732 the Spanish troops defeated the Apaches, and this victory gave security to the colony. In 1734 Sandoval took the place of Cevallos as governor, and again checked the depredations of the savages. While he was Governor, St. Denis removed the French garrison of Natchitoches to a point west of the Red River. Sandoval having been charged with conniving with this, a long litigation took place, — with the interminable slowness of Spanish procedures, — in

¹ Gayarré's *Hist. of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 264.

² Yoakum, i., 77.

which he and Franquis, his successor, were engaged. In 1740 Sandoval was thrown into prison, in one of the consequences of this charge, but with the arrival of a new governor, he was liberated.

In 1744 the European population of Texas did not exceed fifteen hundred, divided mostly between Adaes and San Antonio; a few were at Bahia, and a few at San Saba. The settlements to the south of Texas made but very little progress, and the old policy of Spain, to leave a desert between her provinces and her neighbors, was in no way violated.



The Yucca Tree of New Mexico.

TABLE OF DATES.

- 1540. Coronado's expedition in search of Cibola.
- 1579. **Drake on the California Coast.**
- 1582. Espejo's expedition on the Rio del Norte.
- 1602. Voyage of Viscaino on the coast of California.
- 1636. **Endicott's Expedition to Block Island.**
Providence founded by Roger Williams.
- 1637. **The Pequot War.**
Sir John Harvey returns as Governor of Virginia.
- 1638. **New Haven founded.**
Settlement of Rhode Island at Portsmouth.
A quo warranto issued against the Massachusetts charter.
Exeter, New Hampshire, founded.
- 1639. **First Constitution of Connecticut adopted, and a Government formed.**
- 1640. Explorations of Fathers Chaumonot and Brébœuf, in Ohio and Michigan.
- 1641. The Body of Liberties adopted in Massachusetts.
New Hampshire passes under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.
- 1642. Sir William Berkeley Governor of Virginia.
- 1643. **The Confederation of New England Colonies formed.**
Trial of the Gorton Party at Boston.
Issue of the Narragansett Patent.
Murder of Miantonomo.
- 1644. **The Charter for Providence Plantations granted to Roger Williams.**
Indian massacre in Virginia.
- 1647. **Stuyvesant arrives at New Amsterdam as Governor of New Netherland.**
Stuyvesant's controversy with the popular party at New Amsterdam.
- 1650. Boundary Treaty between Connecticut and New Netherland concluded at Hartford.
- 1651. Clark, Holmes, and Crandall tried in Boston.
- 1652. **Surrender of Jamestown to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth.**
A mint established in Massachusetts.
- 1653. Elective municipal government established at New Amsterdam.
Rhode Island declares war against New Netherland.
First Settlements in North Carolina, on Albermarle Sound.
- 1655. **The Dutch take possession of New Sweden.**
Establishment of the Colony of New Amstel.

- Conflict in Maryland between the Puritans and Roman Catholics.
Indian massacres at Hoboken, Pavonia, and elsewhere.
1656. The First Quakers arrive in Boston.
1657. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
1659. Execution of Quakers at Boston.
1660. Berkeley reelected Governor of Virginia,
(Or 1661), Settlement of New England men at Cape Fear, S. C.
Execution of Mary Dyer at Boston.
Father Mesnard founds a Mission on Lake Superior.
1661. Charles II. checks the persecution of Quakers in New England.
1663. **Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations granted by Charles II.**
First Grant of Carolina.
1664. **Grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York, and its Surrender to the English. — Named New York.**
Landing of the Colony under Yeamans at Cape Fear.
Government of North Carolina established.
Grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret.
First settlement of Central New York at Schenectady.
1665. **Second Grant of Carolina.**
Arrival of Philip Carteret as Governor of New Jersey. — Elizabeth founded.
The "Duke's Laws" adopted in New York.
1666. Newark, New Jersey, founded.
1668. Lovelace, Governor of New York.
1669. Completion of John Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina."
1671. Great Indian Council at Sault Ste. Marie.
1672. Anti-rent insurrection in New Jersey.
1673. **Recapture of New York by the Dutch.**
Marquette explores the Mississippi.
1674. **Treaty of Westminster confirms New York to England. — New Patent issued to the Duke of York.**
Andros Governor of New York.
Fenwicke's and Byllinge's Purchase of West New Jersey.
1675. **Outbreak of Philip's War in New England.**
Indian War in Virginia.
1676. **Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.**
The "Quintipartite Deed" for the Partition of New Jersey.
Close of Philip's war.
1678. Royal Commissioners arrive in Virginia. Berkeley's recall and death.
Emigration of Friends to West Jersey.
Insurrection in the district of Pasquotank, N. C.
Indian Treaty concluded at Casco, Me.
1679. **New Hampshire made an independent Royal Province.**
1680. Hennepin's Voyage on the Mississippi.
Charleston, S. C., founded.
1681. **The Grant of Pennsylvania signed. — Emigration begun.**
1682. **The Friends buy East Jersey.**
Penn sails for America.
Philadelphia founded.
Penn's Indian Treaty.

La Salle's Voyage on the Mississippi.

- 1684. Lord Cardross's Colony founded at Port Royal, S. C.
Judgment against the Massachusetts Charter.
Penn returns to England.
- 1685. La Salle's colony founded in Texas.
- 1686. Andros Governor-general of New England.**
- 1687. Andros attempts to seize the Connecticut charter. Its concealment in the
Charter Oak.
Murder of La Salle.
- 1688. Indian War renewed in Maine and New Hampshire. Massacres at Dover
and elsewhere.
- 1689. Deposition and Arrest of Andros at Boston.**
William and Mary proclaimed.
- 1690. Sothell seizes the government of South Carolina.
French and Indian expeditions into New Hampshire.
- 1692. Phips Governor of Massachusetts under the new Charter.**
Outbreak of the Witchcraft Panic at Salem, Mass.
- 1694. Rice introduced into South Carolina.
- 1695. Archdale Governor of South Carolina.
- 1696. Spanish fort established at Pensacola, Florida.
- 1699. Penn returns to America.
- 1700. Iberville establishes a settlement at Poverty Point, La.
Attack by the Carolinians on St. Augustine.
- 1712. Louisiana granted to Crozat.**
- 1717. Law's "Western Company" established.**
- 1718. New Orleans founded.**
- 1719. Law's "Mississippi Scheme."**
Capture of Pensacola by Bienville.
- 1720. Charlevoix's voyage to visit the Jesuit missions in America.
- 1722. Recapture of Pensacola by the Spaniards.
- 1729. Massacre of French by the Natchez.
- 1740. Oglethorpe's Attack on St. Augustine.**

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